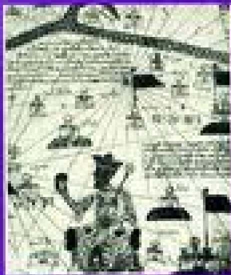
STUDIES IN AFRICAN HISTORY – 7

ANCIENT GHANA AND MALI

NEHEMIA LEVTZION



Ancient Ghana and Mali

NEHEMIA LEVTZION

ANCIENT GHANA AND MALI

AFRICANA PUBLISHING COMPANY
A division of Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc.
NEW YORK • LONDON

First published 1973 by Methuen & Co Ltd
Reprinted with additions 1980 by Africana Publishing Company
A division of Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc.
30 Irving Place, New York, N.Y. 10003

Great Britain:
Holmes & Meier Publishers, Ltd.
131 Trafalgar Road
Greenwich, London SE10 9TX

Copyright © 1973, 1980 with additions, by Nehemia Levtzion

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Levtzion, Nehemia.
Ancient Ghana and Mali.

Reprint of the 1973 ed. published by Methuen, London, which was issued as no. 7 of Studies in African history; with new bibliography.
Bibliography: p.
Includes index.
1. Ghana Empire. 2. Mali Empire. I. Title.

DT532.15.L48 1980 966'.101 79-27281

ISBN 0-8419-0431-6
ISBN 0-8419-0432-4 pbk.

Manufactured in the United States of America

To
TIRTZA

Contents

	Preface to the 1980 Reprint	page ix
	Preface to the First Edition	xi
	PART ONE	1
I	Antecedents	3
II	The Soninke Kingdom	16
III	The Almoravids	29
IV	The Soninke Successor States	43
V	The Emergence of Mali	53
VI	The Kings of Mali	63
VII	Mali in the Sahel	73
VIII	The Weight of Songhay	84
IX	Malinke Expansion and Political Fragmentation	94
	PART TWO	103
X	The Monarch and his Court	105
XI	The Economic Basis of Government	115
XII	The Gold of the Sudan	124
XIII	The Saharan Trade	136
XIV	Towns and Traders	153
XV	The Staple Commodities	171
XVI	Islam in the Sudanic Kingdoms	183
XVII	Scholars, Pilgrims, Ambassadors	200
XVIII	Ancient Kingdoms and New Republics	218
	Notes	221
	Bibliography	255
	(*a*) Primary Sources	255
	(*b*) Modern Works	259
	(*c*) Recent Publications	271
	(*d*) A Topical Survey of Recent Publications	277
	Index	279

Maps

1 Ghana and Mali **2**
2 Trade Routes of the Sahara
and the Sudan, *c.* 1000–1500 138–39

Preface to the 1980 Reprint

Ancient Ghana and Mali was first published in 1973. That edition now being out of print, colleagues and students have suggested that the book be made available once more. I was delighted that Africana readily agreed to undertake a reprinting.

Since the book was published, I have continued to study this formative period in West African history, mainly through the reevaluation of Arabic sources. Other commitments, however, have prevented me from revising the original text. Although such an edition would have incorporated some new factual and interpretative evidence, I feel that the existing text remains historically valid and accurate.

Appended to this reprint is a bibliographical list and topical survey of recent publications related to ancient Ghana and Mali. The bibliography bears evidence of ongoing research in this field during the last six or seven years. New writings include doctoral dissertations, some of them by Malian historians, as well as books, essays, and articles by scholars who have already contributed to the study of this period. Among them I might mention a recent book by M. Ly, *L'Empire du Mali.* Using Portuguese sources, she stresses the survival of the western provinces of Mali on the Gambia in the sixteenth century. In view of her evidence, my treatment of the area, found here on pages 94 to 99, could be amplified.

I am grateful to colleagues who have used *Ancient Ghana and Mali* as a classroom text, and to reviewers of the book for their valuable comments and critiques.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
June 1979 N.L.

Preface to the First Edition

This book attempts an analytical presentation of the available evidence – mainly Arabic, but also Portuguese, sources and oral traditions – on the history of the ancient kingdoms of Ghana and Mali. The monograph is divided into two parts. Part One follows the historical process in the Western Sudan from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries. Part Two is a topical analysis of the principal themes: government, trade, and Islam. Because the same sources were used for both parts, and often for many chapters, some repetition could not be avoided. Detailed references to the sources allow the reader to put the historical reconstruction to the test.

An introductory chapter on the sources may have been expected. I preferred, however, to evaluate the sources throughout the text as they bear evidence on the historical account. I am very much concerned with the revaluation of the Muslim historiography of Africa and there are some references to published and forthcoming papers on this subject. A more systematic introduction to the Arabic sources, and to individual geographers and historians, will appear in a volume I am editing for the University of Ghana Publications Board. The sources in that volume were translated into English by the late Dr Rajkowski and by Dr J. F. P. Hopkins. These translations and those by J. S. Trimingham (1962) were consulted when I translated quotations from Arabic texts in the present book.

Arabic sources, as the reader may see, form the basis of this study. I have preferred, therefore, to use the Arabic transcription throughout the book, even for African names. A book in English on an area covered mainly by French scholarship can hardly escape some inconsistencies in the spelling of place names.

Most references in the notes are to primary sources, and the few references to works by modern scholars are but a token acknowledgement of my debt to those in whose steps I follow. The responsibility for the writing of the history of ancient Ghana and Mali is now being taken over by young African scholars, who have introduced a new perception of African history. The originality of their contribution has been well manifested in the Conference on Manding Studies, held at the School of Oriental and African Studies in the Summer of 1972. Papers submitted to this conference were consulted for last-minute amendments as this book was going to the printer.

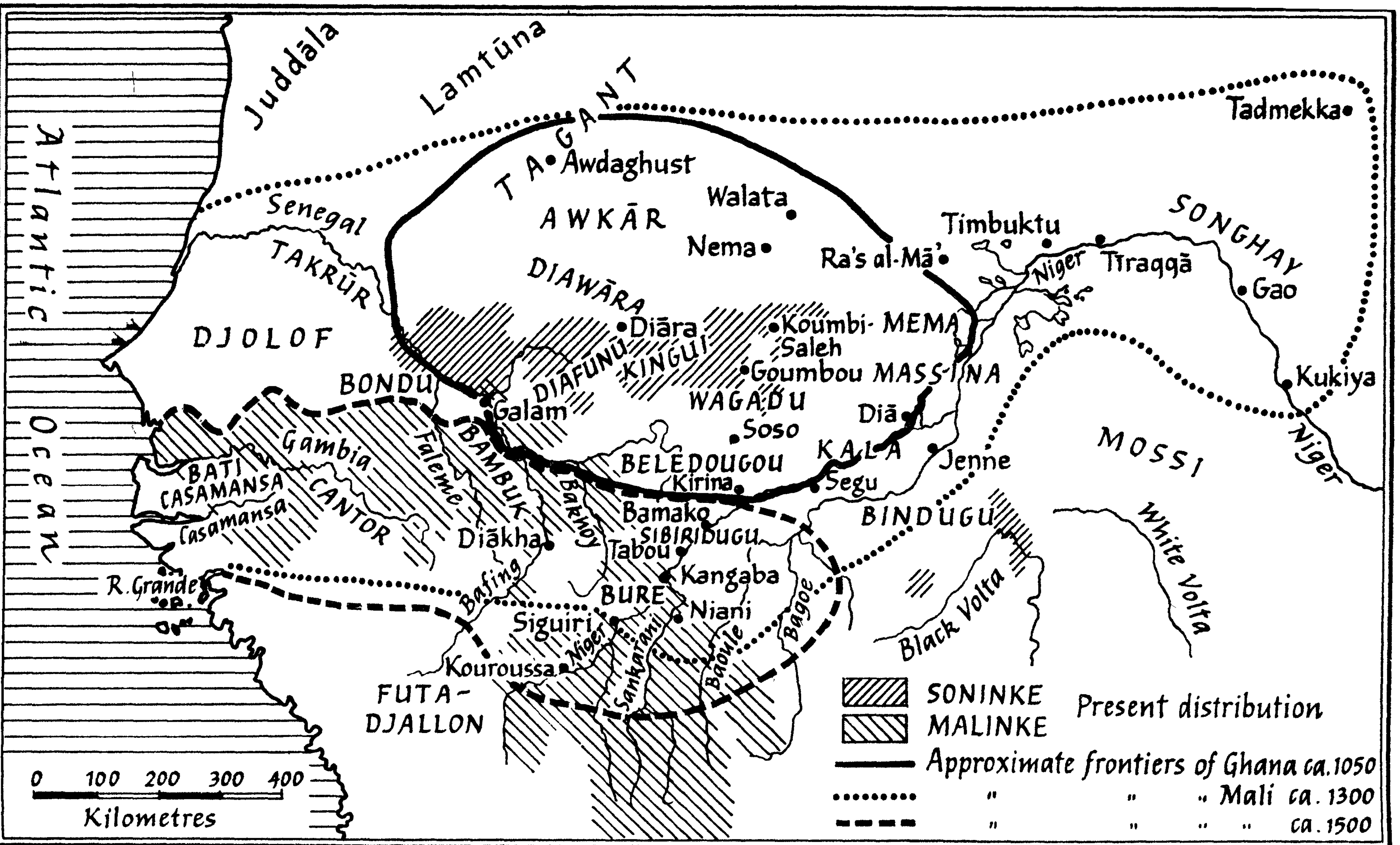
A draft typescript of this book was read by some of the leading authorities on the history of the Western Sudan: J. D. Fage, H. J. Fisher, R. Mauny, D. McCall, C. Meillassoux, and Y. Person. I am grateful to these eminent scholars and good friends for their detailed comments and thoughtful suggestions. They saved me from many errors of fact and interpretation; those left are my own responsibility.

Mrs Paula Sonnenschein carefully prepared the typescript, and Mrs Gillian Wright edited it with much skill and sympathy.

Grants from the Central Research Fund and the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem helped in meeting expenses incurred at different stages of the research and production of this work.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
July 1972 N.L.

PART ONE



Map I. Ghana and Mali

I · Antecedents

The name 'Ghana the land of gold' was first mentioned by the Arab geographer al-Fazārī towards the end of the eighth century.[1] By then, the kingdom of Ghana had been flourishing for some time, perhaps for centuries, though the date of its foundation cannot be fixed with any certainty. Through its trade in gold, the fame of Ghana extended beyond the Sahara, as far as Bagdad, where al-Fazārī lived at the court of the 'Abbāsid Caliph. About a century later, in 872, al-Ya'qūbī counted other kingdoms of *Bilād al-Sūdān*, 'the land of the Black Peoples', of which Ghana, Gao, and Kanem were the greatest.[2]

Were all the kingdoms at that early period located close to the desert, or were there other kingdoms farther south, in the savannah? Some records of Arab geographers suggest that the peoples south of the dominions of Ghana were loosely organized and fair game for slave raidings.[3] Also, documentary and traditional evidence indicate a process of state-building which

---

Notes to Map I

1. The northern frontiers have been marked to include Awdaghust (in Ghana) and Tadmekka (in Mali). Mali may have expanded farther north into the Sahara.
2. Note that the majority of the Soninke were included within the frontiers of Ghana (see Mauny, 1961, 510).
3. Note the distinction between the Sahel and the southern habitat of the Malinke. The northern frontier of Mali, between the Upper Senegal river and the Middle Niger, *c.* 1500 approximated to the southern frontiers of Ghana (*c.* 1050) and Songhay (*c.* 1500).
4. The southern frontiers of Mali *c.* 1500 extended south of the *c.* 1300 frontiers following the migration of the Malinke. This southward migration, however, intensified after the disintegration of Mali.

expanded gradually from north to south: Ghana in the Sahel, Mali in the Sudanic savannah, the Mossi-Dagomba states in the Guinea savannah, and the Akan states of the forest; the more southern among these developed later in time.

Historians of the colonial period were inclined to attribute the creation of the kingdoms of Sahel to nomad invaders from the north, of white origin and of a higher civilization. Maurice Delafosse postulated a migration of the so-called '*Judeo-Syriens*', who wandered from Libia to Bornu or Air, and then westwards across the savannah. To these white migrants, whom he regarded also as ancestors of the Fulbe, Delafosse ascribed the creation of at least two kingdoms: Ghana and Takrūr.[4] This and other hypotheses are based on fragmentary and inconclusive evidence and are derived from the (now obsolete) assumption that the peoples of the Sudan could not develop organized states themselves.

In the middle of the seventeenth century the authors of *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān* and *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh* (al-Sa'dī and Ibn al-Mukhṭār), recorded old sayings that the first kings of Ghana had been white and their subjects 'Wa'kore' (i.e., Soninke).[5] Historical traditions recorded since the turn of the century among the Soninke repeat the claim that their ancestor was a white man, who had come from the east.[6] It is significant, however, that none of the early Arabic sources before the twelfth century imply that the rulers of Ghana (or, for that matter, of Songhay and Takrūr) were, or had been in the past, other than black. al-Idrīsī was the first to write that the king of Ghana, 'according to what is reported, belongs to the progeny of Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib'.[7] Yet al-Idrīsī wrote after the Almoravids' conquest of Ghana and the islamization of that kingdom. One is tempted to seek Islamic influence in the claim to white (often Arab or even *sharīfian*) origin.

However, the emergence of the earliest kingdoms close to the desert was by no means accidental, and a certain northern

influence must be taken into account. The Sahara, as modern research convincingly indicates, was not a complete barrier between Tropical Africa and Mediterranean Africa.

The story of the Sahara over thousands of years may be interpreted from rock paintings and engravings. Until about the fourth millennium B.C. the Sahara was humid and well-watered with rivers and lakes, as suggested by engravings of elephants, rhinoceros, giraffes, hippopotami, crocodiles, and fish. The Sahara then entered upon a process of gradual desiccation. As the lakes dried up the aquatic animals disappeared from the rock paintings, but elephants, rhinoceros, and giraffes were still extant. By this period cattle appear in the rock paintings; the early hunters of the Sahara give way to pastoralists. Towards the end of the second millennium the big animals disappeared from the Saharan scene, and retreated north and south to the more humid zones. The elephants of Carthage represented the residual fauna of the Sahara. By the fifth century B.C., as indicated by Herodotus' description of the Sahara, the desert had already assumed much of its present shape and characteristics. The population which had formerly been spread over large tracts of land in the Sahara was now concentrated in the few oases of the desert, around the water points. It is in these places that rock paintings of later periods were found.

Rock paintings showing chariots drawn by horses were discovered in oases between North Africa and the Niger. Two lines which link sites of chariot engravings indicate two main chariot routes across the Sahara: one from Tripoli via Ghāt, Tassili-des-Ajjers, Hoggar, Adrar-des-Iforas to Es-Souk (Tadmekka); the other, farther to the west, from the oases of Figuig via Zemmour, the Mauritanian Adrar, and Dhar-Walata to Goundam near the Niger. When cavalry replaced chariots in North Africa, *c.* 300 B.C., this change was reflected also in the rock paintings of the Sahara.

Significantly, among all the animals depicted in the rock

paintings, one which is now so closely associated with the Sahara was missing. The camel does not appear in paintings of earlier periods, and is first seen towards the end of the 'horse period'. It is difficult to fix an exact date for the introduction of the camel into the Sahara from rock paintings, but Roman documentary evidence suggests that camels had first been used in the Sahara about the beginning of the Christian era. Once the North African nomads became acquainted with the camel, they lost no time in adopting this animal.[8]

Interpretation of the rock paintings suggests that the Tuareg, or the Libyans of antiquity, occupied the central Sahara in the first millennium B.C. as far south as Adrar-des-Iforas. They reached the gates of the Sudan on horseback, but horses were not well adapted to Saharan conditions and the mobility afforded was rather limited.[9] Traffic across the Sahara, from the Maghrib to the Sudan, increased considerably with the introduction of the camel.

According to Henri Lhote, isolated black sedentary communities lived in the central Sahara over two thousand years ago as today, in the oases only. In the western Sahara there is archaeological and traditional evidence that black sedentaries occupied the country as far north as 20° N in Adrar, Tagant, and the Hodh. Neolithic sites there are attributed by the present nomadic population of the country to the Gangara, who were probably ancestors of the Soninke. Indeed, Azer, a Soninke dialect, is still spoken in Walata, Nema, Tichitt, and even in Shinqit, by small groups, mainly of black *ḥaratin*. The *ḥaratin* are isolated communities, subjects of the nomads (Berbers or Moors). They may represent remnants of those Sudanese communities that had formerly inhabited much of the country which is now desert.[10]

The gradual desiccation of the Sahara, due to climatic changes, initiated the retreat of the black sedentary population to more humid lands. The process, however, was accelerated by the invading Ṣanhāja nomads. When the Ṣanhāja acquired

enough camels, about the third or the fourth century, they pressed to the south, pushing the Sudanese before them.

Black inhabitants of the Sahara were mentioned by Arab geographers. Writing in 1067–8, al-Bakrī reported Sudanese highway robbers north of Awdaghust, beyond a country inhabited by the Ṣanhāja. Tareshnā, a Ṣanhāja chief at the beginning of the eleventh century, was killed in war against the Sudanese as far north as Adrar.[11] Less than a century later in 1154, al-Idrīsī recorded a tradition about the land of Qamnūriya, in present-day Mauritania:

> There were in the past famous towns of the Sudanese. But the Zaghāwa (*sic*) and the Lamtūna of the desert, who live on both sides of that country, that is the land of Qamnūriya, coveted it. They annihilated most of the inhabitants, suppressed and scattered them over the land. . . . [In the past] they had chiefs and elders who administered their affairs and dispensed justice. . . . [Then] internal discord and raids from all directions followed one another. They penetrated that country and [its inhabitants] fled from there to seek refuge in the mountains. They dispersed in the deserts and accepted the protection of their neighbours. . . . Thus only a few of the people of Qamnūriya remain scattered over these deserts and near the coast. . . . Their conditions are harsh and they toil for their livelihood in a state of poverty, wandering over that land in peace because of the suspension of hostilities with their neighbours.[12]

Oral traditions in Mauritania now attribute the expulsion of the Sudanese from the Sahara to the Almoravid leader, Abū-Bakr ibn ʻUmar.[13] The Almoravids' invasion of *Bilād al-Sūdān* and their conquest of Ghana was the culmination of a long historical confrontation between the Berber nomads and the Sudanese sedentary population. As the Berbers advanced southwards the inhabitants of the Sahel changed and its landscape deteriorated from cultivated land to nomadic scrubland.

Whereas the drying up of the Sahara and the general reduction in humidity were due to climatic changes, the extension of desert conditions into the Sahel was the result of human activity in historical times. Take, for example, the country around Koumbi-Saleh, believed to have been the site of Ghana's capital. The scene today is that of low pasture grass, thorny scrub, and scattered acacia trees, occupied by Moorish nomads. But traces of villages indicate that the region had formerly been more densely settled.[14] al-Bakrī says that around the capital of Ghana 'are wells with sweet water, from which they drink, and near which they grow vegetables'.[15] Water can still be found by digging about ten feet under the sand. With the retreat of the sedentary population the wells were neglected and became filled with sand, the nomads' herds destroyed the vegetation, and erosion impoverished the barren land. The limited amount of rain is just enough for a careful tilling, but this balance, so well maintained by the agricultural Sudanese, was violated by the nomads.

As smaller groups of nomads penetrated farther south, environmental conditions forced them into a gradual process of sedentarization. This was followed by a process of sudanization, or assimilation into the local population. These people, however, would retain the memory of their white ancestry.[16] As nomads they were better drilled for raids and campaigns, and through military superiority they sometimes imposed their authority over the Sudanese. Yet the organization of the state was influenced by the more advanced culture of the sedentaries which the new rulers adopted. This, according to some interpretations, occurred in Kanem where the Zaghāwa imposed their authority over the ('so-called') So.[17]

The nomads of the Sahara had little experience in political organization and state-building. Even in the Western Sahara, where important trans-Saharan trade routes created conditions conducive to the development of more centralized forms of political organization, authority over the Ṣanhāja was loose and

went through periodical crises. Compared with the changing alliances among the nomads of the desert, the Sudanic kingdoms showed a greater measure of cohesiveness and stability. It follows that even if we admit – according to traditional and sometimes documentary evidence – that some of the early dynasties in the Sahel had nomad ancestors, the polity which emerged as a result of the imposition of alien rule was Sudanic in form and character.

The Sudanic societies presumably developed a socio-political system which could furnish imposed alien authority with elaborated institutions, values, and ideologies. Faced with the pressure of nomads from the north such societies could also mobilize their own resources – without the intervention of outsiders – to reorganize on a larger scale under some central authority. Ghana may have developed in this way to ward off the Ṣanhāja.

The arrival of the Berber nomads in the southern fringes of the Sahara not only brought pressure upon the peoples of the Sahel, but also introduced them into the trans-Saharan trade complex. The chariots depicted in rock paintings across the Sahara suggest trans-Saharan contacts in the first millennium B.C. These were, however, war or hunting chariots and would hardly have been used to carry merchandise. Others were drawn by bullocks and could have been used only for local, short-distance, transportation. According to the available evidence, the volume of trade carried over the desert had been insignificant before the introduction of the camel. The growth of the trans-Saharan trade during the centuries preceding the Arab conquest of the Maghrib was important in stimulating political reorganization in the Sahel. Berbers carried the trade and controlled it across the Sahara, but the gold which was the principal staple of this trade came from farther inland, beyond a country inhospitable to the desert peoples and to their camels. The gold was carried by Sudanese traders from its sources in the south to the Sahel, where it was exchanged for salt brought there

by the Berbers from the mines of the Sahara. In the Sahel goods changed hands and the means of transport was different: the camels of the Sahara gave way to the asses, bullocks, and porters of the Sudan.

Sāḥil is the Arabic word for 'shore', which is well understood if the desert is compared to a sea of sand, and the camel to a ship. Hence, the towns which developed in the Sahel – Takrūr, Ghana, and Gao – may be regarded as ports. These towns became both commercial entrepôts and political centres. Those who held authority in these strategic centres endeavoured to extend it in order to achieve effective control over the trade. Thus trade stimulated a higher level of political organization, while the emergence of extensive states accorded more security to trade. Political developments in the Western Sudan, throughout its history, are related to the changing patterns of intercontinental and trans-Saharan trade routes.

The Arab conquest of the Maghrib gave the trans-Saharan trade a new impetus. The Muslims in the Maghrib and beyond were interested in attracting the Sudanic gold on which their monetary system depended. As the trade grew in volume so did its effect on the political development in the Sudan. By the eighth and ninth centuries most of the traders engaged in the trans-Saharan trade were Muslims. These Muslim traders brought Islam to the Saharan nomads, and sowed its seeds in the Sudan. One should note, however, that Islam was not a factor in the emergence of the early states of the Sudan. All these states – Kanem, Songhay, Ghana, and Takrūr – started as non-Muslim states.

Our acquaintance with the political history of Africa is subject to the limitations imposed by the historical sources – documentary evidence and oral traditions. At the present stage of our knowledge these sources cannot take us farther back than the middle of the first millennium A.D. It was at that period that the northern among the Sudanese peoples – Wolof-Serer, Soninke, and Songhay – came into direct contact with the

camel owners, nomads who hailed from across the Sahara. It was also about that time that the earliest states we know of in the Sudan came into being. We have tried to demonstrate above that there could have been more than one sort of relationship between the two historical processes. But, even if – as suggested – the earliest states developed as a result of confrontation with the Saharan nomads and participation in the growing trans-Saharan trade, the Sudanic societies must previously have developed to a stage where they were capable of responding to such external stimuli.

Early economic, social, and political developments were the result of the agricultural revolution and the introduction of iron. Both innovations were due to outside influences that could have reached the Sudan from two directions: from the Sahara in the north and from the middle Nile valley in the east. Though eastern influences should by no means be excluded, there is more direct and convincing evidence for the northern impact. Even Egyptian influences, which some scholars detect in the West African states, could have come from the north through the Libyans who had contacts with ancient Egypt.[18]

Archaeological evidence indicates a continuous distribution of Neolithic tools across the Sahara from the Sudan to North Africa. Neolithic civilization flourished in the Sahara in the fourth millennium when the region was well watered. The desiccation of the Sahara forced the cultivators to the southern and northern fringes. The main crops of the Sahara were wheat and barley, both winter rainfall crops, which do rather badly in summer rainfall areas. The people of the Nile valley south of Egypt faced similar problems. Acquainted with the techniques of food production, they had to experiment in domesticating local species of sorghum, millet and *fonio*. Whether invented independently in the southern Sahara and the Niger's bend or diffused westwards from the Nile valley, the cultivation of crops replaced gathering of wild seeds about the end of the second millennium B.C.[19]

New light on the development of agriculture and its socio-political consequences has recently been thrown by P. J. Munson, who carried out archaeological research in the region of Dhar Tichitt-Walata.[20] Radiocarbon dates indicate a sequence of settlements from about 1100 to 300 B.C. Large stone-masonry villages were constructed for the first time *c.* 1100 B.C. These villages were located at the base of the escarpment near the small lakes that existed at that time. Bones and carbonized plant remains suggest that people lived on the herding of cattle and goats with some hunting of wild animals and a limited amount of fishing. Wild seeds and fruits were collected, and a few impressions of seeds of the millet Pennisetum on the pottery may indicate a limited incipient cultivation. These were Neolithic sites: there were no indications of the use of metal.

During the second phase, *c.* 1000–900 B.C., villages of a similar type were located on top of the high escarpment and were encircled by a masonry wall with other defensive structures on the approaches to the villages. This must have been a period of warfare and insecurity. More impressions on pottery are identified as those of cultivated grains and are clear signs of the development of agriculture. There were about four times more villages, which suggests a considerable increase in population.

The third phase, *c.* 900–600 B.C., was marked by further development of agriculture, with only about twenty per cent of wild seeds, by the growing density of the population, and, significantly, by a greater measure of security, indicated by the lack of fortifications.

The final Neolithic phase, dated between about 600 and 300 B.C., was one of very serious disturbances. The villages, much smaller now and heavily fortified, were hidden among the rocks at the summit of the escarpment. Standards of architecture and of the lithic and ceramic industries declined. At the end of this period agricultural settlements discontinued. Rock

paintings of mounted warriors and *tifinar* inscriptions, as well as pre-Islamic Libyco-Berber tombs, clearly indicate that the culture of the cultivators was destroyed by the nomad invaders from the north.

The Neolithic population of the south-western Sahara, physical anthropology tells us, was Negroid. Indeed, they may well have been proto-Soninke, ancestors of the Azer-speaking population which is still scattered over the area. Also, Munson found similarities between the plans of the masonry villages and the plans of the brush or wattle villages of the Soninke and related Mande-speaking peoples. He also suggests a continuity between the ceramic industry of the final Neolithic phase and that of the modern Soninke.

Munson's hypothesis is that the development of food production and the subsequent growth of population brought about competition over the land which caused internal warfare. Hence the fortified villages on the escarpment during the second phase. The greater security during the third phase might have been achieved as a result of the development of more complex, large-scale political organization in the form of chieftaincies. The cultural and political evolution of these proto-Soninke people was, however, disturbed with the invasion of the early horse-riding Lybico-Berber nomads. But the cultural and political tradition had not been lost and it reappeared centuries later among the Soninke of the Sahel to the south. In the interim period the western Sudan was introduced into the Iron Age.

The introduction of metallurgy brought about another technological revolution. Excavation in the copper mines of Akjoujt in southern Mauritania indicates that copper was extracted there as early as the fifth century B.C. As Akjoujt was close to the western chariot route it is likely that the manufacture of arms made of copper spread from North Africa. This early copper metallurgy may have paved the way for the introduction of iron. By 300 B.C. knowledge of iron-working spread from

North Africa across the Sahara, or from Meroe along the open savannah, or from both directions.[21]

Those peoples of the savannah who first adopted the new techniques of the Iron Age achieved a more efficient mastery of the environment to increase their economic resources. Through the use of iron weapons they asserted military superiority over their neighbours who had softer weapons at their disposal. The people of Ghana, according to the twelfth-century geographer al-Zuhrī, raided peoples who possessed no iron. The latter fought with staves of ebony, whereas the Ghanaians were armed with swords and spears.[22]

Armies of the centralized states had another advantage over their stateless neighbours by employing cavalry as a striking force. Arabic records assert that horses were important in all the Sudanese states, beginning with Ghana, both for military purposes and as a symbol of prestige for the king and nobility. The association between horses and kingship is of significance in Benin, where horses appear as royal symbols in works of art though they are now extinct in this forest region. It is likely that horses were first introduced to the Sahel about the first millennium B.C. when they first appeared in rock engravings. These may have been the ancestors of the small horses of Ghana recorded by al-Bakrī.[23]

The development of agriculture, the introduction of iron and cavalry all contributed to social, economic, and political differentiation by the beginning of the Christian era. Some forms of more elaborate political organization, perhaps small chiefdoms, emerged. About the middle of the first millennium A.D., the increasing pressure of the Saharan nomads and the growth of trans-Saharan trade acted as stimuli for political reorganization on a larger scale in order to present a unified force against the nomads, and to achieve a wider and more effective control over trade. We may postulate the rise of one existing chiefdom under an able ruler, who spread his authority over neighbouring chiefdoms. What we are really facing in the second half of the

first millennium is the emergence of 'empires', or amalgamation of kingdoms. This is indeed what one may read into the text of al-Ya'qūbī, writing in 872:

> Then there is the kingdom of Kawkaw [Gao], which is the greatest of the realms of the Sudan, the most important and powerful. All other kingdoms obey its king. . . . *Under it there are a number of kingdoms, the rulers of which pay allegiance to the king of Kawkaw, and acknowledge his sovereignty, although they are kings themselves in their own lands.* . . .
>
> Then there is the kingdom of Ghana, its king is also very powerful. In his country are the gold mines. *Under his authority are several kingdoms*, such as Ām and Sāma.[24]

II · The Soninke Kingdom

The Soninke (called Sarakulle by the Fulbe) are the northern among the Mande-speaking peoples. They had the longest contact with the nomads of the Sahara. The pressure of the nomads and the inducement of trade contributed to the dispersion of Soninke from the Sahel to different parts of the Western Sudan. One may trace elements of Soninke origin among the Dyula of the Upper Niger and the southern savannah, the Marka in the region of Segu and Jenne, the Yarse in the Volta Basin, or the Diakhanke on the Upper Gambia.

Everywhere, clans claiming Soninke origin share the pride of having been once the people of the ancient Soninke kingdom of Wagadu. The legends about Wagadu are still functional in explaining the origins of different Soninke clans and groups. The status of a Soninke clan and its place in the parallel hierarchical structure of other peoples is often explained in terms of the role their ancestor had played in ancient Wagadu, or in the way this ancestor was affiliated to Dinga, the legendary ancestor of the Soninke. There are different versions of 'the legend of Wagadu', but only one theme.[1]

The story runs thus. Dinga came from the Orient and stayed in Jenne for some time. He then moved to Dyara-ba (Diā) in Massina, where he married. One of his wife's sons was the ancestor of the Soninke in Diāfūnu (in the Sahel near the Kolimbine river), another son, Fadé al-Ḥājj Suware, was the founder of Diakha-sur-Bafing, which developed as the centre of the Diakhanke.

From Diā Dinga moved to Kingui, and reached a place south-west of Nioro, which had been dominated by goblins. There followed a magicians' duel from which Dinga emerged

victorious and married the three daughters of the goblin. Dinga's sons from these wives were the ancestors of many Soninke clans; among them was the Sisse clan, the royal clan of Wagadu.

Before his death Dinga wanted to bequeath his power to his elder son Khine. But (as in the story of Jacob and Esau) a younger son, Dyabe, outwitted Khine and obtained his father's blessing and power. Following Dinga's death, Dyabe had to flee from his brother's rage. He found refuge in the bush, when one day a mysterious drum (*tabala*) fell down from a tree before his feet. At the sound of the drum four troops of cavalry came out from the four corners of the bush. The four commanders recognized Dyabe as their superior, they became his lieutenants, and later – after the foundation of the kingdom – they became chiefs (*fado*) of the four provinces.

Dyabe, at the head of his new army, set out to establish a kingdom. He was directed to Kumbi, between Goumbou and Nema. The place was guarded by Bida, a black snake, who gave Dyabe permission to settle there on condition that he would be given the most beautiful young virgin every year. In return, Bida promised abundant rain and gold.

The new kingdom of Wagadu, with its capital at Kumbi, prospered under the rule of Dyabe Sisse and his descendants, who were given the title *manga* (or *magha*). The kingdom was divided into four provinces, each headed by one of the four commanders (*fado*). The descendants of Dinga and the four *fado* are recognized as the aristocratic clans of the Soninke, or the *wago*. The *wago*, who gave their name to Wagadu, are clearly associated with the history of that ancient kingdom of the Soninke.[2]

Once a year representatives of the four provinces of Wagadu assembled at Kumbi to celebrate the sacrifice of the virgin to Bida. This ceremony ensured the continuation of rain and gold, and may also have promoted cohesion of the kingdom. Some versions of the tale say that each year another province in its turn had to offer the virgin for Bida.

During the reign of the seventh king of Wagadu, when the

virgin was brought forth to Bida's cave her brave suitor killed the snake. The dying snake pronounced a dreadful curse, which caused the desiccation of the land and the cessation of the gold. The head of the slaughtered snake fell down in Bure – in the country of the Malinke – which then became the land of gold. Deprived of rain and gold, Wagadu was ruined, its Soninke people dispersed and their country turned to desert.

The Soninke who had left their homeland carried with them the memory of their old kingdom. In the historiography of the Western Sudan the story of Wagadu accounts not only for the origin of the Soninke, but also for the beginning of the political history of the Western Sudan. This is indeed how the ancient Soninke kingdom is seen by the Muslim chroniclers of Timbuktu. The author of *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, himself of Soninke origin, recorded the following tradition over four hundred years after the rise of Mali:

> The kingdom of Mali rose to power only after the fall of the kingdom of the Kaya-Magha, ruler of the whole western region. Until then the king of Mali was merely one of the vassals of the Kaya-Magha, one of his officials and ministers.
>
> Kaya-Magha in the Wa'kore (Soninke) language means 'king of gold'. He was a powerful king. I have been informed by a trustworthy man, on the authority of the *qāḍī* of Massina, Alfā Idā al-Massinī, that the Kaya-Magha were among the most ancient of rulers, of whom twenty reigned before the coming of the Prophet. The name of Kaya-Magha's capital was Qunbi, which was an important town. Their dynasty came to an end during the first century of the *hijra*.
>
> One of the elders told me that the last of them was Kanisa'ay, who reigned at the time of the Prophet. He had a town called Kurunka, which was the residence of his mother. It is still inhabited. It is said that he had a thousand horses tied up at his residence. . . .
>
> Then Allāh brought their rule to an end. He gave the most

> ignoble of their people power over their nobles. They killed all the children of their kings, even ripping open the women to kill those in the womb.
>
> It is disputed as to the tribe to which these kings belonged; some say they were Wa'kore [Soninke], others say they were Wangara [Malinke] which appears improbable. Others say they were Ṣanhāja which seems to me more likely. . . . The nearest to the truth is that they were not black (*min al-sawādīn*). Allāh knows best because their days are far off, and the historian today has no evidence to bring forth to affirm confidently anything concerning them. No chronicle has been left about them upon which one may rely.[3]

Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sa'dī, a Berber by origin, recorded another version of the same tradition:

> Mali is the name of an extensive territory lying in the far west [of the Sudan] to the direction of the Ocean. It was Kaya-Magha who founded the first kingdom in that region. His capital was Ghāna, an important town in the country of Bāghana. It is said that their kingdom was in existence before the *hijra*, and that twenty-two kings reigned before it and twenty-two afterwards, making forty-four in all. In origin they were white, though we do not know to whom they trace their origin. Their subjects, however, were Wa'kore [Soninke]. When their kingdom came to an end, the people of Mali succeeded to hegemony. They were black in origin.[4]

Both traditions as recorded by Muslim scholars from Timbuktu indicate confusion and uncertainty about the origin of the ruling dynasty. The authority of the *Ta'rīkhs* enhanced theories about white origin, which have already been discussed above. The end of the dynasty, as described in *T. al-Fattāsh*, suggests a revolution which 'gave the most ignoble of their people power over their nobles'. For Maurice Delafosse this revolution may refer to the rising of the black Soninke subjects against their rulers, the so-called '*Judeo-Syriens*'.[5]

The disagreement between the two versions as to the number of rulers before the *hijra* and after it suggests that these figures should be treated very cautiously, and could hardly be used for chronology. The symmetrical arrangement of the same number of rulers before the *hijra* and after it – as given by al-Sa'dī – is typical of oral traditions, and should not be taken at its face value. What one may deduce from these traditions is that the kingdom of Kaya-Magha was an ancient one, founded before the coming of Islam to the Western Sudan.

The traditions about the kingdom of Wagadu recorded more recently, and the traditions about the kingdom of Kaya-Magha, recorded over three centuries ago, may refer to the same ancient kingdom of the Soninke. 'Wagadu' in Soninke and 'Baghana' in Malinke are two names for the same region in the Sahel west of the Niger. Both Kaya-Magha and Wagadu are associated with gold, as was, of course, Ghana of the Arab geographers. Kumbi is referred to as the capital of Kaya-Magha in *T. al-Fattāsh* and of Wagadu in the oral traditions. These references to Kumbi directed the archaeologists to Koumbi-Saleh, between Goumbou and Nema (15°46′ N 8° W), as the probable site of the capital of the old Soninke kingdom.

According to al-Sa'dī, the capital of the Kaya-Magha was Ghana. He thus suggests identifying the kingdom of Kaya-Magha of the Soninke traditions with Ghana of the Arab geographers. Significantly, the name of Ghana does not appear in the oral traditions. Ghana is not mentioned even in *T. al-Fattāsh*, a chronicle coloured by what one may call African historiography. There are in *T. al-Fattāsh* many references to oral information but no evidence that any work by Arab geographers and historians was consulted. al-Sa'dī, on the other hand, was acquainted with the earlier Arabic sources, as indicated by references to *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyya*, and to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.[6] This goes some way to explain why this scholar of Timbuktu cared to collate traditional and documentary evidence.

Is it permissible to identify Ghana with the ancient Soninke kingdom of Wagadu? First we must try to explain how one kingdom could be known under three different names. The name of Mali, for example, appears in contemporary Arabic sources, in the *Ta'rīkhs* of Timbuktu, and in the oral traditions recorded recently. Mali, as we shall see later, developed as an empire out of a small chiefdom; when its power declined Mali lost the conquered territories and disintegrated into several small Malinke chiefdoms, which survived until the modern period. This continuity in the political history of the Malinke, and the survival of the Keita, Mali's royal clan, in the heart of the Malinke national territory, may explain the close correspondence between oral traditions and centuries-old documentary records. The Soninke kingdom, on the other hand, lost its political identity as early as the thirteenth century; many of its people – including the rulers – dispersed, much of the country became deserted and passed through many hands as new powers rose up. As a result, the traditions about this Soninke kingdom were not transmitted in the region where events had taken place, but over many parts of the Western Sudan.[7] This is what made it difficult, as C. Monteil remarks, to place the kingdom of Wagadu exactly in its historical context. Thus, in oral traditions the kingdom may be named after its geographical region (typical of the memories of people in diaspora, far from what is regarded as their natal land), while elsewhere it is known by one or another title (Ghana or Kaya-Magha) attributed to its rulers.[8]

The oral traditions supported by the *Ta'rīkhs* of Timbuktu assert the existence of an ancient kingdom of the Soninke in the first millennium A.D. According to contemporary Arabic records Ghana was then the most prominent kingdom in that part of the Sahel inhabited by the Soninke. Wagadu and Kaya-Magha, which feature legendarily in the oral traditions, become more concrete – within a territorial and chronological framework – in the accounts of contemporary Arab geographers.

By the end of the eighth century Ghana was known in the Muslim world as 'the land of gold'. In the second half of the ninth century Kawkaw [Gao] and Ghana were the two powerful kingdoms of the Western Sudan, each with vassal chiefdoms under its dominion.[9] The gold mines of Ghana attracted traders from the Maghrib who bartered salt, cloth, and other wares for gold. In the first half of the tenth century, according to al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956), the gold of the Sudan was minted in Sijilmāsa at the northern end of the Sahara.[10] Ibn Ḥawqal, who visited Sijilmāsa in 951, was impressed by the increasing volume of trade with the Sudan which had been carried over the desert.[11] A network of trade routes across the Sahara linked Ghana not only with the Maghrib but also with Egypt.[12]

By the middle of the eleventh century Ghana had developed its natural and human resources, increased its political and military power, and elaborated its governmental and administrative systems. This one may try to analyse by following the earliest detailed account of the Western Sudan, that of Abū 'Ubaydallāh al-Bakrī, written in 1067–8. al-Bakrī, a resident of Cordova in Spain, never left his country. He based his writings on various written sources, in particular the one by Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Warrāq (904/5–973/4), the original of which has not yet been discovered. al-Bakrī also collected oral information from traders who visited the Sudan.[13] His information was well up to date almost to the year of writing, which adds much to the intrinsic value of the account, as he was writing at a crucial period in the history of the Western Sudan when confrontation was imminent between two powerful forces: the Almoravids of the Sahara and the Sudanic kingdom of Ghana.

al-Bakrī's description of the capital of Ghana in the middle of the eleventh century is among the most detailed accounts of an urban centre in the Western Sudan.

> The city of Ghana consists of two towns in a plain. One of these towns is inhabited by Muslims. It is large with a dozen

mosques in one of which they assemble for the Friday prayer. . . . Around the town are wells of sweet water from which they drink and near which they cultivate vegetables.

The royal town, called al-Ghāba ['the grove'], is six miles away [from the Muslim town], and the area between the two towns is covered with houses. Their houses are made of stone and accacia wood. The king has a palace and conical huts, surrounded by a wall-like enclosure. In the king's town, not far from the royal court of justice, is a mosque where pray the Muslims who come there on missions.[14]

al-Bakrī placed the capital of Ghana in Awkar, the region between Tagant and the Sahel (in the south-eastern corner of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania). The ruins of Koumbi-Saleh are in the Hodh, about sixty miles south of the great moving dunes of Awkar. M. Delafosse was the first to suggest that the site of Koumbi-Saleh may have been the capital of Ghana. In 1913–14 A. Bonnel de Mezières travelled in that region and found many ruins of towns and villages built of stone in a country which is now inhabited by wandering nomads only. Sedentary agricultural settlements begin some miles south of Koumbi-Saleh. Local traditions among the people of the area associate several sites in the vicinity with ancient Ghana, but Koumbi-Saleh proved to be the most promising. The site was excavated in 1914 by Bonnel de Mezières, in 1939 by Lazartigues, and in 1949–51 by Thomassey, Mauny, and Szumowski. Excavations and aerial surveys revealed the remains of a large town which covered about one square mile. The town consists of two parts. The upper section to the north-east is built of stone and has spacious and rich buildings, some of them of two storeys, in which the ground floor seems to have been used as stores for merchandise. These houses belonged probably to rich merchants from the Maghrib. In the lower section of the town there are isolated stone buildings and traces of other habitations of lesser quality, similar to those of modern

Sudanic towns. This, it is suggested by Mauny, was the Soninke quarter.

Excavations at different points of the site indicate that the town was very densely inhabited. The houses are close together, with open spaces in between, and the streets rather narrow. There was one great avenue, which crossed the town from east to west. The avenue reached a width of 12 metres in front of the mosque, excavated in the centre of the town. The mosque was probably 46 metres from west to east, and 23 metres from north to the south. The western half may have been an open paved courtyard, a common feature in mosques of the Sahara and the Sudan. This seems to have been the Friday mosque of the town. On both sides of the great avenue there was open ground, probably market places.

Mauny estimates that the town had fifteen to twenty thousand inhabitants. The importance of the town and its long duration are confirmed by two extensive cemeteries. Koumbi-Saleh was the largest town in the Sahara, and Mauny inclines to identify it with the Muslim town of the capital of Ghana. Among the findings in the site were iron objects such as lances, knives, nails, farming tools, a fine pair of scissors. A few glass weights were recovered, so small in size that they must have been used for weighing gold. There were also many fragments of Mediterranean pottery, fifty-three stones with Arabic inscriptions of Koranic verses, and twenty-four other painted stones with decorated motifs. All these findings indicate the existence of a rich Muslim commercial community.

In medieval times the town was surrounded by agricultural settlements, but even then the supplying of water to such a big town must have been a major problem. On three sides of the town there are ponds, which may have stored water for some time after the rains. Water may still be found at a depth of three metres below the sand, and we know the people dug wells, as described by al-Bakrī.

A carbon-14 date from a piece of charcoal taken from an

excavation in the 'Great Avenue' indicated a date of 1210 (±150). It seems, therefore, that the town continued to prosper even after the Almoravids' conquest in 1076, and was abandoned only in the thirteenth century, under the rule of the Soso or of Mali. The royal town of Ghana, which was six miles from the Muslim town, may have been destroyed by the Almoravids. The elders of Walata, however, took Bonnel de Mezières to a place called Ghanata, about ten miles north of Koumbi-Saleh. There were extensive ruins but no sign of building in stone. Mauny suggests searching for the town of Ghana in Dali-Gumbe, where water-pits have been located about six miles E-N-E of Koumbi-Saleh, as the proposed site of the Muslim's town (as in al-Bakrī). Dali-Gumbe is mentioned in the legend of Wagadu as the capital of one of the four provincial chiefs.[15]

The royal town was very probably not as well built and spacious as was the merchants' town. The Muslim town was not only an appendage to the local town, but perhaps even more important than the latter. The relations between the Muslim and the royal towns of ancient Ghana may be compared to the relations between Salaga and Kpembe or Gambaga and Nalerigu in modern Ghana; commercial–Muslim–cosmopolitan towns as against a royal–pagan–inward-looking village.[16] The twelve mosques of the Muslim town are in clear opposition to the sacred grove (*al-ghāba* in Arabic) which was an extension of the royal town.

> Around the king's town are domed huts and groves where live the sorcerers, the men in charge of their religious cult. In these are also the idols and the tombs of their kings. These groves are guarded, no one can enter them nor discover their contents. The prisons of the king are there, and if anyone is imprisoned in them, no more is ever heard of him. . . .
>
> Their religion is paganism and the worship of idols. When the king dies, they build a huge dome of wood over the burial place. Then they bring him on a bed lightly covered, and put

> him inside the dome. At his side they place his ornaments, his arms and the vessels from which he used to eat and drink, filled with food and beverages. They bring in those men who used to serve his food and drink. Then they close the door of the dome and cover it with mats and other materials. People gather and pile earth over it until it becomes like a large mound. Then they dig a ditch around it so that it can be reached only from one place. They sacrifice to their dead and make offerings of intoxicating drinks.[17]

This form of royal burial (reminiscent of the custom of ancient Egypt and known among other African peoples) is sometimes regarded as a trait of divine kingship. Excavations in two mounds near the lacustrine region of the Niger revealed tombs with burial rooms. In each grave there were two human skeletons with weapons, ornaments and beads. The tomb also contained other human skeletons and animals' bones.[18] V. Fernandes describes similar burial among the Malinke of the Gambia. The king was buried in his own home together with his weapons. His senior wife and people of his entourage were also brought in. The tomb was then closed, and a big mound of earth was heaped over the tomb to the height of a house.[19]

One of the main themes in the Soninke tradition of Wagadu is the cult of the snake, guardian of the state. al-Bakrī describes the cult of a snake by the Diāfuqu who lived between Ghana and Galam, and were very probably Soninke themselves. The snake lived in a cave, and nearby lived the priests devoted to the cult.

> When their king dies all those eligible for kingship are assembled near the cave. . . . The snake approaches them, and smells one man after the other, until it pricks one with its nose. It then turns away to the cave, and the pricked man follows it as fast as he can run to pull from the snake's tail or its mane as many hairs as he can. His reign will last according to the number of hairs, one year for every hair.[20]

In the reconstruction of early African history, corroboration of the various types of sources is difficult, indeed rare. The very fact that al-Bakrī's account is at all amenable to collation with oral traditions and archaeological evidence must add to the reliability of the eleventh-century geographer.

Tunka-Menin succeeded to the throne of Ghana in 1063. 'He wielded great power and inspired respect as the ruler of a great empire.'[21] The extent of his dominions, or rather his sphere of influence, may only be guessed from al-Bakrī's information.

To the west Takrūr was the dominant power over the lower Senegal river, and was – in all probability – a rival to Ghana both commercially and politically. Sillā, a dependency of Takrūr, was twenty days travel from Ghana. In between there was a buffer zone of several smaller chiefdoms.[22]

To the east Gao, capital of the Songhay kingdom, was a rival commercial centre. As early as the eighth and tenth centuries Gao developed trading relations with Tahert in western Algeria.[23] Under their first dynasty, the Diā, the Songhay did not extend their rule beyond the Niger's bend.[24] Safanqu, north of Ra's al-Mā' on the Niger, three days travel from Ghana on the route to Tadmekka, was the last province of Ghana to the east. Beyond Ra's al-Mā' and Safanqu, on the Niger's bend, the northern bank of the river was inhabited by nomad Berbers (who were undoubtedly independent of both Ghana and Gao). In their midst was Tīraqqā, an important commercial centre and a meeting place for the traders of Ghana and Tadmekka.[25]

To the south-east early Soninke settlements between the Niger and the Bani rivers seem to have been part of the dominions of Ghana.[26] Sama on the left bank of the Niger, west of Segu, may have been Sāma, the province of Ghana, and its people, al-Bakam, described by al-Bakrī as skilled bowmen, could well have been Bambara.[27] Mema, north of Massina and west of Lake Debo, was also a province of Ghana, about which more will be said later.

To the south the authority of Ghana touched the gold-bearing

region of Bambuk, beyond the Upper Senegal river. Ghiyārū – perhaps Gundiuru[28] – which was the trading centre for the gold of Bambuk, seems to have been the last town of Ghana in this direction. Malal and Do, beyond the river, were independent chiefdoms of the Malinke.[29]

The northern frontiers were the most crucial throughout the history of Ghana. These frontiers were conditioned by the changing balance of power between the Ṣanhāja of the desert and the Soninke kingdom. In the second half of the ninth century 'the king of Ghust [Awdaghust]' raided into *Bilād al-Sūdān*.[30] In the middle of the tenth century Ibn Ḥawqal recorded that 'the king of Awdaghust' exchanged gifts with the kings of Ghana and Kugha. 'These two kings stood in pressing need of the king of Awdaghust because of the salt which came to them [through his country] from the direction of [the lands of] Islam. They cannot do without this salt'.[31] Diplomatic and commercial relations were vital to secure the flow of trade in salt and gold.

At the same period, according to al-Bakrī, 'more than twenty kings of the Sudan owed allegiance to Ti-n-Yarūtān [king of Awdaghust] and paid him tribute'.[32] More significant was the aggressive intervention of Ti-n-Yarūtān in a dispute between the chiefs of Māsin and Awghām, both provinces of Ghana. Māsin, whose chief called for the aid of the Ṣanhāja, may refer to the Azer-speaking Masna who inhabited some oases below the cliffs of Dhar Tichitt-Walata.[33] Awghām, which was attacked by the Ṣanhāja camelry, is described by al-Bakrī as lying east of Ghana on the route to Ra's al-Mā'.[34] These northern vassals of Ghana were exposed to depredation by the Ṣanhāja, at a time when Ghana was too weak to arrest such aggressiveness. But within less than a century the balance of power changed again: Ghana expanded northwards, further than it had ever done before, and the people of Awdaghust 'accepted the authority of the king of Ghana'.[35] The confrontation between Ṣanhāja and Soninke was about to reach its pitch with the rise of the Almoravids.

III · The Almoravids

By the end of the ninth century the Ṣanhāja tribes were spread all over the Western Sahara. The Lamṭa and the Jazūla occupied the northern fringes of the desert, in the vicinity of Wādī al-Sūs and Wādī Dar'a. But they also descended south to raid caravans as far as Adrar.[1] The Massūfa dominated the route from Sijilmāsa to Ghana and Awdaghust, served as guides to the caravans and levied dues from the traders.[2] The Lamtūna occupied the central part of present Mauritania, the regions of Tagant and Adrar, and were in control of the prosperous trading centre of Awdaghust. The Juddāla lived west of the Lamtūna, along the Atlantic coast, some six days travel north of the Senegal river. They controlled the salt mines of Awlīl. All these Ṣanhāja nomads were often referred to in the Arabic sources as *Mulaththamūn*, i.e., 'the veiled', after the muffler which covered their faces. In their midst, and as far as five days travelling north of Awdaghust, were important groups of black sedentaries.[3]

There is nothing in the contemporary sources to suggest a confederation of the Ṣanhāja tribes of the southern Sahara.[4] Ibn Ḥawqal says that 'the Berbers of the desert have kings, chiefs, and tribal headmen. . . . The Massūfa have a king who rules them and administers their affairs. The Ṣanhāja and other peoples of this region respect him because [his people] control the [trade] route. . . .'

During his visit to Sijilmāsa in 951, Ibn Ḥawqal met a trader who was well acquainted with Awdaghust.[5] From this man he obtained valuable information about political authority in the southern Sahara:

> Among those who live apart deep in the deserts are the Ṣanhāja of Awdaghust. . . . Ti-n-Barūtān ibn Isfaishar, the

> king of all the Ṣanhāja, told [Ibn Ḥawqal's informant] that he had been ruling over them for twenty years, and that each year people came to visit him whom he had never known before nor heard of nor set eyes on. He said he had under his authority 300,000 tents, shelters and hovels. Their kingship had always been vested in his family.[6]

This information may be collated with al-Bakrī's account:

> During the 350s A.H. [A.D. 961–971] the ruler of Awdaghust was Ti-n-Yarūtān ibn Wāsinū ibn Nazār, a man of the Ṣanhāja. . . . His domains extended over two months travelling in length and width of inhabited country. He could put 100,000 camelry into the field.[7]

Ti-n-Barūtān of Ibn Ḥawqal and Ti-n-Yarūtān of al-Bakrī must refer to the same king.[8] He was a Ṣanhāja nomad, very probably a Lamtūna. Though he ruled over Awdaghust, it is unlikely that he resided in that town or made it his capital. All the Arabic sources stress the nomadic, anti-urban character of the Ṣanhāja.[9] Marrākush, founded by the Almoravids, was but a nomads' camp.[10] Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar is reported to have said: 'We are people of the desert, and we have our herds with us.'[11] A nomad chief of the Ṣanhāja would probably not have settled down to live in a cosmopolitan urban centre such as Awdaghust, where most of the inhabitants were Zanāta and Arabs. There is another example of a nomad chief of the Sahara who was ruling over a flourishing trading centre: in the fifteenth century Ākillu, chief of the Tuareg, delegated the administration of Timbuktu to a governor, while he himself continued to live as a nomad of the desert.[12] Ti-n-Barūtān, like Ākillu, probably ruled over Awdaghust from his nomad camp, as a powerful tribal chief.

Awdaghust was not the capital of the Ṣanhāja nomads, and the latter were not the urban traders who handled large export and import transactions. The traders of Awdaghust, as indicated

by al-Bakrī, were mainly Zanāta Berbers from Ifrīqiya – Ibāḍīs in all probability – who, in the tenth century, gained a commercial monopoly over the trans-Saharan trade.[13] The Ṣanhāja derived income and power from the trade by controlling the trans-Saharan routes as protectors and guides, and by exercising political authority over Awdaghust. The Zanāta traders of Awdaghust were therefore not commercial or political rivals of the Ṣanhāja of the Western Sahara;[14] rather, they traded under the auspices of the Ṣanhāja. When, however, Awdaghust was conquered by Ghana, these traders – committed to their economic interests only – 'accepted the authority of the king of Ghana'. This was a great loss for the Ṣanhāja who were deprived of an important source of income and of their influence over a strategic trading centre. But, one must reiterate, with the fall of Awdaghust the nomad Ṣanhāja chiefs did not lose their capital.

Ibn Ḥawqal's account of groups of people who came to pay allegiance to Ti-n-Barūtān, many of whom he did not know before, is typical of life in the desert. These were weak tribal groups who sought the protection and patronage of a powerful chief, whose power increased with the number of his subjects. Periods of strength and of weakness in the life of a tribe or in the history of a chiefly family are also known in the desert.

Ibn Abī Zar', followed by Ibn Khaldūn, describes the political organization of the Ṣanhāja in the southern Sahara as a loose confederation of tribes, with periods of cohesion and disintegration. But a critical review of their accounts would reveal that they do not represent coherent historical traditions, but an uncritical manipulation of al-Bakrī's text and other unknown sources in the 'scissors-and-paste' method.[15] The period of weakness among the Ṣanhāja (during which Awdaghust was conquered by Ghana) is related by Ibn Abī Zar' as '120 years of disunity and confusion as they could not agree on one ruler. Then they became united again when they appointed as their

chief (Abū 'Abdallāh) Muḥammad (ibn Tifat) known as Tareshnā al-Lamtūnī'.[16] This chief was Muḥammad alias Tareshnā of al-Bakrī, a pious man of virtue who went on pilgrimage and led the *jihād.* He was chief of the Lamtūna who wandered in the desert between *Bilād al-Islām* and *Bilād al-Sūdān,* and was killed in battle against a Sudanese tribe.[17]

al-Bakrī says nothing about the relationship between this Tareshnā and the Ṣanhāja ruler of Awdaghust, Ti-n-Yarūtān (see p. 30). It is likely, however, that both were paramount chiefs of the Lamtūna and members of the same chiefly family, that of Banū Wartanṭaq. The future leaders of the Almoravids, Yaḥyā and Abū Bakr, sons of 'Umar and their cousin Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn, also belonged to that family.[18]

Following this account of the Lamtūna, al-Bakrī turns to the Juddāla, another tribe of the Ṣanhāja. Their chief Yaḥyā ibn Ibrāhīm went on pilgrimage and brought back with him 'Abdallāh ibn Yāsīn.[19] al-Bakrī does not indicate any relationship between the two tribal chiefs Tareshnā of the Lamtūna and Yaḥyā of the Juddāla; each of them is mentioned in the context of his own tribe. But Ibn Abī Zar', again followed by Ibn Khaldūn, tries to bring all these fragments into a coherent chronicle by making Yaḥyā of the Juddāla succeed Tareshnā of the Lamtūna. The two chiefs, according to this version, were related by marriage, and Ibn Khaldūn adds that it was because of this affinity that the Lamtūna and the Juddāla presented a united front after that long period of disunity prior to the accession of Tareshnā.[20] It is quite possible that the two chiefly families of the Lamtūna and the Juddāla inter-married, and the mother of Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar is said to have been a Juddāla.[21] Is it possible that inter-marriage between the chiefly families of the two groups (with matrilineal succession among the Ṣanhāja) resulted in the rotation of the chieftaincy among Lamtūna and Juddāla chiefs? A similar proposition has recently been offered as one explanation for the transfer of the leadership

from the Juddāla to the Lamtūna during the formative stage of the Almoravid movement.[22] The following account attempts another explanation.

In 427 A.H. (A.D. 1035/6) Yaḥyā ibn Ibrāhīm, the chief of the Juddāla, set out for the pilgrimage. He visited Qayrawān on his way back from Mecca, and met there Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī, a leading exponent of the Mālikī school of law. His conversation with Abū 'Imrān made it clear to Yaḥyā that Islam among his people was weak and superficial. He wanted a scholar to teach the true Islam in the Sahara, but Abū 'Imrān could not find even one of his disciples ready to undertake the hardship of the desert. He therefore directed Yaḥyā to his former student, Wajāj ibn Zalū, whose school in al-Sūs al-Aqṣā was known as *Dār al-Murābitīn*. Yaḥyā arrived there in Rajab 430 A.H. (March/April A.D. 1039).[23]

Wajāj was a Ṣanhāja of the Lamṭa tribe. 'Abdallāh ibn Yāsīn, whom Wajāj chose for the mission to the desert, was of the Jazūla, another tribe of the Ṣanhāja. His mother was from a village 'situated on the edge of the desert [which adjoins] the town of Ghana'.[24]

In 1039/40 Ibn Yāsīn reached the tents of the Juddāla in the company of their chief Yaḥyā ibn Ibrāhīm. From the very beginning Ibn Yāsīn carried out his mission as a *jihād*, by combining religious teaching with military exploits. Under the dual leadership of Yaḥyā and Ibn Yāsīn the Juddāla attacked the Lamtūna (or a section of this tribe), and forced them to join the new movement. The force of the movement had been growing until its first crisis. As Ibn Yāsīn hardened his reforms and censorship, dissatisfaction became widespread among the Juddāla.

As long as Yaḥyā ibn Ibrāhīm, their chief, was personally committed to the reform, the Juddāla acquiesced. But soon after his death they rebelled against Ibn Yāsīn. 'They took from him the administration of their public treasury, expelled him, and looted his possessions. He left the Ṣanhāja tribes, and

secretly visited his master, Wajāj ibn Zalū.'[25] Ibn Yāsīn was about to give up his mission, but Wajāj encouraged him to carry on.

The crisis brought about a retreat, *hijra*, which had both religious and political implications. The *hijra* is associated with the creation of a new community.[26] It was only after the *hijra* that Ibn Yāsīn consolidated his position as the supreme authority, and only then did the real Almoravid movement emerge out of the secular tribal society, with the *sharī'a* (the Muslim law), as interpreted by Ibn Yāsīn, to guide personal, economic, political and military conduct.

The political outcome of the Juddāla revolt against Ibn Yāsīn was a new alliance between the latter and Yaḥyā ibn 'Umar, chief of the Lamtūna. The Lamtūna now became the core of the movement. Religious inspiration and leadership added to the military potential of the tribe by giving it purpose and unity. Earlier, when Ibn Yāsīn had led the Juddāla to the *jihād*, they overcame the Lamtūna, but as the Juddāla lapsed, and Ibn Yāsīn's 'ark' came into the camp of the Lamtūna, the latter emerged as the leading force in the desert.

The Almoravids came out of their retreat in 434 A.H. (A.D. 1042/3),[27] that is three or four years after Ibn Yāsīn had first come to the desert. With his Lamtūna followers under the command of Yahyā ibn 'Umar, Ibn Yāsīn concentrated on bringing the Ṣanhāja of the southern Sahara – Juddāla, Massūfa and other smaller tribes – into the movement, by persuasion or by force.

The Juddāla had only reluctantly been coerced into returning to the movement, and were waiting for an opportunity to throw off Ibn Yāsīn's authority. This they did when the main force of the Almoravids was engaged in military operations in Sijilmāsa and Awdaghust, in 448 A.H. (A.D. 1056). The rebellious Juddāla attacked Yaḥyā ibn 'Umar, who was entrenched in Jabal Lamtūna (Adrar), and killed him together with many of his

warriors. 'From that time the Almoravids made no more attempts against the Juddāla.'[28]

Disturbances in the desert occurred again after the Almoravids had conquered southern Morocco. Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar left Ibn Tāshfīn in command of the Almoravids' force in the Maghrib and himself returned to pacify the desert tribes. According to one source the ferment was caused by another raid of the Juddāla on the Lamtūna, and according to another, it was a war between the Massūfa and the Lamtūna.[29] Both sources, however, imply that the Juddāla and the Massūfa resented the domination of the Lamtūna as leaders of the Almoravid movement. But, in spite of the inter-tribal tension in the desert, thousands of Juddāla and Massūfa took part in the military exploits of the Almoravids in the Maghrib and in Spain.[30]

Why did the Almoravids leave the desert to conquer the Maghrib? According to Ibn al-Athīr (1160–1233) there was over-population in the Sahara 'as the desert became too narrow for them'.[31] This is unlikely, because the Ṣanhāja were then still advancing southwards at the expense of black sedentarism. Whereas the pressure to the south went on for centuries, before the Almoravids and after, an invasion of the Maghrib by Saharan tribes, coming from the southern fringes of the desert, was not only an isolated episode, but one which ran against the general stream of migration. In seeking other explanations for the Almoravids' drive north, we should first turn to the political and religious situation in Morocco on the eve of this invasion.

Repeated attacks by the Ṣanhāja during the tenth century forced the Zanāta of the central Maghrib (Algeria) to retreat west to Morocco. With the support of the Umayyads of Spain the Zanāta became rulers of Morocco. Banū Ifrān ruled over the northern plains with their capitals at Salé and Tadlā, whereas the Maghrāwa created three principalities in Fes, Sijilmāsa, and Aghmāt. As the Umayyad Caliphate in Spain declined, the Zanāta rulers became independent and were free to resume

internal feuds. In Morocco, as in Spain, the last decades before the Almoravids' conquest were those of *mulūk el-ṭawā'if*, or party kings.[32]

Constant warfare between the Zanāta chiefs put an end to the short period of peace and prosperity that Morocco had enjoyed under Zanāta rule. Shortly before the arrival of the Almoravids, the Zanāta rulers, who had already taken the best lands of the local population, oppressed their subjects, seized their property, shed their blood, and violated their women. Commodities became scarce and prices went up. 'Misery replaced prosperity, security changed into fear, and tyranny substituted justice.' Under these circumstances the arrival of the Almoravids was regarded as a salvation, especially as they immediately abolished all illegal taxes.[33]

The aggressive domination of the Zanāta over the two important trading centres of Sijilmāsa and Aghmāt also affected the trans-Saharan trade, owing to the burden of taxation and the deterioration of security. The Zanāta expanded south in Morocco as far as Wādī Dar'a, and interfered with the free transhumance of the semi-nomad Ṣanhāja of the region. These Ṣanhāja – Lamṭa, Jazūla, and other groups – could not themselves challenge the Zanāta aggression, but they had good reason to seek alliance with their Ṣanhāja brothers of the great desert. The spirit of solidarity among the Ṣanhāja in their dispersion was still alive.[34] It served as another link between the Sahara and Morocco, besides the more personal link represented by Ibn Yāsīn *al-Jazūlī*, who had been sent to the Sahara by Wajāj *al-Lamṭī*.

Dār al-Murābitīn of Wajāj militated against the widespread heresy in southern Morocco.[35] Very likely, Wajāj resented Zanāta rule, both as a member of a Ṣanhāja tribe and in defence of the oppressed local population. The *fuqahā'* of Qayrawān, whose tradition Wajāj followed, had espoused the cause of the people against the tyranny of their rulers. By the middle of the eleventh century the Zanāta in Morocco were orthodox

Sunnites, but less than a century before many of them had been heretical Khārijites. Their conversion to the *sunna*, as allies of the Umayyads, had political more than religious motivation. A militant and puritan *faqīh* such as Wajāj may have regarded the orthodoxy of the Zanāta as dubious.

We have already noted that Wajāj helped Ibn Yāsīn to overcome the first crisis among the desert nomads. After the victory over the Ṣanhāja of the Sahara Ibn Yāsīn sent presents to the Muslim scholars of Maṣmūda land, probably to his colleagues of Wajāj's circle.[36] The Almoravids became known all over the Sahara and the desert. Then, the *fuqahā'* of Sijilmāsa and Dar'a invited Ibn Yāsīn to save their country from the injustice and tyranny they had suffered under the ruler of Sijilmāsa, Mas'ūd ibn Wanūdīn al-Zanātī al-Maghrāwī.[37] The Almoravids' drive to the north was, therefore, in response to the call of the *fuqahā'* of southern Morocco. In 1312–13 the anonymous author of *Mafākhir al-Barbar* wrote: 'These two, namely Wajāj and 'Abdallāh ibn Yāsīn, were the reason for the egression of the veiled people, known as *Murābiṭūn*, out of the desert.'[38]

The mission of Ibn Yāsīn and the rise of the Almoravids may therefore be interpreted as a scheme to recruit the potential force of the Ṣanhāja of the desert, by inspiring them with a new militant Islamic ideology: to fight for the cause of pure Mālikism and for Ṣanhāja supremacy. The veiled Ṣanhāja accepted this alliance as an opportunity to reassert their authority over the trans-Saharan trade. After they had conquered Sijilmāsa, the northern gate of the Saharan route, the main Almoravid force drove back across the desert and captured the southern terminus of Awdaghust, then under the rule of Ghana.

In 446 A.H. (A.D. 1054/5), while the Almoravids were fighting in the south, Sijilmāsa was recaptured by the Zanāta, and the garrison left there was massacred. The people of Sijilmāsa immediately sent a mission to Ibn Yāsīn, calling the

Almoravids back. Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, the military commander, had to stay behind to deal with the Juddāla revolt. He was killed in the fighting and his brother Abū Bakr – then governor of Darʿa – succeeded him as *amīr*, the supreme military commander. Abū Bakr ibn ʿUmar reconquered Sijilmāsa and put an end to the resistance of the Zanāta in the region of Darʿa.[39]

Between 448 and 451 A.H. (A.D. 1056/7–1059) the Almoravids conquered the Sūs. A community of Shīʿites in the town of Tārūdant was exterminated. The Maṣmūda submitted without resistance, probably because of their enmity towards their Zanāta oppressors. The Zanāta, however, fought back and their capital Aghmāt was conquered after a siege and a fierce battle. Laqqūt ibn Yūsuf al-Maghrāwī, the ruler of Aghmāt, fled to Tadlā, the capital of the Banū Ifrān, his Zanāta kin. Abū Bakr followed him, defeated the Banū Ifrān, killed Laqqūt and conquered Tadlā. The Almoravids then reached the frontier of the land of the Barghawāṭa. In the fighting against these heretics Ibn Yāsīn was killed in 451 A.H. (A.D. 1059), but the Barghawāṭa were defeated and their power was destroyed.[40]

> Abū Bakr had not yet completed the conquest of the Maghrib when news reached him of a dispute between the Lamtūna and the Massūfa in the desert, where their stock, their roots and the source of their reinforcement lay. He feared dissension and the severance of the bonds of unity. He [therefore] returned to restore his authority.[41]

Ibn Khaldūn clearly illustrates here where Abū Bakr ibn ʿUmar's real interests lay. Though he was fighting in the Maghrib he still regarded the desert as his base. He therefore hurried back to restore order at home. He appointed his cousin Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn as his deputy in Morocco with one half or one-third of their forces to continue the war against the Zanāta. This occurred in 453 A.H. (A.D. 1061), according to Ibn Abī Zarʿ, or in 463 A.H. (A.D. 1071), according to Ibn ʿIdhārī.[42]

Yūsuf's father, Tāshfīn ibn Ibrāhīm, was the brother of

'Umar, father of Yaḥyā and Abū Bakr. Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn was therefore next to Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar in the line of succession to the chieftaincy of the Lamtūna. Under the leadership of Abū Bakr, Yūsuf was always in command of the advance troops.[43]

Yūsuf was therefore left as a deputy only, but events followed a different direction, owing to the intervention of the beautiful, intelligent, cunning and ambitious woman Zaynab. She was the daughter of a trader from Qayrawān, who had settled in the Sūs. It is said that she had first been married to the Maṣmūda chief of Aghmāt. As the Zanāta took possession of Aghmāt Zaynab transferred her loyalties to the new ruler and married Laqqūt ibn Yūsuf al-Maghrāwī. After Laqqūt had been driven away by the Almoravids, Zaynab again followed the most promising course, and married Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar.[44] Before he left for the desert, Abū Bakr divorced Zaynab so that this woman, accustomed to urban luxury, would not have to undertake the hardship of the desert. As soon as the legally prescribed period of waiting elapsed, Ibn Tāshfīn took Zaynab to wife.[45] This time she married a deputy only, but she was already resolved to make him a king.

Zaynab gave Ibn Tāshfīn a large fortune, to which he added large sums levied from his tributaries. With this money he mobilized troops, bought Sudanese slaves and purchased Christian captives to whom he gave mounts.[46] He introduced drums and flags to the army.[47] In this way he changed the character of the Almoravids' army; instead of a force composed exclusively of the veiled Ṣanhāja, he was building an imperial heterogeneous army. He also fortified his personal position *vis-à-vis* his leader Abū Bakr. Always under the influence of Zaynab, he sent letters to some of the Lamtūna who were then with Abū Bakr in the desert, and incited them to join him. Many were tempted by the promised reward. At that stage, however, Ibn Tāshfīn made no attempt to break ties with Abū Bakr, and was still reporting to him by correspondence of events in the Maghrib.[48]

In the meantime Abū Bakr accomplished the pacification of the Sahara, and may have also raided towards the Sudan. As news reached him about the growing power of Ibn Tāshfīn, he turned back from the Sahara to depose Ibn Tāshfīn, and to replace him by another governor. Abū Bakr probably had no intention of settling in the north as the ruler of the Maghrib. His attachment to the desert is attested by Ibn Khallikān (1211–82):

> Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar was accustomed to simple life, a good-natured man. He did not incline to luxurious life, and *preferred his own country to that of the Maghrib*. . . . After he had conquered the Maghrib, Abū Bakr heard that an old woman in his own country, who had a female camel stolen from her in a foray, cried: 'Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar neglected us when he entered the Maghrib'. This induced him to appoint one of his companions, Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn, as deputy over the Maghrib, and he returned to his country in the south.[50]

Ibn Tāshfīn was distressed by Abū Bakr's return: 'it was difficult for him to depart from the kingship after he had tasted its sweetness'. But the shrewd Zaynab assured him that as 'Abū Bakr had not tasted its savour', and as a man who hated bloodshed, he would not fight for the kingship.[51] Ibn Tāshfīn should give Abū Bakr not the kingship but rich presents, 'because he is coming from the desert where everything is regarded as exquisite'.[52] This he did, and faced Abū Bakr boldly. The latter, a humble sheikh of the desert, gracefully conceded to his ambitious cousin: 'I cannot live out of the desert, and I came only to hand over authority to you. . . . I will soon be back in the desert, the residence of our brothers and the seat of our Sultans'.[53]

The crisis was over, and Abū Bakr returned to the Sahara in peace. Ibn Tāshfīn remained at the head of the northern wing of the Almoravids, and established an empire in Morocco and Spain. Yet, until the death of Abū Bakr in 480 A.H. (A.D. 1087)

Ibn Yāsīn paid him nominal allegiance. Abū Bakr remained the supreme leader of the Almoravids, who had been installed by Ibn Tāshfīn. He was also the senior member of the chiefly family of the Lamtūna. Between 450 and 480 A.H. (A.D. 1058–87) the golden *dinārs* of the Almoravids were struck in the name of *al-amīr* Abū Bakr ibn ʿUmar. Ibn Tāshfīn's name appeared on coins only after the 480s A.H.[54]

Ibn Abī Zarʿ states that Ibn Tāshfīn's dominions extended over the Sahara and reached as far as 'the mountains of gold' in *Bilād al-Sūdān*.[55] He implies therefore that like his former leader Abū Bakr, Ibn Tāshfīn was acknowledged as the head of the two wings of the Almoravids, in the Maghrib and in the desert. In other words, there was no complete break between the Almoravids of the north and south. Other references may indicate continuous political relations between the Almoravids of the Maghrib and rulers of the Sudan. The twelfth-century *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* mentions a letter from Ghana to Ibn Tāshfīn.[56] Yāqūt (1179–1229) described the visit of the king of Diāfūnū, a province of *Bilād al-Sūdān*, to Marrākush to the veiled Lamtūna king of the Maghrib (perhaps in the first half of the twelfth century). This Almoravid ruler paid much respect to his Sudanese royal guest.[57] An indication of the close relations between Gao and Spain about 1100 is provided by royal gravestones of this period from Gao, which follow the Andalusian style.[58]

Marrākush, the capital of the Almoravids in southern Morocco, was close to the desert, and its rulers maintained relations with the Ṣanhāja of the Sahara. Abū Yaḥyā al-Massūfī, a brother-in-law of the Almoravid ruler ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn (1106–42), ruled over several tribes of the Sahara.[59] Under the Almoravids the trans-Saharan trade flourished, and the flow of gold from the Sudan enabled them to strike large quantities of golden *dinārs*. Because of their high value, these *dinārs* were in great demand outside the Almoravid empire, in Ifrīqiya and in Sicily. The Hilālian invasion at that time disturbed the

flow of gold from the Sudan to the Central Maghrib. The western trans-Saharan route became all the more important and the Almoravids more interested in controlling it.[60]

Whatever relations existed between the Sudan and the Maghrib under the Almoravids, the major impact of this militant Islamic movement in the Western Sudan was due to the exploits of Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar. It is therefore to the southern wing of the Almoravids that one has to refer to take up the threads of the history of Ghana.

IV · The Soninke Successor States

Back in the desert after his leadership of the Almoravids in the Maghrib had been barred by Ibn Tāshfīn, Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar led the southern wing of the Almoravids in the *jihād* against the Sudanese. The base for his operations seems to have been Azukkī (Azuggī), first mentioned as the fortress in *Jabal Lamtūna* (Adrar) where Yaḥyā ibn 'Umar had been besieged and killed by the Juddāla in 1056. The fortress was built by Yānnū ibn 'Umar, brother of Yaḥyā and Abū Bakr.[1]

Azukkī, according to al-Idrīsī, was the Berber name of a town on the route from Sijilmāsa to the Sudan; the Sudanese called it Qūqadam.[2] Kākudam, as Yāqūt spelled it, was a town in the country of the *Mulaththamūn*, where the veiled rulers of the Maghrib – the Almoravids – came from. In this town artisans manufactured weapons and other tools for the nomads.[3] Before it was conquered by the Almoravids Azukkī, known in oral traditions as *Madīnat al-Kilāb* ('the town of the dogs'), is said to have been inhabited by Sudanese.[4] Perhaps the artisans referred to by Yāqūt were black caste-men in the service of the Ṣanhāja.

Tareshnā, the Lamtūna chief in the first half of the eleventh century, was killed in fighting a tribe of the Sudanese west of the town Banklābin, near Waran in Adrar.[5] Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar was himself killed in war against the Sudanese in Tagant, where his grave is shown about thirty-five miles south of Tijikja.[6] The Almoravids continued the long struggle with the Sudanese, both those who were then living in the desert and those of the Sahel. Oral tradition in Mauritania ascribes the expulsion of the Sudanese from the Sahara to Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar.[7]

On the lower Senegal river Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar is remembered as father of Ndyadyan Ndyay – the first *brak* (king) of Walo and the ancestor of the royal family of Djolof – born to him by a woman of the Torodbe clan (from Takrūr).[8] Perhaps this attachment to the memory of Abū Bakr was due to the cordial relations which developed between the Almoravids and Takrūr, then the leading power on the lower Senegal.

Wār-Dyābe (or, War-Ndyay), the first Muslim king of Takrūr, died in 1040/1,[9] or about the time Ibn Yāsīn first came to the desert. The islamization of Takrūr had begun, therefore, in the pre-Almoravid period. 'When 'Abdallāh ibn Yāsīn saw that [the Ṣanhāja] turned away from him and followed their passions, he wanted to leave them for the land of those Sudanese who had already adopted Islam'.[10] This could only have been the land of Takrūr. Indeed, with the rise of the Almoravids, the king of Takrūr became their ally. Labī, son of Wār-Dyābe, joined Yaḥyā ibn 'Umar in fighting the rebellious Juddāla in 1056.[11]

The alliance between Takrūr and the Almoravids was prompted by Islam, but it was also directed against a common enemy – Ghana. Indeed, it seems as if Takrūr of the twelfth century, as described by al-Idrīsī, gained strength and wealth at the expense of Ghana. Its authority expanded up the Senegal river as far as Barīsa which, al-Idrīsī says, paid allegiance to Takrūr.[12] In the middle of the eleventh century this important trading centre on the Upper Senegal, facing the goldfields of Bambuk, was clearly within the sphere of influence of Ghana, which also controlled the overland routes and the supply of salt.[13] In the twelfth century Barīsa received the salt of Awlīl by way of Takrūr and the Senegal river.[14] This, if the evidence is correct and accurately interpreted, was one of the changes brought about as a result of the Almoravids' conquest of Ghana.

Some decades before this, Ghana took possession of Awdaghust which had been held previously by the Ṣanhāja. The reconquest of this trading town was amongst the first objectives

of the Almoravids and they turned their attention there in 1055, soon after the conquest of Sijilmāsa. Their hatred of Ghana found expression in the treatment of the people of Awdaghust: 'the Almoravids thus persecuted them because they had accepted the authority of the king of Ghana.'[15]

Al-Bakrī concluded his account in 460 A.H. (A.D. 1067–8), when Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar was back in the desert.[16] According to Ibn Khaldūn the Almoravids conquered Ghana, imposed tribute on the Sudanese, and converted many of them to Islam.[17] This took place perhaps in 1076–7, as reported by al-Zuhrī (writing in the mid-twelfth century):[18]

> The inhabitants of that town [Ghana] were, of old, infidels until 469 A.H. [A.D. 1076–7], when Yaḥyā ibn Abī Bakr, *amīr* Massūfa (*sic*) came forth. They were converted to Islam during the times of the Lamtūna [the Almoravids].

Seven years later, according to al-Zuhrī, the Almoravids helped Ghana in war against Tadmekka, which then became Muslim. Tadmekka, an important commercial centre in the southern Sahara, must have been influenced by Islam well before the end of the eleventh century. But through its link with Tahert and Wargala (see pp. 136–7) the people of Tadmekka may have adopted the Ibāḍiyya. Thus the Almoravids supported the newly converted Ghana in enforcing Islamic orthodoxy in Tadmekka, and in the eradiction of early Ibāḍī influences from the southern Sahara and the Western Sudan.

al-Idrīsī, a contemporary of al-Zuhrī, says that the king of Ghana and his people were Muslims.[19] The islamization of the kingdom was one important result of the Almoravids' conquest, though we do not know whether the Almoravids retained the old dynasty or established a new Muslim dynasty, which claimed descent from al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar died in 1087,[20] that is ten or eleven years after the conquest of Ghana. The position of the veiled Ṣanhāja,

following the rise and fall of the Almoravids, is well described by Ibn Khaldūn about three centuries later:

> These *Mulaththamūn* and their tribes remain to this day wandering in the neighbourhood of the Sudanese. . . . Those of them who had founded an empire in Morocco and Spain were lost. These, as already mentioned, were some of the Lamtūna and the Massūfa. They were consumed by the exercise of authority, swallowed up in the vast territories, destroyed by luxury, and were finally annihilated by the Almohads. Those of them who stayed behind in the desert, remained as of old fragmented and divided. They are now in subjection to the king of the Sūdān, pay him tribute, and are recruited to his army.[21]

In the long confrontation between the Berbers and the Sudanese the scales turned in favour of the latter. The power of the Ṣanhāja who had taken part in the Almoravids' exploits was drained through migration to the north and through casualties in the wars. According to traditions of the Lamtūna, Abū Bakr was succeeded in the leadership of the Almoravids' southern wing by six rulers: his descendants and those of his brother Yaḥyā. Anarchy then followed and the community was divided. But even before that the Almoravid government in the Sahara had been loose and amorphous.[22] They could not have held authority over the Sudan for long. Consequently Ghana, now a Muslim kingdom, regained its independence, perhaps at the beginning of the twelfth century. In the middle of that century Ghana was described by al-Idrīsī as 'the greatest country in *Bilād al-Sūdān*, the most populous and had the most extensive trade. Wealthy merchants go there from the surrounding countries and from other regions of al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā.'[23]

The capital of Ghana, according to al-Idrīsī, was astride the river, and not in the Sahel as indicated by al-Bakrī. It has been suggested that following the Almoravids' invasion, the centre of

the kingdom of Ghana moved south and a new capital was built on the Niger.[24] Perhaps this was not the great Ghana of the pre-Almoravid period but one of its successor states, like Mema, which will be mentioned shortly. Or maybe this is one of al-Idrīsī's inaccuracies, as a scrutiny of his text will indicate that he handled sources of different periods with little care.[25]

References to Ghana in Arabic sources of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are rather vague and do not even prove its continuous existence. The authors probably relied on earlier sources or on traditions associated with the people of that kingdom or its area.[26] The town excavated in Koumbi-Saleh – and suggested as the ancient Muslim town of Ghana – flourished in the twelfth century.[27] By the thirteenth century Ghana lost its role as a commercial centre when Walata became the principal terminus of the trans-Saharan trade. More will be said about these changes later.

In the oral traditions of Wagadu the catastrophe came about when the snake Bida, guardian of the kingdom, was killed. This may be taken as a dramatic representation of a critical event in the history of the Soninke, perhaps a break with the ancestral religion and the adoption of Islam.[28] Significantly, whereas in some other kingdoms of the Sudan, as in Mali, islamization reinforced the state, in Ghana it marked the kingdom's disintegration.

Empires in the Sudan do not disappear without trace. They disintegrate and are followed by successor states. The collapse of the all embracing Soninke kingdom gave rise to many smaller states of the Soninke. Political fragmentation rendered the history of this period more confused. The scarcity of contemporary Arabic sources makes it necessary to rely more heavily on oral traditions. The following tradition is recorded in *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*:

> There was an ancient and important town in the land of Kaniaga called Sain-Denba, which was built before Diāra,

and preceded it as a capital. It was the town of the people of Diāfūnu, who are known as Diāfūnke. It existed in the times of the Kaya-Magha, and was destroyed when the kingdom of the Kaya-Magha collapsed as a result of their wars. Diāra was founded after its destruction. Some people moved to Kusāta, and are known as Kusa, while others moved to Diāra.[29]

The Diāfūnke now live west of Kingui. In another tradition they are said to have been descendants of Sirman Mesane, a son born to Dinga in Diā.[30] Dinga was the ancestor of the rulers of Wagadu (see p. 16), and it is likely that Diāfūnu was within the political orbit of that kingdom.

One may further speculate that they are referred to in al-Bakrī's account of the Sudan as the Diāfuqū, who lived west of Ghana. They worshipped a snake, which recalls the snake of Wagadu.[31] There are two intriguing references in sources of the first half of the thirteenth century to the kingdom of Diāfūnu, where it is described as a powerful Sudanese kingdom. Its king had high prestige among the rulers of the Sudan, and was also much respected by the Almoravid ruler of the Maghrib.[32] Yāqūt's information must be related to the first half of the twelfth century before the end of the Almoravids' rule in the Maghrib in 1147. One is tempted to postulate that following the decline of Ghana Diāfūnu emerged for a short time as a leading power in the Sahel. The enigmatic Diāfūnu, however, soon disappeared to give place to Diāra.

The first dynasty of Diāra was of the Niakhate clan.[33] Traditions say that following the fall of Wagadu, anarchy reigned in the region of Kingui, which was raided by Malinke bands from the south. Then Mana Maghan Niakhate, a Soninke merchant who used to pass through this region, organized an army consisting of his own followers and of the local people – Soninke and Diawambe. He defeated the raiding bands and was asked by the people to stay with them. He settled at Diāra and became their king.[34]

The Niakhate of Diāra later became vassals to the Soso, and then came under the domination of Mali. As vassals of Mali the Niakhate were left to rule their kingdom with a commissioner as representative of Mali to guarantee their loyalty. Towards the end of the fourteenth century the Niakhate were overthrown by a new dynasty, the Diāwara, who took advantage of internal dissensions within Diāra, and of the weakness of the Mali kings.[35]

Returning to the tradition recorded in *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, we read that after the kingdom of the Kaya-Magha had been destroyed, people known as Kusa migrated to Kusāta. Kusāta is now in the region between Nioro and Goumbou. In some legends the Kusa are said to have been crown slaves in Wagadu,[36] but a recital of the traditional history of the Kusa, as recorded recently from a *griot* of the Kusa in Goumbou, refers very vaguely, if at all, to the participation of the Kusa in the ancient kingdom of Wagadu.[37]

C. Monteil suggests that Mema was founded by a chief of the Kusa, after the extinction of Wagadu.[38] Indeed, the Soninke traditions refer to Biranin Tunkara, the slave who had accompanied Dinga in his early adventures, and whose descendants later became chief slaves of the crown in Wagadu. A son (read a descendant) of Biranin Tunkara, called Fare Birama Tunkara, reigned over the state of Mema.[39] *Tunkara* was the title or the patronymic of the rulers of Mema.[40]

About twenty-five miles north-east of Nampala, on the road leading to Niafounke, is a small lake. Around it there are traces of an old town, which may have been an important one. The Fulbe who frequent this place call it Gallou (and under this name it appears on the maps), but the Soninke still remember it as Mema.[41] In the country between Timbuktu and Nampala there are many mounds, which were probably royal burial places like those excavated in El-Oualadji, and resemble the description of the burial customs in Ghana by al-Bakrī. These mounds are very probably pre-Islamic, before the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Traces of settlements which cover this

country and are found as far south as Diā, clearly suggest that the country – which is now inhabited by the Fulbe and Moorish pastoralists – was more densely populated by sedentaries in the past. The depopulation of this country was due to wars which ravaged it and to the gradual desiccation of a branch of the Niger, *'le fala de Molodo'*.[42]

Of all the smaller Soninke states Mema seems to have been the closest heir to Wagadu. It played an important role in the history of the Western Sudan. Early in the thirteenth century the young Sundjata (later founder of the empire of Mali, see p. 58), when in exile, is said to have stayed for some time with Mūsā Tunkara the ruler of Mema, who gave him troops, including cavalry, for his war against the Soso.[43] It is even possible that Mema did not come under the rule of the Soso. Later, Mema became a province of Mali, and was visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.[44] At the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the power of Mali declined, Mema became independent for a few decades. About the middle of the fifteenth century it was conquered by the Songhay ruler, Sonni Silmān Dāma, predecessor of Sonni 'Alī the Great. He put an end to the dynasty and destroyed the country.[45] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Fulbe of Massina extended their transhumance over the devastated Mema. The Fulbe 'Sultan of Massina' used to come over to the ruined town of Mema to pay allegiance to the 'king of Mema', who was then poor, and had not even an animal to ride on. The Fulbe chief came to accept the blessing of this 'king', who was still regarded as the ritual 'master of the land'.[46]

There are other places associated with Soninke clans who had migrated from Wagadu. In Marka villages east of Segu traditions record the arrival of warriors from Wagadu, who had been driven from there by white people.[47] The Niare chiefs of Bamako are now Bambara but claim to have been Soninke, descendants of Mana Maghan, ruler of Kumbi. They recall a version of the tradition of Wagadu, and still have a python as their sacred

guardian.[48] Among other Soninke groups whose history begins with the migration from Wagadu, one can mention those of Guidimakha and Gadiaga.[49]

In the Western Sudan, where a thriving trade took place on an international scale, the decline of one power left a vacuum which called for the rise of a new power to hegemony. Neither Diāra nor Mema, both founded by refugees (from Ghana/ Wagadu), could build up a formidable force. The northern Soninke of the Sahel had been weakened through the long conflict with the Berber nomads, which reached its climax in the Almoravids' conquest of Ghana. The initiative was taken by a southern group of the Soninke, the Soso, who lived in Kaniaga north of Beledugu. The first dynasty that ruled over the Soso is recorded in the legends as Diariso. They were probably vassals to Ghana and became independent after the collapse of the Soninke empire. In the twelfth century the Diariso were overthrown by the Kante, a clan of blacksmiths. Under its Kante rulers Soso extended its authority over its neighbours and reached the height of its power during the reign of Sumanguru Kante, early in the thirteenth century; the former territories of Ghana and those of the Malinke chieftaincies came under his rule.[50]

By the end of the twelfth century Islam had been adopted by many of the northern Soninke, but the Soso remained faithful to their ancestral religion. Indeed, traditions stress the pagan character of this kingdom, by presenting Sumanguru as arch-magician who spread terror among his subjects and neighbours. The Malinke war for freedom against the tyrannic domination of Sumanguru was led by Sundjata, hero and founder of the empire of Mali. The war was a bitter and a cruel one. After their defeat, the Soso were forced to leave their old territory, and migrated *en masse* to the south-west, first to Futa-Djallon, and then, under the pressure of the Fulbe, to the coastal regions of Guinea.[51]

Soso, as the intermediate state between Ghana and Mali,

both in its geographical position and its historical role, is not mentioned in contemporary Arabic records. It figures clearly, however, in the oral traditions. That these traditions are historically valid may be confirmed by the fact that they were current in the fourteenth century, about a century and a half after the power of the Soso had been broken by Sundjata. Ibn Khaldūn recorded these oral traditions, and used them skilfully to reconstruct the political history of the Western Sudan. The following is an excellent précis of about five hundred years of Sudanic history:

> When Ifrīqiya and the Maghrib were conquered [by the Arabs] merchants penetrated the western part of *Bilād al-Sūdān*, and found among them no one greater than the king of Ghana. . . .
>
> Later the authority of Ghana waned and its power declined whilst that of the veiled people, their neighbours on the north next to the lands of the Berbers, increased. The latter overcame the Sudanese, plundered their territories, imposed upon them tribute, and converted many of them to Islam. As a result, the authority of the rulers of Ghana dwindled away, and they were overcome by the Sūsū, their Sudanese neighbours, who subdued and crushed them completely.
>
> Later, the people of Mali outnumbered the Sudanese peoples in their neighbourhood and expanded over the whole region. They conquered the Sūsū and took over all their possessions, both their original territory and that of Ghana, as far as the Ocean to the west.[52]

V · The Emergence of Mali

The transfer of hegemony from Ghana to Soso and then to Mali, marks a gradual shift of the political centre of gravity southwards; from the Sahel on the fringes of the Sahara to full Sudanese savannah. Three factors, related to each other, go some way to explain this process. First: the weakening of the Soninke and their dispersion; second, the development of Bure (on the Upper Niger) as the principal source of gold in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; third, with the extension of the trade routes southwards to the new goldfields and beyond, a wider section of the Sudan became involved in the continental trade system.

The beginnings of a more elaborated political organization and the emergence of chiefdoms among the Malinke in the eleventh century may be inferred from al-Bakrī's account:

> On the opposite bank of the 'Nile' [from Yaresnā, the trading centre on the right bank of the Upper Senegal] is a great kingdom, over a distance of more than eight days travel; the title of its king is Do. The people there use arrows in fighting. Behind it is a country called Malal; its king is known as al-Musulmānī.[1]

This king of Malal was converted to Islam through the agency of a Muslim who lived in his country. The Muslim came there as a trader, or with traders, and it may not be wrong to associate the emergence of the kingdom with the development of trading activities.

al-Idrīsī was acquainted with al-Bakrī's account when writing this more extensive description of the region:

> South of Barīsa [identified with Yaresnā], at a distance of about ten days, is the country of the Lamlam. The people of

Barīsa, Sillā, Takrūr and Ghana raid the country of the Lamlam, capture its inhabitants, and bring them to their own countries, where they sell them to merchants who come there. The latter export them to other countries.

In the whole country of the Lamlam there are only two small towns, like villages, one is called Malal and the other Do. Between these two towns is a distance of four days journey. . . .

Malal is a small town, like a large village, without a wall. It is built on an unassailable hill of red earth. The people of Malal seek protection there from attacks by the other Sudanese.[2]

Lamlam is one of the names given by Arab geographers to what they regarded as primitive and savage peoples. In fact these were stateless peoples, with a loose political organization, who lived beyond the country known to the Arabs.[3] They were fair game for slave raiders coming from the organized states.

The geographical description of Lamlam, Malal, and Do clearly indicates that the Arabic authors were referring to the Malinke country south of the Upper Senegal. Do and Malal were therefore two of the early chiefdoms which developed among the Malinke. Indeed, oral traditions record several small chiefdoms of the Malinke which preceded the empire of Mali, among them Do and Kiri. One is inclined to identify the former with Do of al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī, whereas Malal of the Arab geographers may refer to any other Malinke chiefdom. Mali is the name the Fulbe give to Manding, and Malinke (the people of Mali) is used by the Fulbe for Mandinka. These forms became current in the Western Sudan.

Though modern scholars do not agree about the exact locations of the early Malinke chiefdoms of the oral traditions, one may safely adopt the distinction suggested by Charles Monteil between the northern chiefdoms of the Malinke which developed earlier, and the southern chiefdoms which later became the nucleus of the empire of Mali. al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī furnish,

therefore, the earliest documentary evidence on the northern Malinke chiefdoms.

The early chiefdoms may have resembled the present-day *kafus* of the Malinke. The *kafu* is a regrouping of neighbouring villages under one chief. Every chiefdom, according to the traditions, was ruled by one of the noble clans of the Malinke: the Traore ruled over Kiri; Do or Dodougou was under the Konate; Sibi was ruled by the Kamara.[4] All these chiefdoms were later incorporated by Sundjata into his empire.

The kings of Mali were of the Keita clan, rulers of a chiefdom on the Sankarani river. The Keita claim descent of Bilali Bunama, who is said to have come from Mecca. The Keita may refer to Bilāl ibn Rabāḥ, the black companion of the Prophet and the first *mu'adhdhin* (the man who calls for the prayer) in Islam. Adoption of ancestors drawn from stock of Muslim hagiography is common to royal dynasties in the Sudan. It is significant, however, that whereas other dynasties chose a white man as their ancestor, the Keita of Mali trace back to Bilāl the black. We have considered possible white influences on dynasties in the Sahel, close to the desert. The traditions about Mali, farther to the south, indicate that it was a genuine Sudanic creation. While al-Sa'dī says that the Kaya-Magha kings were white in origin, the kings of Mali – even for him – were black in origin.[5]

Bilali Bunama, the ancestor of the Keita, is said to have come from Mecca to the country of the Malinke. There he was succeeded by his son Lawalo. But it was Lawalo's son – Latal Kalabi – who established the chiefdom and conquered the country lying between the Djoliba (i.e. the Niger) and the Sankarani rivers.[6] Different versions of the traditions count ten rulers from Latal Kalabi to Nare-Maghan, the father of Sundjata.[7]

Lahilatul Kalabi, 'grandson' of Latal Kalabi, is said by one version to have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.[8] Another version says that Allakoi Mūsā Djigui, a descendant of Bilāl, went four times to Mecca.[9] Similar traditions were current in

the fourteenth century, when Ibn Khaldūn recorded a tradition that the first Muslim king of Mali was Barmandana, 'who made the pilgrimage, an example followed by his successors'.[10] The attempt by Delafosse to identify the names of these pilgrims as referring to the same ruler is adventurous, and difficult to prove given the diversity of the traditions.[11] But all these traditions indicate an early Islamic influence among the Keita, before the rise of the empire of Mali. Such an influence is attested also by the eleventh-century account of al-Bakrī about the islamization of the king of Malal.

Lahilatul Kalabi, 'the pilgrim', had two sons. The elder, Kalabi Bomba, succeeded his father to the kingship, while the younger son, Kalabi Dauman, 'preferred fortune and wealth and became the ancestor of those who go from country to country seeking their fortune.'[12] These are the traders known as Wangara or Dyula, and one is reminded of the distinction made by the seventeenth-century *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh* between the Wangara and the Malinke: 'they are of the same origin, but whereas the Malinke are warriors, the Wangara are traders'.[13] The tradition associates the beginnings of trade with that of kingship, and we have already pointed to the possibility that the consolidation of chiefdoms among the Malinke was stimulated by the extension of trading activities to their country. Kalabi Bomba was succeeded by his own son, Namadi Kani.

> He was a hunter-king, like the first kings of Mali. It was he who invented the *Simbon*, the hunter's whistle; he communicated with the spirits of the forest and the bush. These spirits had no secrets from him, and he was loved by Kondolon and Sané [goddess of the hunters and her companion]. His followers were so numerous that he formed them into an army which became formidable; he often gathered them together in the bush and taught them the art of hunting. It was he who revealed to hunters the medicinal leaves which heal wounds and cure diseases. Thanks to the strength of his followers he

became king of a vast country; with them Namadi Kani conquered the lands which stretch from the Sankarani river to Bure.[14]

This tradition is now supported by the fascinating study of Youssouf Cissé on hunters' associations among the Malinke, which suggests an interesting interpretation for the beginnings of the empire of Mali.[15] The inhabitants of the three provinces – Do, Gangara, and Kiri – were hunters, led by the Traore clan. Indeed, the Traore remained the leading war chiefs of the empire. Later, other clans converged on the Upper Niger; the Kone came from Sankaran (now in the north of the Republic of Guinea) and the Kamara from Sibi. Two noble clans – the Keita and the Konate – are said to have come from Wagadu (sic.). A more complex society emerged with different clans, status groups, and castes. The old hunters' associations (*donso-ton*) survived, however, and were recruited by Namadi-Kani of the Keita clan to build up his military strength.

Among the Malinke it is believed that the hunters possess supernatural power through their communication with the spirits of the bush. Hunters are initiated into esoteric associations, which fill important functions in society. They may furnish meat as food in periods of hunger when the agricultural products have all been consumed before the new harvest. More important still is the fact that hunters' associations were armed groups, which protected the villages and could serve as a striking force. Certainly Namadi-Kani recruited these hunters' associations to further his own political aims at a period when the Malinke country was introduced into the orbit of the continental trade system, with the opening up of the Bure goldfields. He had at his disposal a military force which cut across clan, status, and caste boundaries. Its loyalty to the king was reinforced by the role of the hunter–king skilfully played by Namadi-Kani.

Under his rule, probably towards the end of the eleventh

century, the Malinke chiefdom of the Keita on the Sankarani first secured a place of eminence among the other Malinke chiefdoms south of the Upper Senegal. Over a century later, at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Malinke were subjugated by Sumanguru, the powerful king of Soso. The Malinke war of independence was led by the great hero Sundjata, who, like his ancestor Namadi-Kani, is ascribed with the attributes of a great and skilful hunter. His mother Sogolon was given to the king Nare Maghan by hunters.[16] Youssouf Cissé suggests that the revolt of the Malinke against the Soso was carried mainly by the hunters' associations, which were able to unite the different Malinke clans and chiefdoms at that crucial moment.

The epic of Sundjata forms a pivot in the historical traditions of the Malinke. He was born crippled and his mother suffered much humiliation from her rival-wife, whose son Dankaran-Tuma grew into a handsome and able boy. When Nare-Maghan died his son Dankaran-Tuma succeeded him. Then, by a miracle and with the help of the chief blacksmith, Sundjata stood up on his once-feeble legs, and became from that time a great hunter and warrior. Many young men of the capital, among them some vassal and allied princes, joined his company. The contempt which the queen, mother of the reigning king, felt for Sundjata and his mother turned into fear of Sundjata's growing power; she even made attempts on his life. Sundjata went into exile, and his withdrawal saved the chiefdom from a bloody struggle between competing half-brothers, known among the Malinke as *fadenya*.[17]

There are different versions about the wanderings of Sundjata in exile. Niane's version takes Sundjata through the courts of some Malinke chiefs who could not give him asylum for fear of the vengeance of Dankaran-Tuma. Sundjata then left the Malinke country and stayed in the court of the king of Mema, where he was distinguished as a warrior, and was given important commanding positions.[18]

The Malinke then came under the rule of Sumanguru, whose tyranny was so oppressive that Dankaran-Tuma revolted.[19] The Soso army invaded the Malinke chiefdom, pursued the defeated Dankaran-Tuma, devastated the country, and destroyed its towns. Sumanguru was determined to crush the political and military power of the Malinke. But a descendant of the royal family survived, and envoys were sent in secret to find Sundjata and call him back to lead his people.

Sundjata left Mema with troops, including cavalry, given to him by the king of Mema. He scored a series of victories against the Soso which marked the retreat of Sumanguru towards his own country and the advance of Sundjata into the heart of the Malinke country. The decisive battle was still to come, and took place in Krina on the Niger, south of Beledugu, on the border between the Soso and the Malinke territories.

The legends dramatize the battle of Krina as a struggle between two powerful magicians, Sumanguru and Sundjata. The victory of Sundjata was secured only after he revealed Sumanguru's secret; he obtained, by treachery, some of Sumanguru's wine, which he used to prepare a poison. The poison was injected by means of a white cock's nail, because Sumanguru, like most warriors, had been treated against wounds torn by iron only.[20]

Following the victory over Sumanguru in Krina, Sundjata sent his armies to fight against Sumanguru's allies: the Diakhanke in Bambuk and the chief of Kita. These expeditions were followed by others in which the commanders of Sundjata's army conquered territories in all directions. It is difficult to define the extent of Sundjata's conquests. One tradition, however, says that Sundjata stopped where the so ends. The so is a tree of the savannah, related to the karité or the shea butter tree. At present, the limit of the karité is still regarded by the Malinke as the end of their country.[21]

Following his military victory, Sundjata concentrated on consolidating the empire. According to Niane's sources he

achieved this in two stages. Before the decisive battle of Krina all the Malinke chiefs met in Sibi. At this impressive gathering, the unity of the Malinke, which had been forged in their war of independence, was confirmed. After the war had ended all the chiefs gathered again at Ka-ba (Kangaba). There the Malinke chiefs swore fealty to Sundjata as their sovereign; each chief then accepted his own chiefdom from Sundjata. The country of the Malinke ceased to be an alliance of independent chiefdoms and became one empire with dependent provinces, with the Keita as the ruling clan.[22]

After the great assembly at Ka-ba Sundjata settled at Niani which was then in ruins. The small ancestral village became the capital of a great empire, a political and commercial centre.[23] Thus, according to Niane's sources, Niani is regarded as the capital of Mali under Sundjata and his successors. This may be supported by al-ʿUmarī and Ibn Khaldūn in the fourteenth century. The name of the capital of Mali in the manuscripts can be read in more than one way due to the absence or misrepresentation of the diacretic dots. It is likely, however, that it may be best read as Y.N.Y. for Niani.[24] Such a reading will accord with the name given in *Ta'rikh al-Fattāsh*.

Ta'rikh al-Fattāsh gives an interesting account of the town: 'The town, which had formerly been the seat of government of the king of Mali, was called Djarība; then [the inhabitants moved to] another town called Y.Nʿ. [Niani]. The people of both towns drew water from the river Kāla, where they used to go early in the morning, returning in the afternoon.'[25] Kaala is the name of the Niger upstream of the inner delta.

In the 1920s Vidal and Gaillard collected oral traditions in Niani, on the Sankarani river, and in two other old towns associated with Keita, in Kangaba and Keyla. They also made brief archaeological surveys of Niani and its environs.[26] According to traditions collected in Kangaba and Keyla the kings of Mali never settled outside the country of the Malinke. (This excludes any earlier hypothesis that the capital was once much

farther to the north, near Nyamina on the route to Kulikoro.)[27] The Keita of Mali had successive capitals, of which Niani flourished during the great imperial period of Sundjata and his successors. In the seventeenth century Niani was destroyed by Bambara and Fulbe, and the senior branch of the Keita moved to Mani- (or Mali-) Kura, that is 'new Mali', a village on the right bank of the Niger close to its confluence with the Sankarani. In this village live families of '*ulamā*' ('marabouts') of the Berte and Ture clans, who claim to be descendants of the '*ulamā*' who served the kings of Mali. From Mali-Kura the Keita moved to Kaba (or Kangaba) on the opposite bank of the Niger. Kangaba remains the sacred centre of the Keita, where they meet every seven years to re-enact the building of an ancient sanctuary.[28]

The fact that oral sources record several successive capitals of the Keita has led some scholars to suggest that 'the site [of the capital] has little real significance in Sudan history, for the residence of the ruler was continuously changing'.[29] What may be inferred from the traditions is that the Keita had various capitals at different periods in their long history, but it is very likely that during the imperial period, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, Mali had one capital only.

This capital, as described by the Arabic records of the fourteenth century, was by no means a village. According to al-'Umarī, whose informant, the sheikh al-Dukkālī, lived in Mali, the capital was spread over a large area. The scattered conical houses were built of clay with roofs of wood and reed. The king's palaces were grouped together, encircled by a wall.[30] Ibn Khaldūn was informed that the capital of Mali was 'an extensive place, well watered, cultivated and populated. It has brisk markets, and is now a stopping place for trading caravans from the Maghrib, Ifrīqiya, and Egypt. Wares are brought there from every country.'[31] A similar impression is conveyed by the account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who stayed at the capital for some time. A capital of such importance is not easily transferred.

The early archaeological surveys conducted by Vidal and Gaillard in the 1920s can now be supplemented by more thorough investigations carried out in 1965 and 1968 by a Polish archaeological mission, accompanied by Djibril T. Niane, the foremost authority on the traditional history of ancient Mali. They found that the country around Niani was covered by traces of ruined villages which suggest that the region had been more densely populated in the past; very probably in the imperial period of Mali when peace and security reigned there. Niani itself is strategically placed at a point where it may easily be defended. The fertile plains of the Sankarani river make up its agricultural hinterland. There is a fairly high percentage of iron ore in the soil, and its exploitation is attested by traces of iron-smelting furnaces.

Niani was an important cross-road. A route to the north-east, leading to the Sahel, is still known as *Sedekule-sila*, 'the route of the Sarakulle', i.e., the traders' route. Another route, leading north and then north-west, is called *Manding-sila*, 'the Manding route', which reached Niagassola and the country regarded as the cradle of the Malinke. Other routes to the west and to the south were probably of lesser importance. On the bank of the Sankarani there are traces of an old river port. Close to the northern routes (the Sarakulle and the Manding routes) there are traces of an extensive suburb, which may have been the 'Arab village', or the Muslim quarter. Significantly, close to the road there is a cemetery, which may fit the description of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.[32] Future excavations may yield more evidence. In the mean time, indications from Arabic records, oral traditions, and archaeological surveys point to Niani as the imperial capital of Mali.

VI · The Kings of Mali

The Arabic sources offer a series of glimpses of the Western Sudan at different periods from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries. Only by connecting pieces of information from sources of different periods may one reconstruct something of the dynamics of the history of the Western Sudan. Of all the Arabic sources, Ibn Khaldūn alone produced a chronicle of a dynasty in the Western Sudan; a history which is not static but moving across the centuries. This he did because he recognized the value of oral traditions. He recorded traditions from people of the Sudan whom he met in Egypt and in the Maghrib, and supplemented it by information from people of the Maghrib who had stayed for long periods in the Sudan. Because he had oral evidence at his disposal, Ibn Khaldūn was acquainted with the existence of Soso as an intermediate kingdom between Ghana and Mali. For the same reason he is the only Arabic author who mentions Sundjata under the name of Mārī-Djāṭa.[1] In this way Ibn Khaldūn's chronology is the valuable link between oral traditions and written records.

In oral traditions of the Malinke, as recorded by Yves Person, there are four generations only between Sundjata (in the first half of the thirteenth century) and Niani Mansa Mamudu (*c.* 1600).[2] Over three centuries of history – the empire of Mali in greatness and decline – were telescoped into four generations. The epos of Mali is summed up in the great career of Sundjata, followed by anti-climax. The historical perspective is rectified by Ibn Khaldūn, who recorded the traditions of Mali almost six centuries before Yves Person. In the fourteenth century succession to the kingship of Mali was a living issue, and as the royal genealogy back to Sundjata was important in

any claim to authority, it was well remembered. Ibn Khaldūn admits, however, that he had no information about the genealogy of Sundjata himself. The pre-Sundjata period was of lesser importance in the internal politics of fourteenth-century Mali. Also, the history of Mali is important for Ibn Khaldūn only since its accession to hegemony.

The story of Sundjata, which is related with much detail in the oral traditions, is briefly summed up by Ibn Khaldūn: 'Their greatest king who overcame the Soso, conquered their country, and seized power from their hands, was Mārī-Djāṭa. . . . He ruled for twenty-five years, according to what they relate.'[3]

Mārī-Djāṭa was succeeded by his son Mansā Ulī. 'This Mansā Ulī was one of their greatest kings, and he made the pilgrimage in the days of al-Ẓāhir Baybars.' Baybars, the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, ruled in 1260–77. Mansā Ulī was succeeded by his brother Wātī, and after him authority passed to another brother, Khalīfa. 'Khalīfa was weak-minded and used to shoot arrows at his people and kill them for sport. So they rose against him and killed him.' A degeneration in the ruling dynasty undermined the authority of the kings; troubles at the court followed.

After the deposition of Khalīfa, the kingship was given to Abū Bakr, a grandson of Mārī-Djāṭa by one of his daughters. 'They made him king according to the custom of the non-Arabs, who give the kingship to the sister and the son of the sister [of a former king].' Ibn Khaldūn may have been acquainted with the matrilineal succession among the Berbers of the southern Sahara (described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) and in the royal dynasty of Ghana (reported by al-Bakrī). But his own list of the kings of Mali clearly indicates a patrilineal-collateral succession from one brother to the other, or to the eldest eligible male. The accession of Abū Bakr, son of a sister of three brothers who had succeeded each other, was in fact a divergence from the rule. According to one oral tradition this Abū Bakr, called

Bata-Mande-Bory, was a son of Sundjata's daughter, adopted by his grandfather as son. It is possible also that Abū Bakr was made king by the officers of the court, who had deposed Khalīfa, because his claim to the kingship was dubious. They expected such a king to be more amenable to their policy.

The power of the officers of the court, among whom slaves and freed slaves were prominent, grew as the rulers became weaker. 'Then one of the clients [of the ruling family] usurped the kingship. His name was Sākūra. He went on pilgrimage during the reign of al-Mālik al-Nāṣir [ibn Qalā'ūn, sultan of Egypt], and was killed at Tajūra while on his way back.'[4] Sākūra's pilgrimage took place probably immediately after 1298. With Sākūra, Mali again had a powerful ruler, and reached a new climax after its first glory under Marī-Djāṭa and Mansā Ulī:

> During his powerful government their dominions expanded, and they overcame the neighbouring peoples. . . . Their authority became mighty and all the nations of the Sudan stood in awe of them. Merchants from the Maghrib and Ifrīqiya travelled to their country.

After the death of the usurper Sākūra, the throne reverted to the legitimate heirs. The next king was Mansā Qū, son of Mansā Ulī. The latter was the only son of Mārī-Djāṭa said to have been a powerful king.[5] Mansā Qū was succeeded by his son Mansā Muḥammad, and after him 'the kingship passed from the line of Mārī-Djāṭa to that of his brother Abū Bakr. Mansā Mūsā son of Abū Bakr became the king.'[6] Bakari or Bogari, the Sudanese variants of the Arab name Abū Bakr, is mentioned in some oral traditions as the brother of Sundjata, his closest associate in exile and in the foundation of the new empire.[7] It is likely, however, that Mansā Mūsā was Abū Bakr's grandson, and not his son, because he ruled about a hundred years after Mārī-Djāṭa. Indeed, some oral traditions refer to Faga-Laye as son of Bogari and father of Mūsā.[8] Ibn Khaldūn, who recorded

names of kings only, omitted the name of Abū Bakr's son, of little significance in the history of Mali, and affiliated Mansā Mūsā directly to his grandfather, who took part in the foundation of the empire and forms the link with Sundjata at the apex of the royal genealogy.

The twenty-five years of Mansā Mūsā's reign were the golden age of the empire of Mali. Sundjata and Mansā Mūsā were the two greatest kings of Mali, but whereas the former was the god-hero of the oral traditions, the latter was the favourite of the Muslim writers, Oriental and Sudanese. Sundjata made a small Malinke chiefdom into an empire; Mansā Mūsā accomplished the work of his predecessors in shaping the Islamic outlook of the empire, and in giving it universal fame. His pilgrimage in 1324 left a deep impression in Egypt. His reign may be dated 1312–37.[9]

While Mansā Mūsā was absent from the capital during his pilgrimage, he appointed his son Muḥammad as deputy.[10] Ibn Khaldūn records that Muḥammad succeeded his father: 'On Mansā Mūsā's death his son Mansā Maghā succeeded him as ruler of Mali. Maghā with them means "Muḥammad".' By appointing his son Maghā-Muḥammad as his deputy and later as his successor, Mansā Mūsā deprived his brother Sulaymān of his right to the kingship as the eldest male in the family. Sulaymān did not give up his claim, and he became king after Mansā Maghā, who died in the fourth year of his reign. The shortness of Mansā Maghā's reign raises the suspicion that he was deposed by his uncle Sulaymān. Subsequent events confirm such an interpretation of a rupture in the ruling dynasty.[11]

Mansā Sulaymān was a powerful ruler, and held together the vast empire that his brother Mansā Mūsā had consolidated. He continued the exchange of embassies with the Moroccan Sultan initiated by Mūsā. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Mali during Sulaymān's rule in 1352–3, described the security which reigned throughout the empire. The same traveller met Sulaymān and

noted that the people hated him because of his parsimony in contrast to the generosity of his brother Mansā Mūsā.[12] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was eye-witness to an episode which throws light on relations inside the royal family:

> It happened during my sojourn in Mali that the Sultan was angry with his chief wife, the daughter of his paternal uncle. She was called Qāsā, which means with them 'the Queen'. She is his partner in kingship, according to the custom of the Sudanese, and her name is mentioned together with that of the king from above the pulpit. He imprisoned her with one of the chiefs, and put in her place another wife, Banjū, who was not a king's daughter. The people talked about it, and disapproved of his actions. . . . The chiefs [also] spoke in Qāsā's favour, and so the king assembled them in the audience chamber, and Dughā [the linguist] said on his behalf: 'You have said much in favour of Qāsā, but she committed a capital crime.' Then a female slave of Qāsā was brought in with chains on her hands and legs. She was told: 'Say what you know.' She told them that Qāsā had sent her to Djāṭa, the king's cousin, who had fled from the king to Kanburni. Qāsā invited him to overthrow the king, informing him that she herself and all the armies were ready to accept his authority. When the chiefs heard this, they said: 'Verily, this is a capital crime, and she deserves death.'[13]

Mansā Sulaymān succeeded in averting the *coup d'étât* of 1352 or 1353. But seven years later in 1360, the year he died, civil war broke out between his house and that of Mansā Mūsā his brother. In his chronicle Ibn Khaldūn's account is rather dry: 'Sulaymān's reign lasted twenty-four years, then he died, and his son Qasā (or better, Qanbā) ibn Sulaymān succeeded him only to die nine months after his succession. After him ruled Mārī-Djāṭa, son of Mansā Maghā son of Mansā Mūsā, whose reign lasted fourteen years.' Once again, the very short reign of Qasā and his replacement by Mansā Maghā's son may indicate

the seizure of the kingship. This is confirmed by Ibn Khaldūn in another context:

> Mansā Sulaymān died . . . dissension broke out among the people of Mali. Authority over them became divided and their [rival] rulers contested the kingship. They killed each other and were preoccupied with civil war until finally Mansā Djāṭa came out [victorious] and consolidated power in his hands.[14]

This Mansā Djāṭa (or, Mārī-Djāṭa) may be identified with the rebellious prince Djāṭa of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Djāṭa, whose father Mansā Maghā had been deposed (and killed) by Sulaymān, had been in hiding outside the capital, waiting for an opportunity to avenge the death of his father and to restore the kingship to the house of Mansā Mūsā. He failed once during the life of Sulaymān, when the plot with the queen Qāsā was unveiled. After Sulaymān's death, Djāṭa challenged the succession of Sulaymān's son, and there followed civil war in which Djāṭa was victorious.

The next thirty years, 1360–90, are well documented by Ibn Khaldūn because he had first-hand contemporary information. This was a troubled period in the history of Mali, which marked the beginning of the decline of the empire after it had reached its zenith under Mansā Mūsā and Mansā Sulaymān.

> Mārī-Djāṭa ibn Mansā Maghā ibn Mansā Mūsā reigned for fourteen years [762–775 A.H. or A.D. 1360–1373/4]. He was the most wicked ruler they had, because of the punishment, tyranny and corruption he imposed upon them. . . . He depleted the treasury, and nearly pulled down the structure of the government. . . . He was afflicted by sleeping sickness for two years and died in 775 [A.D. 1373/4]. They appointed his son Mūsā to succeed him. He adopted the way of justice and consideration towards his people and abandoned the ways of his father. . . . But authority has been usurped from him by

> his *wazīr* [minister], Mārī-Djāṭa. . . . The latter held the sultan Mūsā in seclusion and monopolized the government in his hands. He concentrated on mobilizing the army, and gathering the squadrons. He subdued the eastern provinces of their country, passed beyond the frontiers of Kawkaw to lay siege on Takedda. . . .
>
> We have [recently] been informed that Mūsā died in 789 [1387]. He was succeeded by his brother Mansā Maghā. The latter was killed after a year or so, and was succeeded by Ṣandiki (which means *wazīr*), who married Mūsā's mother. After a few months he was assailed by a member of Mārī-Djāṭa's family.
>
> Then there came out from the land of the pagans [which extends] beyond them a man called Maḥmūd, who claimed descent of Mansā Qū ibn Mansā Ulī ibn Mārī-Djāṭa the Great [Sundjata]. He seized authority, and became their king in 792 [1390] with the title Mansā Maghā.[15]

Mārī-Djāṭa II succeeded in restoring the house of Mansā Mūsā to the throne, but he was a despot and in his hands the state fell to ruin. Mūsā, his son, had good intentions, but he was weak and took no part in the government, which was exclusively held by his chief minister. The latter did not depose the sultan, who remained the nominal ruler for fourteen years until his death. As the real ruler, Mārī-Djāṭa, the *wazīr*, succeeded in restoring the empire from its deterioration during the civil war and the irresponsible reign of Mārī-Djāṭa II. Once again, as with the earlier case of Sākūra the usurper, we find that when weak kings endanger the existence of the empire, a court official comes forward, and either seizes the throne for himself or makes the sultan his puppet, thus succeeding in recovering the resources of the empire.

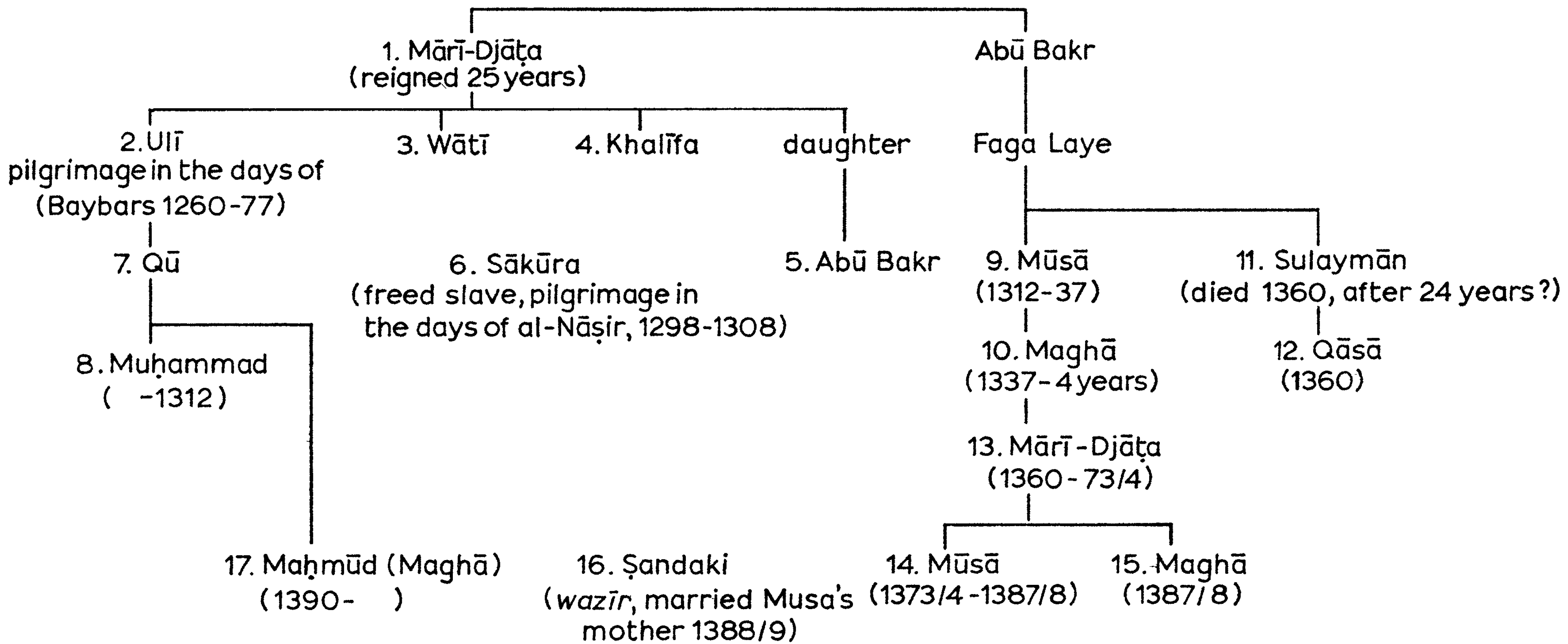
Mansā Maghā II reigned only for a year and was probably

also, like his brother Mūsā, a toy in the hands of the officers of the court. This time the legitimate king was deposed, and the throne was usurped by another *wazīr*, who married the widow of Mārī-Djāṭa II, Mūsā's mother. He did not stay long on the throne, and was avenged by a descendant of Mārī-Djāṭa. In this ferment the throne was claimed and seized by a descendant of the old branch of the ruling dynasty, the house of Mārī-Djāṭa the Great.

The wheel had come full circle: at the end of Ibn Khaldūn's chronicle, the kingship was reclaimed by a descendant of Mārī-Djāṭa the Great, the founder of the empire, and the starting point of the chronicle. Six descendants (sons and grandsons) of Mārī-Djāṭa ruled after him for over half a century. But their laxity and impotence caused the kingship to pass to the descendants of Abū Bakr, Mārī-Djāṭa's brother. The first ruling generation of this new branch – Mansā Mūsā and Mansā Sulaymān – brought the empire to its peak. But the succeeding generations again proved incompetent and there was a need for regeneration, which was achieved by transferring authority from one branch of the dynasty to another. Such a change took place twice within a century and a half. Within the ruling dynasty there was a clear preference to give the kingship to descendants of such powerful kings as Mansā Ulī and Mansā Mūsā.

Among fourteen kings of royal descent (excluding usurpers) only four may be described as great kings, but their rule extended over more than half the period under review (*c.* 1230–1390). Twice, kings were deposed by royal rivals, twice by non-royal usurpers, and in two other cases kings were merely puppets under the patronage of the court's officers. The latter, among whom slaves and freed slaves were prominent, played a very positive role in the political history of the empire as they intervened when the irresponsible rule of the king endangered the existence of the empire. Under the rule of Sākūra the usurper or the regency of the *wazīr* Mārī-Djāṭa, the empire regained something of its former strength.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF MALI BASED ON THE CHRONICLE OF IBN KHALDŪN



In spite of periods of laxity and sporadic cases of usurpation, the throne remained with the same dynasty, the Keita, till the end of the period under survey and, indeed, until the final dissolution of the empire.

A note on the genealogy

In his chronicle, Ibn Khaldūn (1847, I, 264; tr. 112) calls Mansā Qū son of Mārī-Djāṭa, but later the same author (ibid., 268; tr. 116) refers to the seizing of the throne in 1390 by a certain Maḥmūd, a descendant of Mansā Qū, son of Mansā Ulī son of Mārī-Djāṭa the Great. The latter version, which regards Mansā Qū as grandson, not son, of Mārī-Djāṭa, seems more consistent with the chronology, as the three sons of Mārī-Djāṭa (Ulī, Wātī, and Khalīfa) reigned in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, while Mansā Qū ascended the throne only at the beginning of the fourteenth. It may now be suggested that following the deposition of Khalīfa there was no son of Mārī-Djāṭa to succeed, and Abū Bakr, son of Mārī-Djāṭa's daughter, was installed. After the reign of the usurper Sākūra, when the kingship came back to the royal family, it was given to Qū, son of Mānsā Ulī.

According to the traditions of Kangaba-Niani, Sundjata had only one son – Yerelinkon, identified with Mansā Ulī of Ibn Khaldūn. The traditions of Dioma give a list of four sons: Yerelinkon (Mansā Ulī), Ko Mamadi (Mansā Qū), Bata-Mande-Bory (Abū Bakr), and Niani Mamadu (Muḥammad). (Niane, 1960, 22.) Wātī and Khalīfa, mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn, are omitted from the list, probably because of their insignificance. According to our reconstruction of the genealogy based on Ibn Khaldūn: Qū was a son of Mansā Ulī; Abū Bakr was a son of Mārī-Djāṭa's daughter; Muḥammad was a son of Qū. Thus we find that out of the four sons of Sundjata mentioned by the traditionalists of Dioma, only Yerelinkon (Ulī) was a son of Sundjata, while the others were his grandsons. This Yerelinkon is the only son of Sundjata recorded by the traditions of Kangaba-Niani, and the only powerful king from among the sons of Mārī-Djāṭa according to Ibn Khaldūn.

VII · Mali in the Sahel

In the fourteenth century, during the period of its greatest expansion, the empire of Mali extended from the Lower Senegal and the Gambia rivers in the west to the Songhay country on the Niger below Gao in the east; from the Upper Niger in the south to the fringes of the Sahara in the north. This vast territory may be divided into two distinct regions: the central Malinke land in the savannah to the south and the non-Malinke country in the Sahel to the north.

In leading the war of independence against the Soso Sundjata united the Malinke chiefdoms under his authority. He thus laid the foundation of Mali. Following the victory over the Soso, Mali expanded northwards to territories which had formerly been part of the kingdom of Ghana. This same region later passed over to the rule of Songhay when this empire, in its turn, achieved hegemony in the Western Sudan. In the Sahel Mali ruled over alien peoples and over a country which was coveted by every rising power in the Sudan. An area rich in commercial centres for the trans-Saharan trade, it was here that Mali came into contact with the outside world. It was also, however, the first of Mali's acquisitions to be lost in the fifteenth century.

From its centre on the Upper Niger Mali expanded also to the west and to the south. Here, expansion was accompanied by a process of colonization by Malinke migrants, for the frontiers of Mali almost paralelled the limits of Malinke settlements. This is one reason why the authority of Mali survived longer in these southern and western regions.

One has to refer to various sources in order to study the history of the two regions. Contemporary Arabic records of the fourteenth- and the seventeenth-century *Ta'rīkhs* of

Timbuktu only provide evidence on the history of the northern provinces of Mali in the Sahel. Because of the vicissitudes in the history of this region, oral traditions recorded recently contain little evidence on the period of Mali's rule. In the country of the Malinke, on the other hand, oral traditions are of great importance for this period. The lack of Arabic records is one reason, but more important still is that these traditions are concerned with the history of Malinke settlements and chiefdoms which were closely associated with the history of the empire of Mali. From the end of the fifteenth century the Portuguese came into contact with the Malinke on the Gambia, and their records furnish some valuable information about Mali at that late period.

During his exile Sundjata is said to have stayed at the court of the Tunkara king of Mema. The latter was an ally (and formerly a subject) of the Sisse kings of Wagadu. When Sundjata set out to liberate the Malinke, he received troops from the kings of Mema and Wagadu. After the victory over Sumanguru and his allies, Sundjata sent an embassy with rich presents to Mema, to pay his debt to the king who had given him protection and support. This embassy contracted alliance between the Sisse-Tunkara of Wagadu-Mema and the Keita of Mali. In the account of the division of the empire among Sundjata's lieutenants it is said that 'Wagadu and Mema kept their kings who continued to bear the title of *mansā*, but these two kingdoms acknowledged the suzerainty of the supreme *mansā*'.[1]

This may explain an obscure passage by al-'Umarī (writing between 1342 and 1349) on the authority of the sheikh Sa'īd al-Dukkālī: 'No one in the vast empire of this ruler [of Mali] is accorded the title of king except the ruler of Ghana, who is really only his lieutenant, although a king.'[2] The kingdom of Ghana, as known to the Arab geographers until the twelfth century, had probably ceased to exist by the fourteenth century. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who must have crossed Wagadu on his way from Walata to the capital of Mali, did not even mention it. On the other hand, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa did visit Mema, then a province of

Mali.[3] The close association of Wagadu and Mema in the oral traditions may suggest that beyond reminiscence of the ancient empire, Ghana as a political entity was represented in the fourteenth century by Mema, one of the Soninke state successors to Ghana.

Mali extended northwards to include Kaniaga and the former dependencies of Soso. Mema, which lay north-east of Soso, was not conquered but was incorporated into the empire as an ally. It therefore preserved a greater measure of autonomy, and its ruler enjoyed a higher status among the vassal kings and provincial chiefs.

Mali's conquests were continued under Mansā Ulī, son of Sundjata, who is described by Ibn Khaldūn as one of the most powerful kings of Mali. It was probably under his rule that Mali expanded over the Sahel and took control of the trading centres of Walata, Timbuktu and Gao.[4] The conquest of this northern belt of the Sudan should have preceded Mansā Ulī's pilgrimage to Mecca (between 1260 and 1277). None of our sources attribute the conquest of Gao to Mansā Ulī, but – significantly – to the other two powerful kings of Mali who went on pilgrimage, Sākūra and Mansā Mūsā.[5] al-Sa'dī, the Muslim chronicler of the seventeenth century, associates the conquest of both towns – Gao and Timbuktu – with the pilgrimage of Mansā Mūsā.[6] It is unlikely that Mansā Ulī passed Timbuktu without establishing his authority over that region, and perhaps over Gao as well. Both Sākūra and Mansā Mūsā probably had to re-establish their authority over Gao, a remote and rebellious tributary, before undertaking the pilgrimage. Further evidence follows to support this view.

In the traditions of Songhay, as recorded in the *Ta'rīkhs* of Timbuktu, the change from the first dynasty of Diā to the second dynasty of Sonni (or Sī) is associated with the liberation of Songhay from the rule of Mali. According to al-Sa'dī, 'Alī Kolon and his brother Salman Nārī, sons of the Songhay king Diā Assibai, were hostages at the court of the king of Mali.

'Alī Kolon secretly prepared their escape by hiding arms and supplies on the route to Songhay. He left Mali with his brother, probably at the head of the troops he had commanded in the service of the king of Mali. During his flight he fought against forces sent by the king of Mali to stop him. He reached his homeland, made himself its ruler and 'liberated his people from the rule of Mali'.[7] According to the anonymous author of the second appendix in *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, ''Alī Kolon was born in Mali and grew up in the service of the king of Mali'.[8] The two versions disagree about the origin of 'Alī Kolon and about the measure of continuity between the Diā and the Sonni dynasties. This important problem, however, more concerns the history of the Songhay. For our purpose we may rely on the agreement of both sources that Songhay had been conquered by Mali during the period of the Diā dynasty, and that it was liberated by the founder of the Sonni dynasty.

The anonymous author of the second appendix records that Mansā Mūsā passed Gao on his pilgrimage during the reign of the fifth king of the Sonni dynasty. It is clear, therefore, that 'Alī Kolon had secured the independence of Songhay some decades before Mansā Mūsā's pilgrimage. He probably took advantage of a periodical decline in the power of Mali which recurred when weaker kings held authority. Five kings of the Sonni dynasty ruled before Mansā Mūsā's pilgrimage in 1324–5. It is likely, therefore, that the founder of the dynasty, 'Alī Kolon, revolted in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, between the reigns of Mansā Ulī in the 1260s and/or the 1270s and Sākūra (*c.* 1300), probably under the reign of the weak-minded Khalīfa.[9]

The independence of Songhay did not last for long. The resources of the empire of Mali were mobilized by Sākūra to bring Songhay back into the fold. The authority of Mali was re-asserted when Mansā Mūsā, on his way back from the pilgrimage, built a mosque in Gao. In the 1340s al-'Umarī counted Gao among the provinces of Mali; Mūlī, down-stream of Gao,

was regarded as the last province of Mali to the east.[10] In 776 A.H. (1374/5), Ibn Khaldūn met a Muslim from Sijilmāsa who had served as *qādī* (judge) in Gao. He confirmed that Gao was then part of Mali.[11] By the end of the fourteenth century, increasing troubles in the court of Mali weakened the empire, then almost two centuries old. Songhay became independent and only a couple of decades later even took the offensive against the disintegrating empire of Mali.

During periods of strength when Mali effectively controlled Gao, its authority extended also to Tadmekka, generally identified with the ruins of Es-Souk in Adrar-des-Iforas, about 200 miles north-north-east of Gao. Tadmekka was a flourishing trading town of the Tuaregs and its position in relation to Gao was similar to that of Awdaghust in relation to Ghana.

In an excellent article, published in 1956, H. Lhote cogently argues that whenever Ibn Khaldūn mentioned Takedda, he was in fact referring to Tadmekka. Ibn Khaldūn's own confusion may have resulted from his reading of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travels. From Gao Ibn Baṭṭūṭa proceeded to Takedda, which is now identified with Azelik in the south-western part of the Massif of Air. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa did not visit Tadmekka, and made no reference to it.[12] But Ibn Khaldūn, who did obtain information about that town of Adrar-des-Iforas, thought that this was the flourishing centre visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, and followed him in calling it Takedda.

The Takedda of Ibn Khaldūn is described as being about seventy days travel south-west of Wargala.[13] This is the direction of Tadmekka, whereas the Takedda of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in Air was south-east of Wargala. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa the copper of Takedda was exported to Gobir, Bornu and other countries, all of them in the Central Sudan. Tadmekka, on the other hand, like the Takedda of Ibn Khaldūn, was trading with the Western Sudan, and its trade was closely associated with that of Wargala.[14] In 1353, the year Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Takedda and

described its Sultan as an independent ruler, Ibn Khaldūn met in Biskra an envoy of the ruler of *his* Takedda, who told him that the town was answerable to Mali.[15] One is led to conclude that Takedda in Air was far removed from Mali, and that it was Tadmekka that came within the orbit of the empire of Mali. The forces of Mali never reached as far as Air or Hausaland, as has been suggested by earlier scholars.[16] Only under Askiyā al-Ḥājj Muḥammad, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, did a Western Sudanic empire conquer Air and Hausaland. This was done by Songhay, whose political centre lay *east* of the Niger's bend.

In the 1340s al-'Umarī recorded that there were three independent kingdoms of the Berbers in the Sahara: Awdaghust, Tadmekka, and Air (the latter is probably the same as Takedda of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa).[17] Though in 1353 Ibn Khaldūn was informed that Tadmekka was subject to Mali, its ruler was quite autonomous as he maintained diplomatic relations with the ruler of Biskra (in the Zāb).[18] The authority of Mali was effectively established over Tadmekka only when there were powerful kings on the throne.

During the oppressive and destructive reign of Mārī-Djāṭa II (1360–1373/4) the authority of Mali was seriously weakened, in particular over remote regions with irredentist tendencies. Another Mārī-Djāṭa, the *wazīr* who ruled in the name of Mansā Mūsā II (1373/4–1387/8), made a last effort to impose the rule of Mali in this direction. He mobilized forces, marched eastwards, passed the territory of Gao and laid siege to Takedda (read: Tadmekka). He was unsuccessful and had to raise the siege.[19] Tadmekka did not fall under Mali rule again.

In Ghadames, on his return journey from the pilgrimage, Mansā Mūsā met one, Mu'ammar Abū 'Abdallāh ibn Khadīja al-Kūmī. He was a Fāṭimid propagandist in the Zāb and led raids with guerilla bands of Arabs. He visited Mansā Mūsā 'in the hope of obtaining help against his enemy [the ruler of Wargala] and support for his mission, *because Mansā Mūsā's*

power was highly regarded [and dreaded] in the desert adjacent to the territory of Wargala'.[20]

According to Ibn Khaldūn, at least some of the veiled Berbers (*Mulaththamūn*) were 'in subjection to the king of the Sūdān, paid him tribute and were recruited to his armies'.[21] These were Lamtūna and Massūfa, whose power had been drained through their participation in the Almoravid movement. It is difficult to confirm what authority a Sudanese ruler could have had over the nomads of the Sahara. Presumably, the king of Mali attempted to maintain some control over the southern sections of the trans-Saharan routes leading to the salt mine of Taghāza and to the Maghrib. Two centuries later the *askiyās* of Songhay appointed a governor in Taghāza, but in the fourteenth century, as we learn from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Taghāza had been in the hands of the Massūfa.[22]

In the thirteenth century the nomad Arabs of Banū-Ma'qil reached the Sūs and Wādī Dar'a in southern Morocco, and in the fourteenth century the Banū Ḥasan began their advance to the south. By the end of the century, according to Ibn Khaldūn, the Ma'qil reached Sāqiyat al-Ḥamrā'.[23] This was the beginning of a process in which Arabs or Moors replaced the Ṣanhāja Berbers as masters of the Western Sahara. These new warlike nomads interfered with the long-established order and security of the trans-Saharan routes.

Whatever influence Mali had over tracts of the Sahara, for one – like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa – who came from the north Walata was 'the first province of the Sudan', administered by a governor, deputy of the king of Mali.[24] In 1352, when visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Walata was still the principal terminus of the trans-Saharan trade, more important than Timbuktu. At that time most of the people of Timbuktu were veiled Massūfa, whose tribal heads were ceremonially appointed by a resident governor in the name of the king of Mali.[25] About a century earlier, in the middle of the thirteenth century, when the empire of Mali expanded northwards to the Niger's bend, Timbuktu must have

been a small nomad settlement. It was under the rule of Mali that it grew in size and significance. It reached its greatness and world fame as a centre of trade and learning under the rule of Songhay in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

al-Sa'dī, as mentioned above, reported that Timbuktu had been conquered by Mansā Mūsā on his way to the pilgrimage. This statement runs against the evidence that Gao had been conquered about half a century earlier. Mali's advance to Gao followed the course of the Niger river, and the region of Timbuktu must have been taken over before the troops proceeded to Gao. The anonymous author of the second appendix to *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh* says that when 'Alī Kolon, the founder of the Sonni dynasty, fled from Mali to liberate the Songhay (in the later part of the thirteenth century), the king of Mali had a royal residence – the *Ma'dugu* – in Timbuktu.[26] al-Sa'dī, on the other hand, attributes the foundation of the same *Ma'dugu* to Mansā Mūsā.[27] For this Muslim chronicler Mansā Mūsā is the great builder and conqueror; indeed, the only king of Mali worth remembering.

Mali was the first empire in the Western Sudan to extend its rule over both sides of the Niger's bend, or over the territories which had formerly been under two different kingdoms, that of Ghana and Songhay. Being at the junction of these two regions Timbuktu assumed greater strategic and political significance. The building of a royal residence there suggests that Timbuktu developed into an important provincial capital. The urban transformation took place from the second half of the fourteenth century when Timbuktu gradually replaced Walata as the principal terminus of the trans-Saharan trade. This sprawling town, lying some four miles from the Niger in the open country, was difficult to defend against invaders. al-Sa'dī records an invasion of the Mossi, who forced the horrified representatives of Mali's authority to flee. But these pagan invaders from the south did not come to stay. They destroyed the town, burned it, killed many people, seized booty, and then retreated to their

own country. When all was safe, the people of Mali took up the reins again.[28]

Early in the fifteenth century the Tuareg Maghsharen, founders of Timbuktu, raided the town and wrought destruction in its environs. Formerly these Tuaregs had accepted the authority of Mali, but as the empire weakened its rulers were unable to protect the town. The people of Timbuktu felt that 'a king who is unable to defend a town has no right to be its sovereign'. In 1433/4 (A.H. 837) the last vestiges of Mali's sovereignty over Timbuktu were removed, and the town was taken over by Ākillu Akamalwal, chief of the Tuareg. The latter continued to lead the life of a nomad chief and the town was administered by the governor, Muḥammad-n-Adda, a Ṣanhāja who had held the same office under the rule of Mali.[29] At the same time, the Tuaregs conquered Walata. Some forty years later, when Timbuktu was conquered by Sonni 'Alī, Ākillu the Tuareg chief sought refuge in Walata.[30] In 1477, when in Tuat, the Italian Antonio Malfante heard that the Tuaregs had control over the Negro towns adjacent to their own country.[31] They had no authority, however, over the country on the right bank of the Niger, where the Songhay kingdom then extended its influence.[32]

In the Sahel, between the Niger and the Senegal rivers, Mali ruled over Soninke states, successors to Wagadu, like Diāfūnu[33] and Diāra. The rulers of Diāra, capital of Kingui, were the Niakhate, and they became vassals of Mali. Later the people of Kingui revolted against Mali and killed its *amīr*. In the uprising the Niakhate were overthrown and a new dynasty – the Diāwara – became rulers in Diāra.[34] Some traditions say that Sundjata overcame the *Dyulufu mansa*, that is, the king of Djolof.[35] It suggests that the authority of Mali was extended, at least indirectly, over the Senegal valley.

About the middle of the fifteenth century Mema was conquered by Songhay. Some time before that the king of Mema, with a dozen sub-chiefs under him, asserted his independence.[36]

The secession of Mema from the empire of Mali may have followed the conquest of Timbuktu by the Tuaregs as Mali lost its hold over the Sahel. It was probably about that time, in the 1430s, that the Diāwara of Kingui broke away from Mali. The accumulated evidence indicates an interesting process, in which former provinces of Mali exploited its weakness to become independent. Their independence, however, lasted for a few decades only, after which they were incorporated, through conquest, into the new emerging empire of Songhay.

Such an interpretation may help us to sort out the conflicting evidence about the position of Jenne. According to al-Sa'dī, the rulers of Mali did not conquer Jenne even when their power was at its peak. They tried ninety-nine times and failed.[37] In *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, on the other hand, one reads that the ruler of Jenne (*Jenne-koy*) was one of the humble vassals of the king of Mali; so low was his status that he brought his tribute to the king's wife, and was not received by the king himself.[38] Jenne, between the Niger and the Bani river, was well defended by the surrounding water. For seven years, seven months and seven days (*sic*) Sonni 'Alī besieged Jenne until he finally conquered the town – and this despite the fact that he had the Sorko fleet at his disposal. It seems that the king of Mali found it difficult to impose his authority over Jenne by military force. Yet Jenne developed into an important commercial entrepôt in the fourteenth century, and its trade depended heavily on the Niger waterway which linked it with Timbuktu. Both Timbuktu and the Niger waterway were under Mali's control, so it is likely that Jenne was within the same imperial system, perhaps as a fief, which gave yearly tribute in return for autonomous rule. When Mansā Mūsā returned from pilgrimage he found the chief of Jenne in open revolt.[39] This is another indication of his bellicose character.

In the first half of the fifteenth century, when Mali was pressed by the Songhay and the Tuaregs and the province of the northern Sahel threw off the domination of Mali, Jenne also

asserted its independence. al-Sadī's account may refer to this period, up to the conquest by Sonni 'Alī in 1473. The authority of the chief of Jenne extended from the neighbourhood of Diafarabe in the west to the Bandiagara mountains in the east, from Lake Debo in the north (where it bordered on Mema) to the provinces of Mali, Kala, and Binduku, in the south.[40] Jenne then controlled most of the Inner Delta of the Niger, and an important section of the Niger waterway leading to Timbuktu.

The authority of Mali, north of the Malinke country, was reduced to the three provinces described by al-Sa'dī: Kala (probably on both sides of the Niger in the region of Sansanding–Segu–Nyamina), Bindugu (on both banks of the Bani in the region of San), and Sibiridugu (south-west of Kala) closer to Mali proper.[41]

> The people of Mali were very powerful and their strength passed all limits. . . . Their oppression, arrogance and excess at the end of the dynasty caused Allāh to destroy them by his punishment. . . . They became weaker from that moment, until the reign of Askiyā al-Ḥājj Muḥammad. He and his sons raided them continuously.[42]

This is a symbolic, perhaps popular, account of the decline of Mali.[43] The process itself may be summed up as follows: internal disputes at the court contributed to the disintegration of the empire, as one province after the other seceded. The decline of Mali's power on the Middle Niger in the first half of the fifteenth century attracted the Mossi of the Upper Volta Basin to increase their mobility, before their political frontiers became stabilized. The Mossi raided and retreated, thus increasing the sense of insecurity on the Middle Niger.[44] The political vacuum was filled by the Songhay empire, which under Sonni 'Alī and Askiyā Muḥammad exerted increasing pressure on Mali.

VIII · The Weight of Songhay

Songhay became independent of Mali at the end of the fourteenth century. It began to build up its military power, in particular the fleet manned by the Sorko, fishermen of the Niger. The territorial expansion of Songhay west of the Niger's bend began during the reign of Sonni Silmān Dāma or Dandi (died 1464) who conquered Mema.[1] This was a prelude to the military exploits of Sonni 'Alī the Great (1464–92), the real founder of the Songhay empire.

Mema had already been independent, and it is significant that during the first phase of Songhay's expansion, Sonni 'Alī conquered territories which had already been lost to Mali.[2] In the transitory period, between the decline of Mali and the expansion of Songhay, the Mossi raided the Middle Niger. *c.* 1430 they raided Binga, near Lake Debo. In the 1470s they invaded Massina, and reached Walata in 1480. They were defeated by Sonni 'Alī in 1483, who drove them back to their country.[3]

Sonni 'Alī was more concerned with the danger of the invading Mossi than with Mali. He also had to deal with the nomads, Tuaregs and Fulbe. In 1468 he seized Timbuktu from the Tuaregs, but the latter retreated to the desert and continued to present a threat to Songhay's newly acquired possessions. Sonni 'Alī persecuted the *'ulamā'* of Timbuktu because he suspected that they favoured the Tuaregs, and would help his enemies. His hatred of the Fulbe of Massina was even greater. 'He could not see any of the Fulbe without killing them. . . . He decimated the Sanqare tribe and only left a group small enough to gather under the shadow of one tree.'[4] The insubordinate Fulbe dominated the vital Niger waterway between Timbuktu and Jenne.

After he had conquered Jenne in 1473, Sonni 'Alī attacked Mali twice, probably with little gain. Both attempts were made on the frontiers of Mali along the Niger or the Bani rivers (against Kala or Binduku which were adjacent to Jenne). There, the king of Mali and his vassals put up a strong resistance. The fleet formed the core of Songhay's force and all Sonni 'Alī's conquests were therefore along the Niger waterway. His reluctance to undertake military expeditions away from the river, where he would lose the support of his fleet, is best illustrated by his plans to dig a canal from Ra's al-Mā' on the Niger to Walata, when he planned to conquer that land-locked town.[5] Askiyā Muḥammad, on the other hand, undertook long over-land expeditions far into the desert, such as the one to Agades in 1514/15[6] or that against Tengella, ruler of the Futa Toro, in 1512/13. In praise of the latter expedition, which was regarded as an extraordinary military feat, it was said: 'see how at the head of a huge army the *Kurmina-Fāri* crossed the vast desert without water, a distance of over two months, between Tendirma and the Futa'.[7]

Askiyā Muḥammad broadened the basis of the Songhay military power by building stronger units of infantry and cavalry, besides the nucleus of the Sorko fleet. These new measures allowed him to expand his authority over the country away from the Niger. When he resumed the offensive west of the Niger's bend, after his return from the pilgrimage, Askiyā Muḥammad did not attack Mali along the Niger, where the frontiers were better fortified, but aimed at the provinces of the Sahel. Most of these expeditions were led by the *Kurmina-Fāri*, governor of the Western provinces, who was second to the *askiyā* in the hierarchy. His residence was in the new town of Tendirma, in the lacustrine region.

In A.H. 905 (1499–50) Askiyā Muḥammad led an expedition against the *Bāghana-Fāri*, 'Uthmān, in which a Fulbe chief was also killed.[8] Bāghana, astride the Hodh and the Sahel to the west of the lacustrine region, was the centre of the ancient

Soninke kingdom of Ghana/Wagadu. Following the disintegration of Ghana, the title *fāri* or *fāren* (chief) was carried by many provincial chiefs among the Soninke.[9] The *Bāghana-Fāri* became one of Mali's vassals. Early in the fifteenth century a group of Fulbe migrated to Massina 'in the country of the *Bāghana-Fāri*.' He gave them permission to settle there, and appointed their leader as chief (*ardo*) of the Fulbe.[10] The Fulbe of Massina remained allied with the *Bāghana-Fāri*, and when the latter was attacked by Askiyā Muḥammad the son of the Fulbe chief of Massina, Demba Dumbe, took part in the battle and was killed. Neither in the account of the Fulbe migration nor in the account of Askiyā Muḥammad's raid is there any reference to the position of the *Bāghana-Fāri vis-à-vis* Mali. Under the rule of the Songhay empire the Fulbe chief of Massina was appointed by the *askiyā* himself. Similar appointments in Mali (such as that of the Massūfa chief in Timbuktu, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) were the prerogative of the imperial sovereign. The fact that Maghan, the Fulbe chief, was appointed by the *Bāghana-Fāri* without reference to the sovereign of Mali may suggest that by the 1430s this provincial chief, like his neighbours to the west (the Diāwara) and to the east (Mema), had become independent of Mali. Later Songhay expeditions to the west are explicitly stated to have been against provinces of Mali.

In A.H. 907 (1501/2) Askiyā Muḥammad sent his brother 'Umar Kamdiagu, the *Kurmina-Fāri*, to Dialan to fight its governor, who ruled in the name of the king of Mali. 'Umar was unable to overcome the town, and called for Askiyā Muḥammad. The latter arrived with more troops, captured the town and destroyed it. He pillaged the royal residence of Mali there, and took prisoners. Askiyā Muḥammad stayed there for some time to introduce reforms and reorganize its government.[11]

In A.D. 1508 or 1509 Askiyā Muḥammad raided Galam on the Senegal, which is said to have been in Mali. By that time the independent kingdom of the Diāwara in Kingui had acknowledged the sovereignty of Songhay, and in A.H. 918 (1512/13) the

Diāwara called upon Askiyā Muḥammad to fight against Tengella, then ruler of the Futa.[12] The expedition against Tengella brought the Songhay as far west as the Senegalese Futa, and with the earlier conquests of Galam and Diala, the frontier between Songhay and Mali followed the course of the Upper Senegal. Sibiridugu (perhaps Beledugu north of Bamako) was regarded in 913 (1507/8) as the border which divided the territories of Askiyā Muḥammad from those of the Sultan of Mali.[13] In 1512 Leo Africanus visited the Sudan, and left the following description of Mali:

> Melli extends along a branch of the Niger for a distance of about 300 miles. It borders upon the kingdom of Jenne to the north, and is confined by a desert and arid mountains to the south. To the west there are wild forests which reach the Ocean, and to the east it borders upon the territory of Gago [Gao or Songhay]. In this country there is a very large village of about six thousand inhabitants called Melli. . . . The last of the rulers of Melli became a tributary of the Ischia [*askiyā*]. The latter's attacks are so heavy that the king [of Mali] cannot even give food to his family.[14]

Under the heavy pressure of Songhay the king of Mali may have had to pay some tribute. However, Mali had a respite of almost forty years, from 1508 to 1542/3, when Askiyā Muḥammad directed his forces on Katsina and Agades in the other direction (1513–16). The expedition to Agades ended with the revolt of Kebbi (1516/17), which again taxed the power of Songhay. Between 1519 and 1528 the old and blind Askiyā Muḥammad lost control over his own court and empire. He was deposed in 1528 by his son Mūsā, who by this act initiated a series of disputes, assassinations and depositions among the sons of Askiyā Muḥammad. Askiyā Mūsā was assassinated in 1531. He was succeeded by Muḥammad Benkan, son of 'Umar Kamdiagu, who ruled until 1537 when in his turn he was deposed by Ismā'īl, another son of Askiyā Muḥammad.[15]

The deposed Askiyā Muḥammad Benkan fled to Timbuktu, and thence to Tendirma where he was pursued by the troops of the new *askiyā*. In order to escape the rage of his cousin, the deposed *askiyā* left the territory of Songhay and proceeded to Mali. He settled there under the auspices of the Sanqara-Zūma', the military commander of the southern provinces of Mali. The people of Mali humiliated and ridiculed the Songhay refugees Muḥammad Benkan and his brother 'Uthmān. These two bore it calmly until they could suffer no more. 'Uthmān emigrated to Walata (which was not under the *askiyās*' effective rule), and the deposed Askiyā Muḥammad Benkan moved to Sāma, the remotest town of the province Kala of Mali, not far from Segu.[16] According to another version Muḥammad Benkan fled to Mali and settled at Ta'ba, which is described elsewhere as the remotest town in the province of Binduku, facing Segu on the other side of the Bani river.[17]

This is an interesting episode in the relations between the two Sudanese empires. When the more powerful Songhay was troubled by internal strife in the royal dynasty, Mali was released from an otherwise constant pressure. Mali became partially involved in the internal politics of Songhay when it gave asylum to a deposed *askiyā*, but the people of Mali, who had already suffered from attacks by Songhay, took revenge by harassing the Songhay refugees. The deposed *askiyā* and his brother may have regarded it safer to stay with the Sanqara-Zūma' in the southern provinces of Mali, where they were far from the reach of the reigning *askiyā*. But there in the south, among the Malinke, feelings against Songhay were probably stronger and Muḥammad Benkan moved north to Sāma which, though closer to the frontier with Songhay, could have been more hospitable, as the inhabitants there were Marka (of Soninke origin) and Bambara.

Askiyā Ismā'īl, who deposed Muḥammad Benkan in 1537, put an end to a decade of internal troubles. He released his father, the old Askiyā al-Ḥājj Muḥammad, from the island to

which he was confined, and recovered the legitimacy of the lineage. The great Askiyā Muḥammad died in honour in 1538, and a year later his son Askiyā Ismā'īl died a natural death. The regeneration of the dynasty is attested by the fact that four *askiyās* succeeded each other peacefully for almost half a century. It was marked also by the reign of two powerful rulers, Askiyā Isḥāq (1539–49) and the great Askiyā Dāwūd (1549–1582).[18]

As the Songhay empire regained power, its rulers resumed the pressure on Mali. During the first phase of its expansion (under Sonni 'Alī), Songhay conquered territories which had already become independent of Mali. Later, under Askiyā Muḥammad, the Songhay attacked the north-western provinces of Mali beyond the Upper Senegal. In the 1540s the attacks were directed against the provinces of Mali on the Niger and the Bani rivers, the provinces which defended the access to the centre of Mali and its capital. This therefore turned out to be the most dangerous confrontation for Mali.

In 1542/3 Askiyā Isḥāq led an expedition against Ta'ba.[19] This was a prelude to a more daring expedition, which brought the Songhay army into the capital of Mali. In 952 A.H. (A.D. 1545/6) Askiyā Isḥāq sent his brother Dāwūd, the *Kurmina-Fāri*, against Mali. The king of Mali escaped and the Songhay army occupied his town, in all probability the capital. Dāwūd remained there for seven days, during which time he gave licence to the soldiers to relieve themselves inside the king's palace. He then evacuated the town, and the people of Mali flooded back, horrified by the left-over filth.[20] This expedition was not intended to be a conquest of the capital of Mali, but rather a raid and a harassment.

The king of Mali could not resist the advance of the Songhay army, but the Songhay would have found it difficult to firmly establish their rule over this hilly country, where the vegetation was dense. Askiyā Muḥammad himself advised that 'any one who does not keep away from fighting in the mountains and in

the forest exposes his army to ruin and casualties'.[21] In addition, the Songhay could not employ their powerful fleet against the heart of the Malinke country, because it lay beyond the Sotouba falls upstream of Bamako. When Mali was at its height, these falls divided the empire in two, separating the Malinke country from the conquered lands. The Niger waterway, therefore, could not foster unity and enhance central authority in Mali, as it did to Songhay. In the sixteenth century these falls protected Mali and marked the south-western limits of Songhay expansion.[22]

So rather than conquering and subjugating Mali, the *askiyās* preferred to whittle away its power by repeated attacks. In 966 A.H. (A.D. 1558/9) Askiyā Dāwūd raided the province of Soma in Mali. The chief of Soma died, and Askiyā Dāwūd appointed the chief's son to succeed him. He then proceeded to Dibikarala where he overcame a deputy of the king of Mali. In the course of this expedition the *askiyā* married a daughter of the king of Mali, whom he took back to Songhay, accompanied by rich presents.[23] It is possible that following the *askiyā*'s victory, the king of Mali sued for peace and gave his daughter in marriage to his victorious enemy. The expedition itself must have reached the country south of Segu, because on his way back Askiyā Dāwūd passed Sāma in the region of Segu.

The provinces of Kala and Binduku, which until the beginning of the sixteenth century had protected the northern frontier of Mali on the Niger, were now in a state of confusion. The expeditions of Askiyā Isḥāq and Askiyā Dāwūd were directed against some of the rulers of these buffer chiefdoms or against the centre of Mali beyond them.

Chiefs in Kala and Binduku became independent of Mali, but were subject to interventions from Songhay. We have seen that following the death of the chief of Soma, Askiyā Dāwūd confirmed the latter's son as his successor. In 1571 he sent an expedition to punish the chief of Da', in the province of Binduku, because of some perversion and misconduct.[24] These provinces,

however, were not integrated into Songhay and political adversaries of the *askiyās* found asylum in towns of Kala as late as the 1580s.[25] Askiyā Isḥāq II, the last independent ruler of Songhay, led an expedition against Kala in 999 A.H. (A.D. 1590/1), when the invading Moroccan force commanded by Jūdār Pāsha was already close to the Sudan.[26]

The Moroccan conquest brought about far-reaching changes in the Western Sudan, as described by al-Sa'dī in this well-known and much quoted passage:

> This expeditionary force [under Jūdār Pāsha] found the Sudan one of God's most favoured countries in prosperity, comfort, security, and vitality. . . . Then all that changed; security gave place to danger, prosperity made way for misery and calamity, whilst affliction and distress succeeded well being. Over the length and breadth of the land people began to devour one another, raids and war spared neither life nor wealth. Disorder spread and intensified until it became universal. . . . Since the reign of Askiyā al-Ḥājj Muḥammad none of the provincial chiefs had dared to attack the sovereigns of Songhay because of their power and valiance. . . . On the contrary, they [the *askiyās*] used to successfully attack the chiefs in their respective countries. . . .[27]

With the collapse of the central authority, chiefs became independent and organized raids against their neighbours. The Bambara raided the region of Jenne, burnt villages, pillaged property and captured women. Local chiefs in Kala and Binduku foraged and looted about, as did the Fulbe of Massina.

The great empire of Songhay collapsed as its army was defeated by the Moroccan musketeers, and the three principal towns – Gao, Timbuktu, and Jenne – were taken over by the new conquerors. Mali, the old and declining empire, was hardly affected by the Moroccan conquest. On the contrary, the century-old pressure on its northern frontier ceased. Instead of the aggressive Songhay empire, there was a much weaker

authority on the Middle Niger beyond a disintegrated country of warring chiefs. The king of Mali saw new prospects for reviving something of the power of his ancestors.

In 1599 Maḥmūd, the king of Mali, made preparations for attacking Jenne.[28] He first tried to win allies among the local chiefs, who had formerly been vassals of Mali. He also sent a messenger to the Kala-Shā'a Bokar, inviting him to join the expedition.[29] But when the Kala-Shā'a heard that the Sanqara-Zūma' and the Faran-Sara, formerly the two military commanders of Mali's territorial army, would not join the king of Mali in his attack on Jenne, he reached the conclusion that there was little prospect of a victory. He therefore set out to join the Moroccans in defending Jenne.

The king of Mali failed in his attempt to recruit the former vassals of the empire since the two army commanders and all but two of the chiefs in Kala and Binduku did not respond to his invitation. The two who joined him were the chiefs of Oma in Binduku and of Fadaku or Faraku in Kala, south-east of Sansanding. The chief of Fadaku in the 1640s was called Mansā Muḥammad ibn Mansā 'Alī. Both the title *mansā* and the Muslim names suggest close relations between the chiefs of Fadaku and the rulers of Mali.[30] Soua, the principal town of the chief of Oma (or Ama) is described as an important market. This town may have rivalled Jenne, and the Moroccan pasha was advised that the chief of Oma not only supported the king of Mali but also had some influence on his decision to attack Jenne.[31] In 1632 the chief of Oma supported another revolt against the Moroccans in Jenne.[32]

The third of Mali's allies in the attack on Jenne was Ḥamadi Amina, the Fulbe chief of Massina. The Fulbe were reluctant subjects, and the *askiyās* had had to use both diplomacy and force to maintain a limited authority over them. A similar policy was pursued by the Moroccan pashas who, like the *askiyās*, were apprehensive of the strategic position of Massina on the vital waterway between Timbuktu and Jenne. In 1598

Ḥamadi Amina refused to come to Timbuktu when called there by the pasha Jūdār. The pasha sent a punitive expedition to Massina, but the Fulbe *ardo* avoided open battle, fearing the Moroccan superiority in fire-arms. He retreated to Kaniaga beyond the reach of the Moroccans. However, the pasha took the *ardo*'s family as captives, holding them in custody in Jenne, and appointed a new *ardo* over Massina as their protégé.[33] This may have induced the exiled *ardo* to join the king of Mali in attacking Jenne.

As the king of Mali with his three allies advanced towards Jenne, the governor of the town asked the pasha in Timbuktu to send reinforcements. The pasha sent two *qā'ids* with troops, which were carried in boats up the river Niger. When these troops reached Jenne they found the town encircled by the numerous troops of the enemy. The waterway leading to the town was also blocked, and it was there that the fighting began. The Moroccan troops, though inferior in numbers, charged the enemy, backed up with a heavy fusillade of guns, and succeeded in breaking through into the besieged town. This was on the last day of Ramaḍān 1007, or the end of April 1599. At the advice of the Kala-Shā'a, the governor of Jenne decided to leave the protection of the town walls and attack the enemy on the same day. The king of Mali and his allies were caught by surprise and were soon defeated.

The king of Mali fled on horseback. He was pursued by the Kala-Shā'a and another local chief. When these two overtook him, they dismounted and greeted him in the way a great king is greeted. They advised him to hurry lest he should be caught by the Moroccans and be disgracefully treated. The defeated king of Mali, a descendant of the great emperors of Mali, was accorded a royal respect by those who had formerly been vassals of the empire, and had now joined his enemies. This was a moving scene, and marked yet another stage in the decline of Mali, which ceased to be a political factor on the Middle Niger, and is mentioned no further in the Arabic records of this region.

IX · Malinke Expansion and Political Fragmentation

We have followed the history of Mali in its northern expansion along the Niger valley and into the Sahel. There, Mali spread its authority over a region which saw the rise and fall of great kingdoms. This was the region known to Arab geographers and historians. Looking from the north, through the Arabic and Muslim records, Mali was gradually reduced to a kingdom of local importance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Yet during these two centuries a new light is thrown on Mali from another direction. As the Portuguese navigators reached the Senegal and the Gambia rivers they became aware of the powerful inland empire of Mali, which exerted influence as far as the Atlantic coast.

About 1445 a young Portuguese, João Fernandes, spent some time among the Moors in the Sahara, from whom he heard 'that in the land of the Negroes there is another kingdom, called Melly, but this is not certain. . . .'[1] In 1455–6 Ca da Mosto visited the Gambia, soon after its discovery, and found that the senior chief in that region, the Forosangole, lived about ten days travel from the coast. He had many chiefs under his authority, on both sides of the Gambia river, but he himself was a vassal of the king of Mali, ruler of all the Negroes.[2]

In 1456 Diogo Gomes sailed up the Gambia river to Cantor, an important town close to the Barrakunda falls, the end of the navigable part of the Gambia. He asked the people there about the hinterland, its trade and government:

> They told me that the king Bormelli ['king of Melli' in Wolof] ruled over all the country of the Blacks. All the region

on the right side of the river is under his domination. They themselves were his subjects. . . . They said that Farisangul was a subject of Mormelli [*sic*]. . . . They told me that on the other side of the river, that is on the left bank, was a powerful chief of all the southern regions, called Batimansa.[3]

Half a century later, in 1506–7, Valentin Fernandes recorded:

The Mandinga kingdom begins in the Gambia river. . . . The king of Mandinga is called Mandimansa. . . . He is the sovereign of many vassals who pay him much tribute. He lives 700 leagues inland in a town called Jaga. . . .[4]

As they sailed up the navigable sections of the Gambia, the Casamance, Rio Cachen, and Rio Grande (Canal du Geba) the Portuguese encountered representatives of the imperial authority of Mali. By the middle of the fifteenth century the vassal kingdoms of Mali extended from the southern bank of the Gambia to Rio Grande. This area developed into an imperial sub-system of Mali known in traditional accounts as Kabu.

The establishment of the authority of Mali there was associated with a westward migration of the Malinke, traders, peasants, and warriors. Traders went to the Gambia in search of maritime salt and of gold from the Kabu goldfields. The warriors are said to have come under the leadership of Tiramakhan Traore, one of the more important war chiefs of Sundjata. It was after he had defeated the king of Djolof that Tiramakhan combined with earlier Malinke migrants to conquer the country south of the Gambia. Many chiefly houses in this area trace their origin to Kabu and to Tiramakhan. It is likely that he initiated the process of state-building. North of the Gambia, the Guelowar royal clan of the Serer states claim descent from Malinke warriors from Kabu.[5]

Two main types of states emerged between the Gambia and the Casamance rivers: states where both subjects and rulers were Malinke, and states which had not been colonized by Malinke peasants but were rather loosely integrated into the

Malian imperial system, being governed by rulers of Malinke origin. Very often these rulers became assimilated into the local population. The non-Malinke states were farther west and south, where the savannah gives way to denser vegetation.

One of these states was Kasa, whose king was known to the Portuguese as Casamansa (hence the name of the river). Towards the end of the sixteenth century de Almada reported that Casamansa, though a powerful monarch himself, was subordinate to the *farin* (ruler) of Kabu, who in his turn paid allegiance to Mandimansa, the king of Mali.[6] By that time the authority of Mali might have been only nominal, but the traditions insist that the *farin* of Kabu had to go to the capital of Mali to be ceremonially installed by the king there. The Portuguese impression of the political situation was that there was a hierarchy of chiefs, though even those at the lower levels had considerable autonomy.

With the appearance of the Portuguese on the Gambia and the growth of trade along this river, the western provinces of Mali assumed greater importance. Trade over the navigable part of the river, as far as the Barrakunda falls, was mainly in the hands of Africans or mulattos in the service of the Portuguese. Two important commercial centres developed near the falls: on the south bank Cantor, which was part of Kabu; on the north bank Sutuco, capital of Wuli – a strong Malinke kingdom. While Cantor was still integrated into the empire of Mali in the sixteenth century, Wuli came under the ambit of the new rising empire of Djolof in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Malinke chiefs on the Gambia sent tribute to Mali, and the empire benefited from the westbound trade. Yet as a result of their share in the trade and their contact with the Portuguese, local rulers increased their power at the expense of their remote overlord. From the middle of the fifteenth century the whole region of the Senegambia became agitated, experiencing economic, social, and political transformations.[7]

In the thirteenth century the authority of Mali extended north of the Gambia over the Wolof and as far as Futa Toro.[8] It is now suggested that Ndyadyan Ndyay, founder of the Djolof empire, lived in about the middle of the fourteenth century.[9] The Wolof may have become independent of Mali during the disturbances after the death of Mansā Sulaymān. By the second half of the fifteenth century the Djolof had extended their authority over the Malinke states on the northern bank of the Gambia (Nyumi, Badibu, Nyani, and Wuli), to participate in the trade with the Portuguese.

In the fifteenth century, when the power of Mali declined in the Sahel, waves of Fulbe migrants came from the region of Termes (in present-day Mauritania). This migration was caused by inadequate pasture for the growing numbers of these cattle breeders, and also by the pressure of the Tuaregs of the Sahara. One wave of these Fulbe migrants reached Massina where, as mentioned above, they became the reluctant subjects of successive imperial authorities. Other waves, the Lam Termes and Lam Taga, reached the Futa Toro where they overthrew the Tondyon dynasty, probably vassals to Mali. Futa Toro was divided into small units which lacked political cohesiveness.

A careful interpretation of Portuguese documents by J. Boulègue suggests that in the middle of the fifteenth century yet another wave of Fulbe migrants crossed the Upper Senegal and the Gambia rivers to reach Rio Grande. There they were defeated by the local population and the survivors reorganized on the Futa Djallon highlands which they found most suitable for their cattle.

In the 1460s Tengella (or Temala) emerged as the leader of the Fulbe of Futa Djallon. In challenging the authority of Mali, Tengella brought under his leadership other ethnic groups of the Futa Djallon: Tenda, Djallonke, Landoumas, and also Malinke.[10] Around 1490 Tengella descended from the Futa Djallon and raided Wuli on the Gambia, thus cutting off the routes

between the hinterland and the coast over which the growing trade with the Europeans was carried. About 1493–5 an ambassador of the Portuguese king, D. João II, visited the king of Mali, Mansā Mamudu, who was then fighting against 'the king of the Fulos, called Temala'.[11]

In 1512, according to the *Ta'rīkhs* of Timbuktu, Tengella, 'king of the Futa' or 'Silatigi', invaded Diāra in Kingui, which was then under the sphere of influence of the Songhay empire. The chief of Diāra sought the aid of Askiyā al-Ḥājj Muḥammad. The latter sent a strong expedition led by the *Kurmina-fāri*, 'Umar Kamdiagu. Tengella was defeated and killed. Koli, Tengella's eldest son, did not take part in the fighting, and when he heard of his father's death he hurried forth to lead the defeated army. He retreated to the Futa Toro, where he built up his own kingdom and founded the Denianke dynasty which ruled for over two and a half centuries.[12]

The power of the new state increased at the expense of its neighbours, the Berber nomads to the north and Djolof to the south. About 1534 Koli attacked Bambuk, then under Mali's rule, in an attempt to gain control over the goldfields. He was defeated, perhaps because of the intervention of the Portuguese, who were called in by the ruler of Mali. Koli died in 1537, but his successors continued his expansionist policy. They took advantage of the collapse of the Songhay empire in 1591 and spread their authority for some time in the western Sahel. An anonymous text written in Spanish about 1600, discovered by Teixeira de Mota and analysed by J. Boulègue, indicates that the new 'Empire of the Grand Foul' extended from the Sahel to the Futa Djallon and over the Upper Senegal, including the important commercial centre of Diakha-sur-Bafing. At the end of the sixteenth century the Fulbe became for some time masters of the Bambuk goldfields.

Significantly, Mali lost the goldfields of Bambuk between 1590 and 1600. This loss almost coincided with the defeat of Mansā Maḥmūd at the gates of Jenne. It is very likely that

this date marks the collapse of Mali and its final disintegration. In 1620–1 Richard Jobson travelled up the Gambia river, and noticed that 'the petty kings on the south side . . . had all reference to the great king of Cantore', who presumably represented Kabu. The northern bank was then divided between the *bur* of Salum and 'the great king of Wuli'. Jobson probably heard nothing of Mali far in the interior.[13]

In 1599 the king of Mali, the same who was defeated in Jenne and who also lost Bambuk, was Mansā Maḥmūd. He is identified by Y. Person as Niani Mansā Mamudu, to whom many genealogies of the Keita chiefs trace back. He is named after the ancient capital of Mali because he was the last great ruler who had his residence there. He is remembered as a great warrior, and the attack on Jenne was only one of his numerous expeditions to recover the power of Mali. Many of his wars were against invasions of Bambara and Fulbe into the valley of the Niger. These invasions were more serious than the threat of the Moroccans, who did not venture south of Jenne, for they threatened the heart of the empire, the land of the Malinke themselves. Niani Mansā Mamudu may have divided the country between his sons and other war chiefs in order to defend it. He himself was forced to leave the capital and died at Soro, in the centre of the Manding mountains.

After the death of Niani Mansā Mamudu even the nucleus of the empire, 'the old Mande', broke up into its components, the *kafus*. It is likely, however, that three of the sons of Niani Mansā Mamudu – Nyamakhan, Mansā, Kanda and Mansā Kuru – and their descendants, were recognized by chiefs of the other *kafus* as their sovereigns. Yves Person suggests that it is to this period that al-Saʿdī, a contemporary historian, may have referred in his account of the disintegration of Mali:

> Then they split into three sections, each in one part of the country, and each having its ruling clan claiming the kingship.[14]

Nyamakhan, son of Niani Mansā Mamudu, ruled in Kita. He gained control of the Bure goldfields and expelled the Fulbe and the Bambara invaders across the Sankarani river, where they formed the Wasulunke, Bambarized Fulbe. In the course of the seventeenth century the Mansakurusi, descendants of Mansa Kuru, assumed the leading role among the Malinke. The land of the Malinke was saved from the invaders, but any attempt to expand Malinke political influence to the north was blocked by the rise of the Bambara to political hegemony on the Middle Niger.

The Bambara, or as they call themselves, Banmana, are closely related to the Malinke and speak a similar dialect. On the Middle Niger, in the region of Segu, the Bambara came in contact with Soninke immigrants from the north. The latter, though fewer in numbers, carried with them some of the heritage of the old Soninke kingdom of Ghana/Wagadu. Many of them were traders and therefore wealthier, and were acquainted with more elaborate political structures. These Soninke adopted the Bambara language and came to be known in this area as Marka. The convergence of Soninke and Bambara gave rise to the numerous chiefdoms of the provinces of Kala and Binduku. In the thirteenth century these provinces were integrated into the empire of Mali.[15] Under the dual influence of the Marka and Mali some of these chiefs were islamized. During the sixteenth century these chiefdoms gradually came into Songhay's sphere of influence. After the Moroccan conquest, the divided provincial chiefs, with no imperial support, became exposed to the growing menace of the pagan Bambara.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the governor of Jenne was already worried about these pagan Bambara whose number and audacity increased.[16] During the chaos which reigned after the Moroccan conquest the Bambara raided the region of Jenne, and wrought destruction.[17] Bambara bands supported the Fulbe of Massina in their revolts against the Moroccans.[18] In 1645 the Bambara revolted against the local chiefs of Sana and Fadaku in

Kala and Binduku, chased these chiefs out of their capitals and pillaged and destroyed the towns.[19]

The collapse of these chiefdoms in the middle of the seventeenth century put an end to the territorial political organization bequeathed by Mali, and paved the way for the emergence of the Bambara states in the eighteenth century.

In 1300, when the empire of Mali was at its peak, the Malinke did not expand south of Siguiri (on the Upper Niger) and Bougouni (on the Baule river). Half a millennium later, *c.* 1800, the Malinke were spread up the Niger river to its source, and as far south as the fringes of the forest in the present Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea. The southward migration of the Malinke set off a series of local migrations and changed the ethnic composition not only of the savannah and the pre-forest zones – now occupied by Malinke – but also of the Upper Guinea coast and the forest.

On the Gambia the westwards expansion of the Malinke is associated in the oral traditions with Sundjata. The southward expansion is associated with Niani Mansā Mamudu, to whom all the genealogies of the Keita trace back. Whereas the earlier migration of the Malinke to the west was one of colonization supported by the growing might of a great empire, the later migration to the south was a retreat from a disintegrating empire.

By the fifteenth century the enterprising Dyula traders had opened routes from the Niger to the Akan forest for trade in gold and kola, and to Worodugu, 'the land of the kola', in the forest of the Ivory Coast.[20] According to *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, the king of Mali was very rich; 'you know enough when you hear of the gold mine in his country and of the kola plantations'.[21] It is unlikely that Mali ever exercised direct political authority over the kola-producing forest or, for that matter, over the southern goldfields of the Akan forest. Yet Mali certainly had a stake in the organization of trade to this area by its Dyula traders. The Portuguese were well aware of the fact that the Mande-speaking

traders they met both in the Senegambia and on the Gold Coast were part of an all-embracing sub-continental trade system associated with the empire of Mali.[22] Caravans which reached the Gambia travelled under the orders of the king of Mali and were accompanied by Malinke warriors,[23] and the same is probably true for the caravans travelling to the forests in the south. Mande-speaking warriors, who moved south along the trade routes, established the kingdom of Gonja at the end of the sixteenth century.[24]

The southern migration of Malinke groups, which began in the fifteenth or the sixteenth century, intensified as the pressure over Mali increased. Mali never ruled over the new territories acquired by the Malinke, but the latter – and especially the Keita royal clan – carried on the imperial traditions of Mali. Politically, however, they were fragmented into numerous *kafus* of several villages each, resembling the pre-imperial situation before the small Malinke chiefdoms were united by Sundjata. The *kafu* was ruled by a *mansā*, the title of the kings of Mali of which the seventeenth and eighteenth century *mansās* were a miniature replica only. The largest *kafus* counted not more than 15,000 inhabitants, while the smallest did not exceed six miles in diameter. This fragmented political order was occasionally disturbed by the rise of war-chiefs who extended their military domination over wider areas without establishing, however, any territorial organization. Such conquest states were ephemeral and hardly survived the death of the founder. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century there was a last ambitious effort by Samori to recreate a Malinke empire.[25]

PART TWO

X · The Monarch and his Court

In following the political history of Ghana and Mali some features of government, politics and administration in the early Sudanic kingdoms have already been suggested. A review of the evidence will allow a more detailed account, but first a word of caution about the nature of the sources.

Contemporary Arab authors, whether they obtained information indirectly – like al-Bakrī, al-'Umarī and Ibn Khaldūn – or observed events and ceremonies themselves – like Ibn Baṭūṭṭa – must have been biassed by their own experience with political institutions and their own social values of the Muslim world north of the Sahara. The Muslim authors of the seventeenth century *Ta'rīkhs* were well acquainted with African institutions, but they were removed by six centuries from the days of Ghana's glory and by three centuries from Mali's hegemony. They were acquainted with the Songhay empire and the political structure of Mali was viewed with the assumption of institutional continuity in the imperial system of the Western Sudan. The use of oral traditions and ethnographical data also assumes that the basic structure of Malinke societies at the level of the kinship group, the village, or the district, have not changed radically during a millennium. Though there are no exact measures to rectify possible variations from past realities, gross errors may be avoided if one recognizes the limitations of the sources.

The extended family, the *lu*, is the basic social unit among the Malinke. The head of the family, the *fa*, administers the communal property and regulates relations among members of the group with the advice of other elders. He represents the link with their ancestors and also fulfils priestly functions.

The village head, *dugu-tigi*, is the *fa* of the *lu* believed to have been the earliest occupants of the place, whose ancestor had first established relations with the spirits of the land. The *dugu-tigi* is at the same time chief of the village and priest. In the administration of village affairs he is helped by a council of the *tun-gigi*, headmen of the leading families.

The unity of the village, beyond the autonomy of the *lu*, is enhanced by initiation associations (or secret societies). The elders of the village are often the senior members of these associations.

Villages among the Malinke are grouped in *kafus*. A *kafu* may develop out of one village through fission. The *dugu-tigi* of the original village would then become chief of the *kafu*. A *kafu* may be created by the emergence of a powerful leader who imposes his protection over neighbouring villages. Whereas at the level of the village the ritual function of the *dugu-tigi* is of primary importance, the political functions are central for the *mansā*, chief of the *kafu*. The *kafu* represents the supremacy of the territorial factor over the kinship group. The *kafu* therefore has some of the basic elements of a state.[1]

The development of Mali from a *kafu* ruled by the Keita clan to the hegemonic empire in the Western Sudan progressed in two stages. Through alliances and coercion Sundjata, son of the *mansā* of one Malinke *kafu*, was recognized as the supreme leader of the war of liberation against the Soso by the *mansās* of the other Malinke *kafus*. During this stage chiefs of other *kafus* lost their sovereignty and the title *mansā*; this title was henceforth reserved for Sundjata and his successors. In the second stage the conquests by Sundjata and his successors brought them to the Sahel. Their dominions then became ethnically heterogeneous and they inherited the imperial legacy of Ghana.

The monarch of a Sudanic kingdom grew out of the office of the family headman and the village chief, who combined secular and religious authority. As his power increased, so the sacred aspect of his role became more emphasized. His elevated position

further removed him not only from commoners but also from the nobility, members of his own lineage and lesser chiefs. Elements of divine kingship may be traced in some Sudanic monarchs. The earliest, and most explicit, evidence for divine kingship in the Sudan is in the tenth-century account of Kanem by al-Muhallabī:

> They exalt their king and worship him instead of God. They imagine that he does not eat. . . . If any of his subjects meet the camels which carry the food [secretly to the palace] he is instantly killed. . . . Their religion is the worship of their kings, for they believe that they bring life and death, sickness and health.[2]

The burial of the king of Ghana, described by al-Bakrī, suggests some similarities to burial customs in ancient Egypt and in other societies regarded as having a divine kingship.[3]

In Gao of the eleventh century the king's meal was shrouded in mystery: 'When the king sits down [to eat] a drum is beaten . . . and no one is allowed to travel about the town until the king finishes his repast.'[4] While in Cairo, on his way to Mecca, Mansā Mūsā ate alone with no one present.[5] At the beginning of the sixteenth century, V. Fernandes recorded that Mandimansa – very probably the king of Mali – was not allowed to be seen eating, even by his wives who served the food.[6]

Rules concerning the ceremonial submission before the king had to be strictly followed by commoners and nobles coming into the royal presence. They had to fall prostrate before the king and place dust and ashes on their heads. This custom is recorded by al-Bakrī for Ghana, and by Ibn Baṭūṭṭa, al-'Umarī and *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh* for Mali.[7] A Mali ambassador to the Moroccan Sultan sprinkled dust on his head whenever the Sultan made a favourable comment, as he would have done in his own country.[8]

Sprinkling dust was only a part of a more elaborate procedure of greeting. 'The *farba* came forward, greeting [Mansā Mūsā]

in the way a king is saluted; that is, he takes off his gown and wraps himself in it. He then kneels down, beats his breast and scatters dust over himself.' [9] Similar and more detailed accounts of humility and submissiveness are reported by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, an eye-witness to ceremonies in the court of Mali, and by Ibn Amīr Ḥājib who saw how Mansā Mūsā was saluted by his subjects during the royal visit to Cairo. No one was allowed into the king's presence with his sandals on; negligence was punished by death.[10] No one was allowed to sneeze in the king's presence, and when the king himself sneezed those present beat their breasts with their hands.[11]

The king, as was common among other African chiefs, spoke in public through a spokesman, who repeated the words of the king in a loud voice.[12] When the king addressed them, the officers of the court removed their headgear and stroked the strings of their bows in approval of the king's words.[13]

The etiquette of the court emphasized the distance between the monarch and his subjects. The ceremonial audience of the king manifested his power, his wealth, and dignity. al-Bakrī's account of the audience of the king of Ghana shares much in common with the accounts by al-'Umarī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa of ceremonies at the court of the king of Mali:[14] the domed pavilion in which the audience took place; the display of gold, silver, and ivory; the bodyguard of armed slaves; the presence of the dignitaries of the state; saddled and bridled horses ready for the king; and the announcement of the king's arrival by a tattoo on the royal drums. Dogs of excellent pedigree, which in Ghana were always present, were replaced in Mali – perhaps under Islamic influence – by two rams, kept as protection against the evil eye.

The royal umbrella as one of the royal emblems in fourteenth-century Mali was in all probability borrowed from the Mamluk sultans of Egypt, who were visited by several kings of Mali.[15] Flags were introduced earlier, and were carried before the kings of both Ghana and Mali. The colours of the flags of Mansā

Mūsā were yellow on red.[16] It is interesting to compare the pomp and ceremony at the courts of Ghana and Mali with the contrasting simplicity in the court of the Diāwara:

> Their kings have not that awe-inspiring appearance of [other] kings. They do not sit [for audience] dressed in a kingly fashion nor do they go out decorated. They never put on a turban nor are they seated on carpets. Their king has only a cap on his head. *Sometimes when he sits down among his people one would not recognize him among them.*[17] Though he has a large cavalry force he owns one horse only. They used to say: 'The adornment of his authority and kingship is sufficient for a king who needs no other ornaments.'[18]

Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh implies that the Diāwara kings were exceptional in their simplicity and austerity. Other kings were richly ornamented, clearly distinguished from their followers. In eleventh-century Ghana only the king and the crown prince could wear sewn clothes; all other people wore robes of cotton, silk, or brocade, according to their means, made of unstitched lengths of cloth.[19] In fourteenth-century Mali, the king was dressed in a long garment made of a European cloth.[20]

The king of Mali had a large harem; beautiful girls from all over his country were brought to the palace as concubines.[21] In Songhay the *askiyās* used to take the daughters of their soldiers as concubines.[22] All the *askiyās* who ruled in the sixteenth century were sons of concubines.[23] In Cassan [Kasa], a Malinke chiefdom on the Gambia, a son of a noble wife deposed his elder brother, son of a concubine, with the people's approval.[24]

Among the king's wives one was regarded as senior, 'whose name is mentioned from the pulpit [in the Friday *khutba*] along with the king's name'. There was much resentment in the court when Mansā Sulaymān put Qāsā, his senior wife, in prison and raised another wife of lower status in her place (see p. 67).[25] Ināri Kunāte, who accompanied Mansā Mūsā to Mecca, was

probably his senior wife.[26] It was to the senior wife that the ruler of Jenne brought his tribute.[27]

Both the Soninke (of Ghana) and the Malinke (of Mali) follow a patrilineal mode of succession and did so, in all probability, at the time of the great empires. Evidence of matrilineal succession in eleventh-century Ghana is based on the single authority of al-Bakrī and may refer to an exceptional case rather than to a general rule. The oral traditions of the ancient Soninke kingdom of Wagadu also indicate patrilineal succession.[28]

In Mali in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there were signs of conflict between the brother of the previous king and the latter's son. This conflict brought about a civil war between the house of Mansā Mūsā and that of his brother Mansā Sulaymān. Another division within the Keita dynasty was between the descendants of Sundjata and those of his brother Abū Bakr. When in the fourth generation Sundjata's descendants were unable to hold authority, the kingship passed to Mansā Mūsā, grandson of Abū Bakr. Four generations later Mūsā's descendants weakened and came under the control of the court officials, and a descendant of Sundjata came back to power (see pp. 64–70).[29]

The intervention of the court officers, either as patrons of weak kings (Abū Bakr, *c.* 1290 and Mūsā II, 1373/4–1388/9) or as usurpers (Sākūra, *c.* 1300 and Ṣandiki in 1388/9) may be regarded as attempts to ensure the survival of the empire rather than as coups to dispossess the Keita dynasty. In other Sudanic kingdoms (such as Diāra or Songhay) dynasties were overthrown, but in Mali, in spite of recurrent crises, the kingship returned to the Keita.

Mali prospered under powerful kings and was shaken to its foundations when weak kings occupied the throne. This is an indication of the strong personal role played by the king in the government of the empire. Indeed, the kings of both Ghana and Mali were personally active in exercising authority.

In Ghana the king used to ride through the streets of the town every morning: 'Every one who had suffered injustice or misfortune came before him and stayed there until the wrong was remedied.'[30] In Mali, Mansā Sulaymān punished the *mushrif* (comptroller) of Walata for his ill-treatment of a merchant (see p. 163).[31] All subjects, according to al-'Umarī's informant, could appeal for justice to the king. On the return of an official from an important mission the king himself interrogated him about all that had happened since his departure.[32]

Information about the court officials in Ghana and Mali is scarce. Of Ghana, al-Bakrī says: 'the king's interpreters, the official in charge of his treasury (*bayt al-māl*) and the majority of his ministers are Muslims'.[33] The literate Muslims initiated the rudiments of a central bureaucracy. The king of Mali, according to al-'Umarī, had scribes and chancelleries. Most of the king's orders, however, were transmitted orally.[34] Correspondence was probably used more extensively for external relations. Mansā Mūsā sent a book, written by one of his scribes, to the Sultan of Egypt.[35] The king of Ghana wrote a letter to the Almoravid ruler in Morocco.[36]

In Ghana the senior official in the king's entourage was known to al-Bakrī as *Wālī al-Madīna* (lit. 'governor of the town'). He was seated on the ground surrounded by the ministers.[37] In Mali, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the *nā'ib* (lit. 'deputy') led the *farāriya* ('the emirs') into the king's audience.[38]

The *farāriya* were commanders of the cavalry, but they also played an important role in the king's court. They tried to intervene in favour of the queen Qāsā, when she was imprisoned by Mansā Sulaymān. But when they were informed of her treason they agreed to the most severe punishment.[39] When injustice was suspected in the kingdom, the *farāriya* followed the king in cleansing themselves of any wrongdoing.[40]

The power of Mali depended on its military strength and this enhanced the importance of the army commanders in the king's court. The king cultivated their good will by grants of slaves

and villages,[41] and gifts of gold, horses, and luxurious clothes. For efficiency in fulfilling their duties the commanders of the cavalry were decorated with gold anklets, and were honoured by ever wider trousers. Wider trousers marked higher distinction, and the king's trousers were always the widest.[42]

Sons of vassal kings were sent to the capital as hostages. In the court of the king of Ghana were 'sons of the kings of his country'.[43] Sundjata's companions in exile were 'the sons of Mema's vassal kings'.[44] Two sons of the king of Songhay, then vassal of Mali, were taken into the service of the king of Mali, 'according to their [the people of Mali] custom with the sons of the kings under their authority. This custom is still [seventeenth century] current among all the Sudanic kings. Some of these sons return to their country after their service, while others stay there until they die.'[45]

All sections of the population contributed to the military efforts of the empire. The free peasants were often left to cultivate their fields in peace so that they could supply food for the warriors. The castes – such as blacksmiths and cobblers – produced arms and saddles. Muslims offered prayers to recruit supernatural aid. Active fighting was confined to groups in both ends of the hierarchy, to the noble clans and to the slaves.[46]

Slaves, in particular those born in captivity, were regarded as loyal to their masters, and were entrusted with delicate and responsible tasks. The man closest to Mansā Mūsā was the *farba*, 'the slave who was chief of his slaves and of his household'.[47] To him the king gave orders and he was responsible for the execution of these instructions. The comptroller (*mushrif*) of Walata was the *mansā-dyon* or the 'king's slave'.[48]

The promotion of slaves in the court and the administration at the expense of the inherited aristocracy marked the growing autocracy of the monarch. Power was concentrated in the hands of slaves who owed loyalty to him only. Under strong kings the slaves executed the policy of the monarch. But when weak kings came to the throne, the slaves took control, either as patrons or

as usurpers, to save the monarchy and the empire. The usurper Sākūra (ruled *c.* 1300) was a freed slave of the royal clan. Ṣandiki, who seized power in 1357/8, was perhaps the *dyon sandigi*, 'chief of the slaves'.[49]

The court official who appears most prominently in the historical sources is the *dyeli*, a bard (*griot*) and a spokesman. He played the leading role in royal ceremonies and therefore attracted the attention of foreign observers. As custodians of the oral traditions the *dyelis* share the glory of history with their kings. Before his death Nare Maghan told his son Sundjata, founder of the empire of Mali:

> In Mali every prince has his own *dyeli*. Doua's father was my father's *dyeli*, Doua is mine and the son of Doua, Balla Fasseke here, will be your *dyeli*. Be inseparable friends from this day forward. From his mouth you will hear the history of your ancestors, you will learn the art of governing Mali according to the principles which our ancestors have bequeathed to us.[50]

The *dyeli* was the king's counsellor and intimate friend, the only man who could see the king in his wrath. 'All that day,' according to the epic, 'the king did not emerge and Doua was the only one to enter and leave the palace.'[51]

In public affairs, 'when a quarrel breaks out between tribes it is we [the *dyeli*] who settle the difference, for we are the depositories of the oath which the ancestors swore'.[52] Before the war, 'in the middle of a great circle formed by the sofas, Balla Fasseke extolled the heroes of Mali. . . . He mentioned all the chiefs by name and they all performed great feats; then the army, confident in its leadership, left Sibi [for the battle].'[53]

When Mansā Sulaymān had to explain the guilt of the queen Qāsā, it was Dughā – his chief *dyeli* – who talked to the *farāriya*.[54] In the king's public audience Dughā was always at the front, holding two spears in his hand, to mediate between the king and his people. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa called him *al-turjmān*, i.e.

interpreter or linguist.[55] The role of the linguist is well described in the traditional epic: 'Then Sundjata spoke as *mansā*. Only Balla Fasseke [his *dyeli*] could hear him, for a *mansā* does not speak like a town-crier.'[56] In Cairo Mansā Mūsā spoke through his linguist only.[57]

Dughā was also master of ceremonies. On Fridays and on festival days he led the musicians and the dancers in their performance before the king and the dignitaries. These were very likely his followers who appeared with masks in the form of birds reciting the history of the former rulers of Mali. For this Dughā and his followers were generously rewarded by the king and the *farāriya*.[58]

The *dyeli* were among the *nyamakala*, people of occupational castes. They were considered inferior by the freemen, but the latter feared their sharp tongues; they praised but they could also slander. Smiths, *nyamakala* as well, were also brought close to the king for their expertise both as manufacturers of arms and as masters of magic and divination. Like the *dyeli* they were despised and feared at the same time.

Significantly, officials of the court, the king's confidants, were either slaves or people of castes. Their low status, added to their dependence on the king and the fact that they had no kin among the nobility and the freemen, made them more reliable. Muslim scribes and divines in attendance at the court were also, in a way, an outside group who had no immediate links with those who could challenge the king's authority.

XI · The Economic Basis of Government

The trans-Saharan trade was one of the factors that stimulated territorial organization on a larger scale. It also contributed to the growing power of the monarch through the accumulation of wealth, association with foreign merchants and a nearly monopolistic control over imports of strategic importance such as horses and metals. The rulers of Ghana and Mali regarded direct authority over the commercial centres as more important than intrusion into the goldfield areas; they derived their income from controlling the routes to the sources of that precious metal: 'On every donkey's load of salt the king of Ghana levied one golden *dinār* when it entered his country and two *dinārs* when it left. On a load of copper five *mithqāls* and on a load of other merchandise ten *mithqāls*.'[1] The 'other merchandise' were luxurious goods of high value and were therefore subject to the highest tax. Copper was several times dearer than salt,[2] hence the difference in the amount of duty levied. Copper and other merchandise imported to Ghana were consumed within the empire and were therefore taxed once only. Some of the salt, on the other hand, was carried to the goldfields across the southern frontiers of Ghana, and was taxed a second time at twice as high a rate when it left, because the value of the salt increased considerably when carried farther south.[3]

There seems to have been no tax on exported gold. The king received profits from the gold production by ruling that 'rare nuggets [weighing between an ounce and a *roṭl*, i.e., 1lb] found in the mines of his country were reserved for the king, and only gold dust was left for the people'. This he did, according to al-Bakrī, 'lest people would accumulate gold until its value depreciated'.[4] Rather than a measure for regulating the flow of

gold this law was aimed at securing royal monopolistic rights over the lion's share of gold production. To the same purpose he exploited the mysterious value attached to gold nuggets among the Sudanese, which only the king with his supernatural attributes could overcome. The rulers of both Ghana and Mali boasted of rare blocks of gold. 'The king of Ghana had in his castle an ingot of pure gold of natural formation weighing thirty *roṭls*.'[5] 'Among the prized possessions of the treasuries [of the kings of Mali] was a stone of gold from the mine weighing twenty *qinṭārs*.'[6]

According to al-Dukkālī, who spent thirty-five years in their capital, the kings of Mali learned from experience that whenever they had imposed direct rule over the pagan people of the goldfields the production of gold decreased considerably. They therefore preferred to leave the goldfields in the hands of the inhabitants and were satisfied with tribute extracted from them.[7] This remote control over the goldfields was enough for the kings of Mali to accumulate vast quantities of gold, some of which was so lavishly distributed in Cairo by Mansā Mūsā (see p. 212). Later, the Songhay empire was to be even farther removed from the main goldfields of Bure and the Akan forest, yet would still benefit from the passage of the gold trade through its territory.

Trade, so important for the central government of the empire, was limited to a small segment of the population. The greater majority of the people of Mali were engaged in agriculture, fishing, and cattle breeding. Taxes were levied in kind by the local rulers, and part of it was given as tribute to the central government.[8] Besides regular taxation a levy was imposed on special occasions. Before his pilgrimage Mansā Mūsā sent to all corners of his country to collect food supplies.[9]

The principal ethnic groups in the empire of Mali – Malinke, Bambara, and Soninke – were agriculturalists. They cultivated mainly millet, sorghum, and fonio. On the Gambia much rice was produced. The Bozo, the Somono, and the Sorko were

fishermen. The Fulbe were pastoralists. Farmers, fishermen, and cattle breeders lived close to each other and exchanged their products. The diversity of primary products stimulated local trade and also broadened the economic basis of the empire. Large-scale territorial organization of different geographical regions encouraged the development of longer distance trade in agricultural products.[10] Rice was transported from the Gambia to the hinterland in exchange for iron.[11] Millet and sorghum, grown by Bambara and Malinke of the savannah, were sent to Timbuktu and Walata for consumption, as well as farther north into the desert as far as the salt mines of Taghāza.[12]

Agriculture in the Sudanic savannah is one of the most developed in West Africa, because there is sufficient rainfall. Farther north in the Sahel agriculture is more rudimentary because of the scarcity and irregularity of the rainfall. Agricultural technology, however, in both regions was based on the hoe as the principal tool and on burning the vegetation for fertilizing. Even so, farmers produced a surplus for exchange and taxation.

Through taxation part of the agricultural surplus was channelled into paying for the army and the administration of the central government. With the apparent lack of useful technological innovations, production could have been increased only by expanding the cultivated land. This the imperial authority could do by organizing the exploitation of labour. The rulers established slaves in new villages to till the land and fill the royal granaries.

A detailed account of such slave villages at the time of Askiyā Dāwūd of Songhay is given in *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*. On one farm there were 200 slaves under four headmen, and above them the farm chief, a slave himself. The latter was responsible to the *askiyā* for the supply of a thousand sacks of rice. The farm handed over its quota of a thousand sacks and the surplus was kept by the chief slave who became quite wealthy in spite of his servile condition.[13] Slaves therefore took their part in the

system of exploitation. When such a wealthy slave died, the *askiyā* seized his fortune, and in this way the slaves' wealth was eventually absorbed by the ruler.[14] From what is known about the role of slaves in Mali, it is very likely that a similar economic system also prevailed in that empire.

Slaves who worked on the land, and could have been sold or bartered, were of the lowest status. The domestic slaves (*woloso*) fared much better, and had closer relations with their masters, who entrusted them with responsible positions. Domestic slaves of the king or other chiefs held economic, administrative, and military offices.

That the economic and social institutions of Mali were adopted by Songhay is explicitly mentioned in connection with the twenty-four servile 'tribes'. Information about these groups, though somewhat confusing, is of great interest. They lived in villages along the Niger, and were of diverse origins. They were distinguished from slaves in that they had never been free. They were not allowed to intermarry with the free population. Some were regarded as personal property of the rulers, and were his domestic servants and bodyguard. Others were associated with riverain occupations, iron-working and agriculture. They had to pay annual tribute of dried fish, grains, and other products.[15] But sadly, this information, which could have been used for an analysis of the socio-economic basis of the Sudanic empires, is suspected as being part of a nineteenth-century fabricated addition to the original seventeenth-century text of *Ta'rikh al-Fattāsh*.[16]

Beyond the textual criticism there are other objections to the information about the twenty-four 'tribes' of the 'Zanj'. It is difficult to relate these servile groups to any known category in the social organization of the Western Sudan. In this region, where there was no shortage of land and peasants could leave their residence in search of new land under a more favourable chief, serfdom as in medieval Europe could not have developed.[17] Land tenure in no way entered into the relations between a

sovereign and his subjects; neither free men nor caste might be attached by force to the land.[18] The sovereign's rights to taxes and to service were not based on any claim to land ownership, but on political and military coercion.[19] The peasantry was therefore not legally servile, as some modern historians postulated following the information in *Ta'rikh al-Fattāsh*.[20] They did pay tribute to the conqueror who became their political sovereign, and it is true that peasants and fishermen on the Middle Niger experienced subjection and exploitation under the authorities of the empires which succeeded each other in this region.

Both in their free status and in their socio-economic role in the Sudanic empires, peasants and fishermen who paid tribute differed from slaves who had been placed as workers on royal farms. For this reason it seems unlikely that the ruler could dispense villages of 'servile Zanj' to Muslim *'ulamā'* and *shurafā'* (those who claimed to be descendants of the Prophet). He made donations of slaves, which were regarded as alienable property. But the rulers well knew the value of slaves and these donations were to the tune of 10 or 27 slaves to an individual and not 1,700 and 1,500 'Zanj' or 70 'servile villages' as related in those passages of *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*.[21]

The blacksmiths were people of caste and certainly not slaves. Their status was low, but by no means servile. They were attached to the nobility, and as artisans they contributed to the great variety of saleable goods – an important economic factor. Castes of artisans were also respected for the esoteric value of their technological know-how. The *nyamakala* artisans – workers in iron, hide, and wood – maintained a rudimentary industry necessary in the more elaborated political system. Occupational castes developed in hierarchical societies and it is therefore possible that the origin of these castes may be traced back to the social and economic transformation in the process of state building.[22]

One industry, perhaps the most developed of all, was not

restricted to the *nyamakala*. Weaving and other branches of the textile industry seem to have expanded in the Western Sudan along with Islam. Centres of Islam – Timbuktu and Jenne – boasted many workshops of weavers and tailors who were part of the Muslim aristocracy.[23] In the hierarchical structure of the Sudanic society Muslims became distinguished not only by their religion, but also by their economic role as traders and promoters of the textile industry.

Barter was the elementary mode of exchange. The accounts of the 'silent trade' (see p. 153), in which gold was exchanged for salt, are the best illustration of the earliest stage in the development of trade. The most essential commodities of the trade eventually became media of exchange. In the eleventh-century commercial centre of Sillā on the Senegal these were 'millet, salt, copper rings, and small strips of cotton'.[24] Salt was at that time the currency in Gao.[25] Two centuries later Ibn Baṭṭūṭa paid in pieces of salt (as well as in glass ornaments and aromatic goods) for food he bought during his travels across the dominions of Mali.[26] Copper was used as currency in Kanem and in Takedda in the fourteenth century.[27] Pieces of cloth were the money in Zawīla, in the Sūs, on the Gambia, and in Kanem.[28]

Gold was the standard currency of North Africa. The *mithqāl*, weighing 4·25 to 4·725 grams, and its equivalent coin the golden *dinār*, were quoted by Arab authors for prices of goods. In the commercial centres of the southern Sahara and the Sahel gold was the current money. In eleventh-century Awdaghust the medium of exchange was gold dust (*tibr*). In Tadmekka, at the same time, there were unstamped *dinārs* of pure gold.[29] Over four centuries later, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, gold was the currency in Jenne and Timbuktu. In both cities, however, gold was used for larger transactions. In order to buy goods of lesser value, mainly food provisions, people in Jenne paid in pieces of iron and in Timbuktu cowries served as small change.[30]

Cowries, shells fished in the Indian Ocean, were imported to

the Western Sudan as early as the eleventh century.[31] A large quantity of cowries was found among the goods of the lost caravan, discovered by Monod in the Sahara in 1960, and dated to the twelfth century.[32] al-Bakrī, however, does not mention cowries among the various currencies used for exchange. Is it possible that they were then in demand as ornaments and charms only?[33] Cowries as currency were first mentioned by al-ʿUmarī, writing in the 1340s: 'Transactions in the land of Takrūr [i.e. Mali] are in cowries (*wadaʿ*).'[34] During the next decade Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noted during his visit to Gao: 'Its people carry out their transactions, buying and selling, with cowries, as do the people of Mali.'[35] By the first half of the fourteenth century, therefore, cowries were established as currency in Mali, along with other media of exchange.

In his study of 'archaic economic institutions' Karl Polanyi relates the introduction of currency to state-building and to an economic reorganization which followed the political evolution:

> Once set on the course of state-building, the monarchy was engaged in organizing an army and its provisioning 'in kind', the launching of a currency as an instrument of taxation, and the creating of markets and of small change for the distribution of the food. . . . [The] cowrie gained the status of currency by virtue of state policy, which regulated its use and guarded against its proliferation. . . . Cowrie-using areas and areas where it was not accepted for payment were as if their boundaries had been drawn by administrative authority.[36]

In the Western Sudan, Claude Meillassoux noticed that cowries were in use in regions within the orbit of the two Bambara states of Segu and Kaarta.[37] From the example of Hausaland and Bornu in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively, it appears that 'there was no obstacle to a ruler introducing the cowrie currency into his domains for his own profit'.[38] Cowries were introduced as currency into the Western Sudan when the empire of Mali attained its greatest

territorial expansion and its most elaborated political, economic, and administrative organization. Eleventh-century Ghana, following al-Bakrī's evidence, did not succeed in integrating the Sahel and the Sudan to one unit. Under Mali integration was advanced and the introduction of a monetary system was both possible and necessary. Greater social and economic differentiation – the court, the army, peasants, occupational castes, and slaves – stimulated the marketing of food. Cowries, with recognizable units of minute value, were most suitable for the developing market economy. Large-scale and long-distance trade continued to be carried on through the medium of gold.[39]

Beyond the advantages of cowries as currency already mentioned, it should be added that they could not be counterfeited and were not easily damaged. Yet this in itself does not explain why and how cowries were adopted as currency. They were used as money in some regions of the Far East, but those who transported them from India to the Western Sudan, Venetians and Arabs, never used them in this way. They might, however, have suggested this use to the Sudanese, and would have had an excellent economic reason for so doing. al-'Umarī says that 'the traders who bring the cowries [to Mali] derive great benefits'.[40] This was well illustrated by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the source of the cowries (*Cypraea moneta*) in the Maldive islands and their point of final destination in the capital of Mali. In the Maldive islands one golden *dinār* bought 40,000 cowries, but in Mali 1,150 cowries only.[41] Early in the seventeenth century the rate of exchange in Timbuktu was 500 cowries for one *dinār*.[42] Food at that time was scarce and expensive and since cowries were used mainly for the purchase of provisions their value soared. The main reason, however, for fluctuation in the value of cowries was variations in their supply.

There is an important difference between the medieval states of the Sudan and the states which emerged in the forest regions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The latter – Ashanti and Dahomey, for example – tended to establish state

monopoly over external trade which was geared to the needs of the court. In the Sudanic empires trade was left in the hands of private enterprise, both foreign and local. The authorities maintained security and improved the roads. The state's profits came from taxes and customs and not from direct participation in trade. This certainly encouraged the Sudanese traders to take part in a wider international trade.

XII · The Gold of the Sudan

The trans-Saharan trade was carried over three distinct climatic and cultural zones: the Maghrib, the Sahara, and the Sudan. Four factors were of particular significance in promoting this trade at its height: (*a*) the camel, which was a suitable beast of burden for the difficult journey across the Sahara; (*b*) the Berber tribes on both shores of the Sahara, who acted as a human bridge; (*c*) Islam, the common religion of the North-African traders, the Saharan nomads, and the Sudanese traders and rulers; (*d*) the large-scale empires in the Sudan. All these were absent in classical times. Trans-Saharan contacts then depended on casual, often hostile, relations between the rulers of North Africa – Punic or Roman – and the nomads of the Sahara, as well as between the latter and the black peoples of the Sudan.[1]

The Garmantes of Fezzan traded with the Punic centres on the coast of Tripolitania. They brought the precious 'Carthaginian Stones', also known as 'carbuncles', which they obtained in the south-west, and Sudanese slaves, whom they hunted in the south. In their attempt to impose peace and order in North Africa, the Romans fought the Garmantes, and penetrated deep into the desert where they left traces of Roman civilization. Between the first and the fourth centuries A.D. there was a certain amount of trade between the Romans and the Garmantes. The latter bought glassware, pottery, cloth, wine, and oil, and exported carbuncles, ivory, and slaves. The Romans built at least three forts beyond the *limes* – at Ghadames, Gheria al-Gharbia, and Bu Njem – to protect the routes leading to Djerma, the capital of the Garmantes.

Chariots depicted in rock paintings suggest early trans-

Saharan routes from Ghadames and Djerma – via Ghāt, Tassili-des-Ajjers, Hoggar, and Adrar-des-Iforas – to Es-Souq (Tadmekka). Reported findings of Roman material (including coins) along the northern part of this route bear evidence to commercial links with Roman North Africa. Yet the trade carried over this route was necessarily very limited in volume.[2]

Another route marked by a line of chariots in rock-paintings, ran across the Western Sahara from the oases of Figuig (south of Oran) – via Zemmour, the Mauritanian Adrar, and along the Dhar Tichitt-Walata – to Goundam near the Niger. From this main route several 'chariot routes' branched off towards the Atlantic coast, from Sāqiyat al-Ḥamrā' in the south to Agadir in the north. It is along this coast, in all probability, that the Carthaginians carried a 'silent barter' in gold (see p. 244 n. 6), as reported by Herodotus in the fifth century B.C.

The most famous maritime adventure of the Carthaginians beyond the Pillars of Hercules was that of Hanno about the middle of the fifth century B.C. Hanno's account, said to have been copied from an inscription in a temple at Carthage, should be cautiously and critically treated.[3] He sailed along the western coast of present-day Morocco, and established (or reinforced) Punic trading colonies. The most southern of these colonies was that on the island of 'Kerne', identified either with Mogador or Herne. In the fourth century Palaiphatos described the inhabitants of Kerne as 'very rich in gold'.[4] It is quite possible that the Carthaginians had been acquainted with a sprinkling of an overland trade in gold which reached North Africa, and, like the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, they tried to capture the gold by establishing factories on the coast. Strabo (58 B.C.–A.D. 25) recorded that the Moors of Roman Mauritania wore gold ornaments, and that 'the Pharusii occasionally come into contact with the Maurusei; they ride across the desert, fitting water skins under the bellies of their horses'.[5] The Pharusii nomads were perhaps the middlemen of a rudimentary trade in gold, and the maritime enterprise of the

Carthaginians on the west coast of Morocco may have been regarded as dangerous competition. This may explain the attacks by the Pharusii on the Punic colonies along the coast. Trade on the Atlantic coast declined and disappeared after the fall of Carthage.

Lacking the naval skill of the Carthaginians, the Romans did not venture to sail along the Atlantic coast. During the Roman period the camel was introduced into the Sahara, and nomad Berbers who made use of this valuable animal migrated southwards. These Berbers bridged the Sahara with the result that the trans-Saharan trade increased in volume. The kingdom of Ghana emerged in the Sahel and large-scale political organization in the Sudan further encouraged the supply of gold.

Southern Morocco was conquered by the Arabs at the beginning of the eighth century. From there, the Umayyad governors were soon attracted by the gold of the Sudan, and in 734 an expedition led by Ḥabīb ibn ʻUbayda ibn ʻUqba seized and brought back large quantities of gold and many slaves.[6] However, the Arab governors soon realized that such raids could not secure a continuous flow of gold, and they consequently encouraged the trade, which had been conducted by the Ṣanhāja of the desert. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān, son of the above-mentioned Ḥabīb, in his capacity as governor of Ifrīqiya in 747–55, ordered that wells be dug along the trails leading from the oases of southern Morocco to the Sudan. The last of these wells was about sixteen days travel from Wādī Darʻa.[7] In the second half of the eighth century independent Khārijite principalities ruled over the northern gates of the Saharan routes from Jabal Nafūsa in the east to Sijilmāsa in the west. They contributed to the development of private enterprise by Muslim merchants in the Sudanese trade.

Gold, along with silver, constituted the basis of the Muslim monetary system. The minting of gold coins in the Muslim caliphate, as in Byzantium, was the exclusive privilege of the sovereign, the caliph. For almost two centuries the golden

dinārs of the caliphs, made chiefly from gold taken as booty in Syria and Egypt, circulated in the Maghrib and in Spain. There the Muslims also laid their hands on the gold which had been accumulated in the treasuries of Christian churches and monasteries. The principal source of new gold was then in Wādī 'Allāqī, south of Egypt.[8] Even at that early period the gold of the Sudan was already known; al-Fazārī called Ghana 'the land of gold' towards the end of the eighth century.[9] In reviewing the gold sources which replenished the Muslim treasuries and mints, the south Arabian scholar al-Hamdānī (died in 945) said: 'the most productive gold mine in the world is that of Ghana'. His information came from the master of the mint of Ṣan'a in Yemen.[10]

From the middle of the eighth century the flow of gold from the Sudan to the Maghrib increased through the efforts of the Khārijite traders. This helped the Aghlabids to strengthen their position as autonomous rulers of the Maghrib in the name of the 'Abbāsid caliphs. In 800 the founder of this dynasty, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Aghlab, undertook to pay 40,000 *dinārs* to the imperial treasury in return for a large measure of autonomy and for the right to bequeath his dominions to his heirs. According to numismatic evidence, he began to strike *dinārs* c. 804. The Aghlabids paid the tribute to Bagdad with their own *dinārs*, which must have been made of Sudanese gold.[11]

In 909 the Aghlabids in Ifrīqiya were overthrown by the Fāṭimids. Whereas the *dinārs* of the Aghlabids were issued in the name of the 'Abbāsid caliph whoee vassals they were, the Fāṭimids challenged the legitimacy of the 'Abbāsids and established a rival caliphate. Their *dinārs*, of independent sovereigns with shī'ite inscriptions, were of high quality, and were used to support their campaign against the 'Abbāsid empire. Vast amounts of gold were used to pay for their propaganda network, mainly in preparation for the conquest of Egypt, which they accomplished in 969. The economic and political expansion of the Fāṭimid caliphate was much aided by the gold of the Sudan.

The Fāṭimids destroyed the Khārijite principality of Tahert and conquered Sijilmāsa. In 951 Ibn Ḥawqal visited Sijilmāsa, and his account indicates the evergrowing trade of this town with the Sudan as well as the great revenue the Fāṭimids derived from that region.[12]

The rise of the Fāṭimid caliphate put an end even to the theoretical unity of the Muslim world. The Umayyads in Andalusia (Spain) were virtually independent of the 'Abbāsids from the middle of the eighth century, but as Sunnites they accepted the existence of one caliph, and were styled *amīrs* only. In the tenth century the Fāṭimids created a second caliphate, which spatially separated the Umayyads of Spain from the 'Abbāsids. The Fāṭimids were the Umayyads' rivals in the Maghrib, and under these circumstances the greatest of the rulers of Muslim Spain, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, assumed the title *amīr al-mu'minīn*, or caliph, in 929. A year earlier he struck his own gold *dinārs* as a symbol of complete independence, but also to prevent the introduction of Fāṭimid *dinārs* into his dominions. Under his son al-Ḥakam II (961–76) the minting of gold *dinārs* in Spain reached its peak.[13]

In the tenth century, therefore, rulers of the two powers in the western parts of the Muslim world introduced *dinārs*, and for this they must have used Sudanese gold only. Thus the demand for gold increased considerably, the trans-Saharan contacts intensified, and so did the supply of gold. This was, literally, the Golden Age of Islam or, as Lombard coined it, Islamic civilization was then 'carried over that wave of gold'.[14] South of the Sahara the empire of Ghana flourished.

Fāṭimid authority over Sijilmāsa continued intermittently until their conquest of Egypt in 969, from which time Sijilmāsa and the rest of Morocco fell under the rule of the Zanāta, allies and vassals of the Umayyads. An analysis of the numismatic evidence indicates a correlation between the extent of the Umayyads' authority in Morocco and the abundance of gold coins struck in Spain during the second half of the tenth

century. In the 970s when the Zīrids, vassals of the Fāṭimids, attacked Morocco in an attempt to regain Sijilmāsa, fewer gold coins were minted in Spain. In the 990s, on the other hand, when the supremacy of the Umayyads in Morocco was established, more gold reached Muslim Spain and more *dinārs* were minted there. In the first decades of the eleventh century the Umayyad caliphate declined and the Zanāta rulers of Morocco became independent. The rarity of gold coins in Andalusia at that time, and more so during the period of political fragmentation after 1031, was probably caused by a decline in the flow of gold across the straits.[15]

The trend was changed dramatically with the conquest of Morocco and Spain by the Almoravids. Both in Morocco (in the mints of Sijilmāsa, Aghmāt, Marrākush, and Fes) and in Spain (in the mints of Seville, Cordova, Malaga, and Almeria) the Almoravids produced rich and varied coinage.[16] This may be explained by the supply of vast quantities of gold which reached Morocco. Far from disturbing the trans-Saharan trade, the Almoravids – whose authority spanned the Sahara, Morocco, and Spain for some time – raised the gold trade to a new peak. The *dinārs* of the Almoravids were made of pure gold, and were therefore in great demand in the Maghrib and Europe, even after the fall of their state. The same high standard of gold coins was maintained under the Almohads and under the Ḥafṣids of Ifrīqiya.[17]

In the second half of the eleventh century, when the Almoravids' empire thrived on Sudanese gold, Ifrīqiya seems to have been short of gold. No gold coins of the Zīrids after 1067 have been found.[18] This has often been explained by the interruption of the supply of gold from the Sudan across the Sahara caused by the Hilālian invasion, which devastated the countryside and disturbed trading in the second half of the eleventh century.[19] A recent revaluation of the role of Banū Hilāl in Ifrīqiya suggests that these nomads did not intervene directly with the trade routes,[20] but they reduced the authority of the Zīrids and

thus contributed to the fragmentation of Ifrīqiya. The Arabs also exerted pressure on the Ibāḍī communities of the Djarīd, who finally lost their commercial pre-eminence having almost monopolized the trade of Ifrīqiya with the Sudan for three centuries. Wargala, to the south-west, became the new trading centre for the distribution of gold. Much gold was attracted to Fāṭimid Egypt, where *dinārs* of the best quality were minted by the caliphs al-Musta'lī (1094–1101) and al-Āmir (1101–30).[21] Indeed, Egypt in the east and the Almoravid empire in the west attracted gold at the expense of the weaker Ṣanhāja rulers of Ifrīqiya. However, at the beginning of the thirteenth century the Ḥafṣids resumed the minting of excellent gold coins in Tunisia and even exported gold to Italy.[22]

Political and economic changes in the Muslim world from Spain to Egypt influenced both the destination and the volume of the trans-Saharan gold trade. Until the twelfth century, however, most of the gold of the Sudan remained in the Muslim world. The eleventh and the twelfth centuries saw the beginning of a new era in the relations between the Muslim world and Christian Europe. In the preceding centuries Western Europe abandoned gold as the basis of its monetary system because, among other reasons, most of its gold had been drained through an adverse balance of trade with the east. When Europe gradually recovered from its long economic recession its exports – mainly cloth – paid for the imports and even attracted a growing amount of gold.[23]

The growing commercial enterprise of the Italian cities – Genoa, Florence, Venice, and Pisa – was backed by a corresponding growth in the power of their fleets. For some centuries the coasts of Italy were exposed to attacks by Arab pirates. In the eleventh century these attacks were repulsed and the Italians, in their turn, raided the North African coasts. The Muslim rulers of North Africa signed treaties which accorded the Italian merchants free access to the principal ports, and reduced tolls. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

Italian merchants established factories (*fundūqs*) in the principal coastal towns of the Maghrib, from Tripoli to Ceuta on the Mediterranean, and as far as Māssa on the Atlantic. Varieties of European cloth were in great demand in the Maghrib because of their quality and durability. Other exports to the Maghrib included grain, spices, copper, beads, precious stones, and perfumes. The most important imports on record were skins, leather goods and alum, needed for the dyeing industry. References to gold imports from the Maghrib to Italy are few, but this is by no means an indication of the volume of gold which reached the Italian traders.[24] Gold obtained by the Italians in the Maghrib was sent to the Latin kingdoms of the crusaders in the east. In order to participate in the economy of the Orient the crusaders produced gold coinage, in imitation of the Fāṭimids' mints.[25]

From 1173 Alfonso VIII of Toledo struck *dinārs* known as *le morabeti alfonsi*, in imitation of the highly valued gold *dinārs* of the Almoravids.[26] Muslim gold coins had first circulated in Europe in their original Islamic forms, after which Christian inscriptions were added. When the European authorities started striking their own coins, they began by imitating the Muslim *dinārs* in order to extend confidence in the new coinage. Gold coins were minted in Marseille from 1227, in Genoa and Florence from 1252, and in Venice from 1284. From the trading cities of the Mediterranean the trend of this return to gold currency spread to northern Europe in the first half of the fourteenth century.[27] This was closely associated with the demographic and economic expansion of Europe at that time and with the growth of international trade.

For centuries while gold was rare in Europe, its value compared to silver was very low because there was little demand for it. In the second half of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the countries of Europe, one after the other, returned to the gold standard, the demand for gold increased and caused a considerable rise in its value. This

reached its peak between 1305 and 1339, first closer to the Mediterranean and then farther north. The crisis, however, was temporary only, and by the middle of the fourteenth century the price of gold (in terms of silver) was stabilized at the ratio of about 1:10, compared to 1:14, 1:19, or even 1:24 during the rush on gold.[28] The fall in population caused by the Black Death (1348–50), and the subsequent shrinkage of trade, reduced the need for precious metals. Also, the production of the Hungarian gold mines increased. Nevertheless, at that period about two-thirds of the world's production of gold came from the Sudan to replenish the raw material needed for the European mints.[29]

The rising demand for gold in Europe and its high price stimulated an ever-growing trade between the two shores of the Mediterranean. The Italian traders were joined by those of Marseille and Majorca. Among the latter Jews played an important role, and through contacts with the Jewish communities of Morocco extended their commercial activities into the interior. They contributed to the growing knowledge of the trans-Saharan trade as indicated by maps and planispheres produced in Majorca.[30]

In these circumstances the trans-Saharan trade reached a new peak by the middle of the fourteenth century. The empire of Mali thrived on this trade which was much encouraged by the security which prevailed in its dominions. By that time, the Mande-speaking Muslim traders – Wangara or Dyula – developed their network of routes and entrepôts over the Western Sudan. In response to an increased demand for gold the Dyula extended trade routes from the Middle Niger to the goldfields of the Akan forest.[31]

The ascendancy of the Italian merchants in the trade of African gold was well established. Even much of the gold which the Catalan traders brought to Majorca and Barcelona eventually reached Italy. Records in the 1360s mentioned the shipping of gold from 'Yspania' to Genoa. Towards the end of

the fourteenth century Venetian gold ducats as well as florins circulated in Egypt as currencies in international transactions.[32]

Significantly, while the Italian cities had rich supplies of gold and produced highly-valued coins, the yellow metal seems to have been rare in some parts of the Iberian peninsula. Navarre had no gold coins of its own between 1383 and 1481, and Portugal did not produce gold coins between 1383 and 1435. The resumption of gold minting in Portugal in 1436 was one result of the Portuguese conquest of Ceuta, on the Moroccan coast, in 1415. During the fourteenth century Ceuta was a major entrepôt for the gold trade, and Genoan traders were prominent there. But the Genoans, who had cultivated propitious relations with their Muslim hosts, found it difficult to continue their trade under the rule of the Portuguese, who were at the same time commercial competitors. Once they had lost control of their trade in Ceuta the Genoans did not succeed in re-establishing it in alternative ports such as Tangier, Arzila or Larache.

The commercial prospects of the Italians worsened as the Portuguese advanced along the Atlantic coast and established factories there to attract caravans on their way to the north. While Portugal resumed the minting of gold, the Italian cities felt the shortage of the gold supply. This was aggravated by the Ottoman conquests in the Balkans and the subsequent interference with other sources of the precious metal. Alarmed by the apparent success of the Portuguese shipping merchants in obtaining gold, the Italians seem to have decided to venture overland into the interior.[33] In 1447 one of the principal merchants of Genoa sent his agent, Antonius Malfante, to the Sudan. Malfante reached the oases of Tuat, at the northern end of the trans-Saharan route.[34] In 1469 Bendetto Dei, an agent of the Portinari firm in Florence, is said to have reached Timbuktu, where he was supposed to explore the prospects of exchanging Lombardian cloth for the gold of the Sudan.[35]

About 1440 the Portuguese introduced a newly designed caravel more suited to sailing in the open ocean. In 1441 Cape

Blanco was discovered, and three years later Cape Verde, beyond the desert, was passed. In Arguin the Portuguese came closest to a Saharan caravan route. After 1455 they established a factory there and developed commerce with the nomads. The Portuguese sold horses, wheat, cloth, silver, precious stones, and spices. They bought mainly slaves, skins, gum, and some gold dust. During the reign of João II (1481–95) they penetrated inland and built an entrepôt in Wadan, an important crossroad of the Sahara. Wadan, however, was soon deserted because of the harsh conditions of the desert. Only 20–25 kilograms of gold were bought annually by the Portuguese from Arguin in the last quarter of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, and gold trading there soon declined. This was because the Portuguese came closer to the sources of the gold further south, and no longer had to depend on the nomads as intermediaries. Also, the trade in Arguin was a rigid royal monopoly, and suffered from the competition by private merchants on the Guinea coast.[36]

In 1471 the Portuguese reached the site where a decade later the fort São Jorge da Mina (to be known as Elmina) was established. It was there that for the first time large quantities of gold reached the Portuguese on the coast, for they were close to the goldfields of the Akan forest (in the present republics of Ghana and the Ivory Coast). Some of the gold which had been carried north to the Middle Niger and the Maghrib now turned south along a much shorter route to reach the Christian customers. An unpublished Portuguese document bears evidence to competitiveness between the Dyula and the Portuguese over the gold of the Akan forest. In 1513 the governor of Elmina complained that much gold was bought by the Mandinga (Dyula), but had there been enough supplies of slaves and other merchandise he could have obtained any amount of gold the king of Portugal demanded. Another unpublished letter, dated to the second quarter of the sixteenth century, complains of a powerful Portuguese trader who flooded the Gambia (Rio

de Cantor) with commodities of value to Elmina, so that Mandinga traders who used to go to Elmina traded their gold at Cantor. There was, therefore, an interconnection of gold routes between the Gambia and Elmina through the very sophisticated and elaborate commercial system of the Mande-Dyula and Diakhanke.[37]

For about half a century after 1482 Elmina was visited every year by about a dozen ships which carried over 400 kilograms of gold annually to Lisbon. In the second half of the sixteenth century the supply of gold to Lisbon declined as the Portuguese lost their century-old monopoly over the trade with Guinea. English, followed by French and Dutch, ships frequented Elmina to take gold. The competition between traders of different European nations created more favourable conditions for the trade. Though the amount of gold which reached Lisbon decreased considerably, traders of other European nations in Elmina obtained ever increasing quantities of the metal.[38]

In the sixteenth century a new dynasty in Morocco, the Sa'dīds, succeeded in warding the Portuguese off most of their strongholds along the Atlantic coast of Morocco. In this way the North African *termini* of the trans-Saharan trade were restored to the Muslims. The southern-oriented policy of the Sa'dīds culminated in the conquest of Timbuktu and the Songhay empire in 1591. Immediately after this successful military feat, much gold dust reached Morocco, which earned the Moroccan sultan Mawlay Aḥmad al-Manṣūr the honorific al-Dhahabī, 'the Golden'. But a couple of decades later the flow of gold to Morocco decreased. In the Western Sudan itself the collapse of the political system maintained by the successive empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay also disturbed the patterns of trade. These developments in Africa coincided with the discovery of America and its gold. In the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries the Western Sudan gradually lost the position it had enjoyed for many centuries as the principal source of gold for the Muslim world and Europe.

XIII · The Saharan Trade

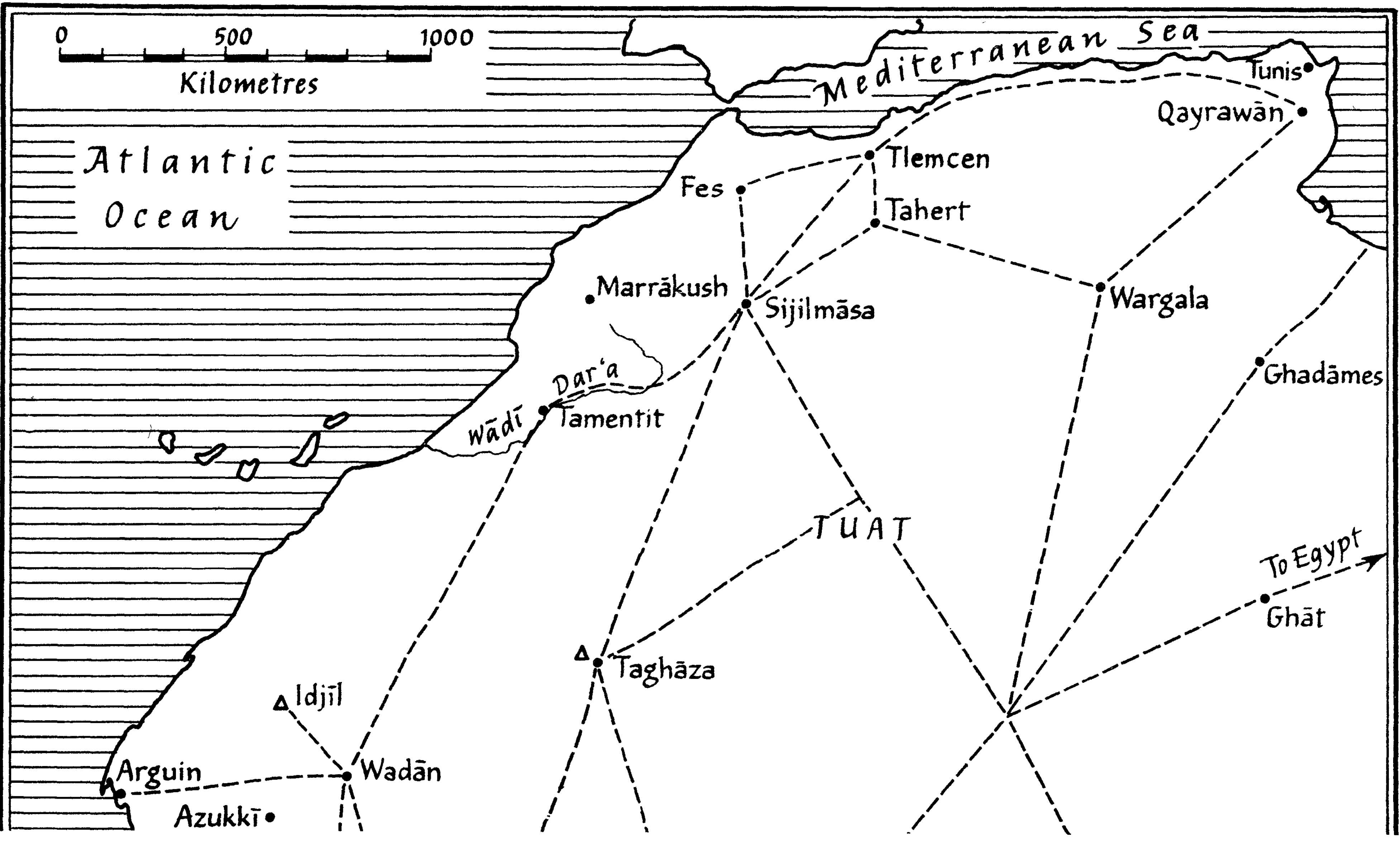
In opposition to Arab rule and to Islamic orthodoxy, Berbers in the Maghrib accepted the teaching of the Khārijiyya, a protest movement of religious and political character. Their revolt in the middle of the eighth century was defeated and the Khārijites were forced to retreat to the south. There, beyond the range of the mountains in the pre-Saharan steppes, the Khārijites controlled the northern end of the trans-Saharan routes to the Sudan. In their trading centres, such as Zawīla and Sijilmāsa, were people who hailed from Kūfa, Baṣra, and Khurāsān.[1] These people were themselves Khārijite refugees from the East and contributed to the development of commercial enterprise along the Saharan routes.

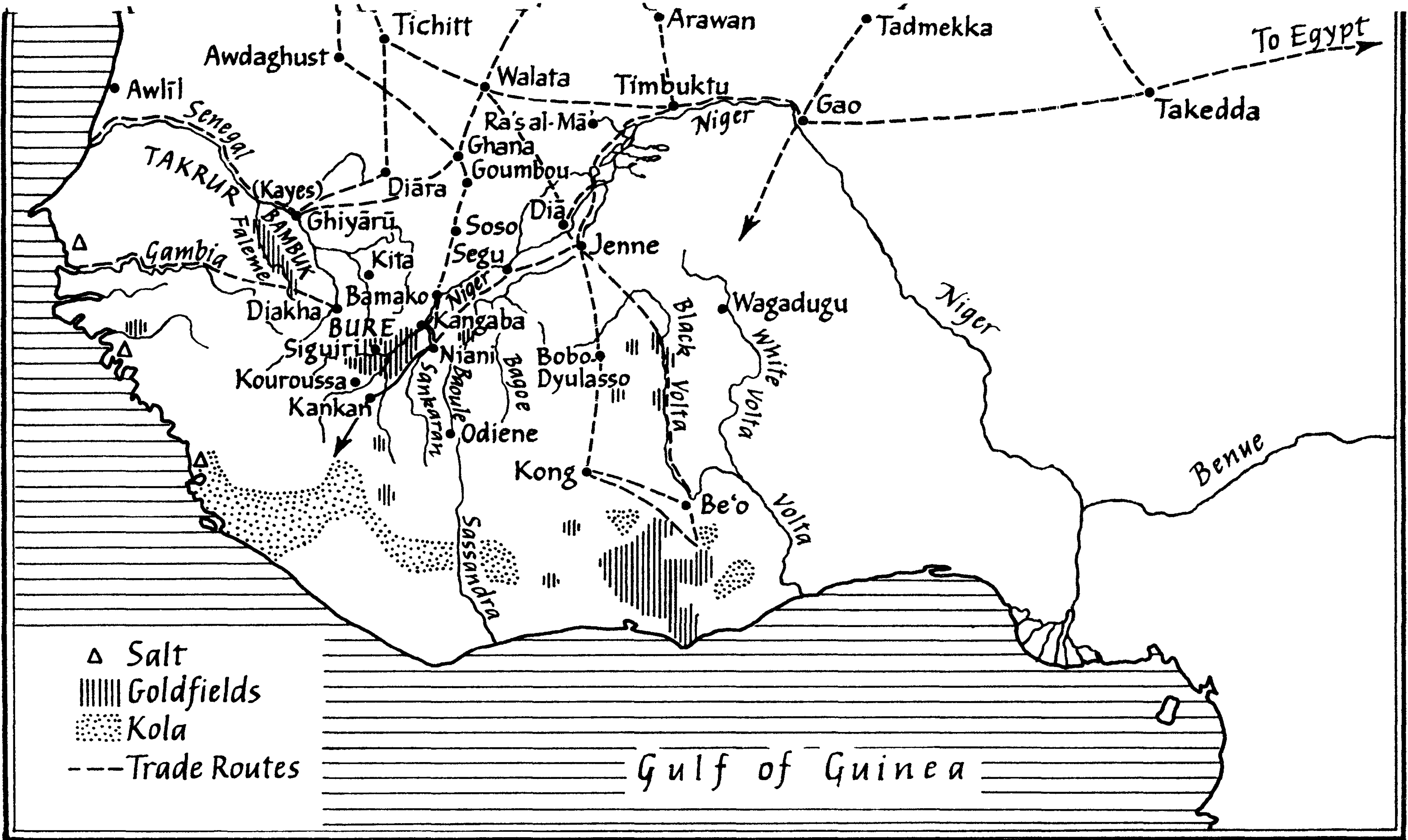
Two sects of the Khārijiyya were established in the Maghrib – the Ibāḍiyya and the Ṣufriyya. Adherents of the latter were among the founders of Sijilmāsa. The Ibāḍiyya were more widely dispersed, from Jabal Nafūsa in Tripolitania, across the Djarīd in southern Tunisia to Tahert in Algeria. The state of Tahert was founded by 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Rustam after he had been expelled from Qayrawān in 761. Soon after its foundation Tahert became an important centre for trade with the Sudan. The ruler of Tahert, Aflaḥ ibn 'Abd al-Wahab (823/4–871/2), sent one of the wealthy citizens as envoy to the Sudan. Diplomatic relations followed commercial contacts. Tahert's principal link seems to have been with Gao, by way of Wargala and Tadmekka, but some of its trade reached the Sudan via Sijilmāsa and Awdaghust.[2] In 909 Tahert was conquered by the Fāṭimids; the Ibāḍite state was destroyed and the town declined. In the middle of the tenth century, according to Ibn Ḥawqal, the Berber inhabitants of Tahert were poor.[3]

The last *imām* of Tahert found refuge in Wargala to the south-east, which succeeded Tahert both as centre of the Ibāḍiyya and as an entrepôt for trade with the Sudan. Wargala also connected the Ibāḍite settlements of the Djarīd with Tadmekka. Abū Yazīd ibn Kaydād, who led the revolt against the Fāṭimids in 943–7, was born in Tadmekka. His father, a native of Tozeur in southern Tunisia, traded with the Sudan.[4]

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Ibāḍites traded in gold and slaves with the Sudan. The Sudan became something like the 'New World' to which people travelled to become rich. A sheikh from the region of Wargala travelled to Ghana and got as far as Ghiyāra, where he died among 'idolatrous people'.[5] Ghiyāra is perhaps Ghiyārū of al-Bakrī, the town closest to the goldfields. In the twelfth century, according to al-Idrīsī, the rich merchants of Wargala travelled to Ghana and Wangara to bring back gold for the mint.[6] By the end of the twelfth century most of the Ibāḍites were gradually integrated into the orthodoxy. Wargala, however, remained the gate to the Sahara and the Sudan for the traders of the central Maghrib.[7]

The role of the Ibāḍites in the trans-Saharan trade may explain the prominence of people from Ifrīqiya among the inhabitants of Awdaghust in the tenth and eleventh centuries. According to al-Bakrī, these were Nafūsa, Lawāta, Zanāta, and Nafzāwa. In the north, members of these tribes were among the adherents of the Ibāḍiyya, and so were, in all probability, the residents of Awdaghust. Indeed, one of the traders of Awdaghust was Abū Rustam al-Nafūsī, a typical Ibāḍite name.[8] The presence of traders from Ifrīqiya in Awdaghust is an indication of the growing importance of the western route. Though the principal route for the Ibāḍite merchants of Ifrīqiya was via Tadmekka, there are references to traders who preferred to travel first to Sijilmāsa and then across the Sahara. Though they belonged to different sects of the Khārijiyya, the rulers of Tahert and Sijilmāsa maintained close relations and even intermarried.[9]


0
500
1000
Kilometres
Atlantic Ocean
Mediterranean Sea
Tunis
Qayrawān
Tlemcen
Fes
Tahert
Marrākush
Sijilmāsa
Wargala
Ghadāmes
Dar'a
Wādī
Tamentit
TUAT
To Egypt
Ghāt
Taghāza
Idjīl
Arguin
Wadān
Azukkī



Map 2. Trade routes of the Sahara and the Sudan, c. 1000–1500

Sijilmāsa was founded by Berbers of the Miknāsa tribe, adherents of the Ṣufriyya, after they had been defeated in the general Khārijite revolt of 740–2.[10] It was ruled by the dynasty of Banū-Midrār. The Berbers were joined by refugees from Andalusia and by Jews who contributed to the prosperity of Sijilmāsa. In 951 Ibn Ḥawqal visited Sijilmāsa and was impressed by its commerce and its industrious people:

> It has uninterrupted trade with Sudan and other countries, abundant profits, with caravans following one after the other. The inhabitants are dignified in their behaviour and perfect in morals and deeds. They do not share the meanness of the other people of the Maghrib in their business and habits, but act with great frankness. . . . Nobility, tolerance, natural generosity and good manners are peculiar to them on account of their numerous travels.[11]

This was the aristocratic and cosmopolitan character of the people of a flourishing commercial town. It was at Sijilmāsa that Ibn Ḥawqal saw the famous cheque for 42,000 *dinārs*, which bears evidence to the volume of trade between Sijilmāsa and Awdaghust.[12] In the 920s Sijilmāsa contributed about half the income of the Fāṭimid state in the Maghrib.[13] The Fāṭimids left rulers of the Banū-Midrār dynasty as governors of Sijilmāsa, but occasionally they had to dispatch military forces to reassert their authority. By that time the Khārijite heresy had lost momentum and the rulers of Sijilmāsa returned to the *sunna*.

In the 970s the Midrārids were overthrown by the Maghrāwa dynasty of the Zanāta, vassals of the Umayyads of Spain.[14] In the first half of the eleventh century, following the disintegration of the Umayyad caliphate, the Maghrāwa were involved in the internal disputes among the Zanāta dynasties of Morocco. Security deteriorated, oppression increased, and the burden of taxes lay heavy on citizens and merchants. In these circumstances, the Almoravid conquest in 1054–5 was greeted as salvation.[15]

Under the Almoravids, the trans-Saharan trade prospered again. The abundant supply of Sudanic gold replenished the mints of Sijilmāsa, Aghmāt, Marrākush, and Fes, to strike the highly-valued gold *dinārs* of the Almoravids. In 1145 Sijilmāsa came under the rule of the Almohads, and eight years later – in 1153–4 – it is said: 'The buildings of the town are pretty, although in our times the conflicting parties wrought much destruction and arson upon them.'[16] The contrast between the time of the Almoravids and the period soon after the Almohads' conquest, is repeated in the description of Aghmāt, the capital of the Sūs:

> The people of Aghmāt are wealthy merchants. They go to *Bilād al-Sūdān* with many camels loaded with rich merchandise of copper, red and other colours, garments, woollen clothes, turbans, aprons, all kinds of beads of glass, shell or stone, varieties of spices and perfumes, as well as manufactured iron tools. Their slaves and agents go in caravans of seventy to a hundred camels, all loaded.
>
> No one was wealthier and in better condition under the rule of the *Mulaththamūn* [Almoravids]. . . .
>
> But now, when we write this book, the Maṣmūda [Almohads] have carried away most of their wealth, and changed what they had of Allāh's blessing. Yet they are still rich, well-to-do, and have not renounced their dignity and pride.[17]

The army of the Almohads, which was composed mainly of sedentary Berbers, did not venture deep into the desert, but security over the western Saharan routes probably deteriorated. At the end of the twelfth century the Almohad governor of Sijilmāsa executed highway robbers who had disturbed the route between Sijilmāsa and Ghana.[18] In 1209 the chief of Banū-Ghāniyya, in war against the Almohads, led an invasion along the pre-Saharan steppes from southern Tunisia to Sijilmāsa and wrought destruction over the town and its environs.[19]

The period of Almohad rule in the Maghrib coincided with the

transitory period of the Western Sudan, between the decline of Ghana and the rise of Mali. When Mali reached its prime, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Morocco was ruled by the Banū-Marīn. Sijilmāsa prospered again and its importance is attested by the fact that the Sultans of Fes used to appoint as its governor a member of the royal family, in many cases a son of the Sultan.[20]

Following the death of the Marīnid Sultan Aḥmad al-Mustanṣar (*c.* 1393) the people of Sijilmāsa revolted; they killed the governor and destroyed the wall around the town. Since then, as reported by a visitor to Sijilmāsa early in the sixteenth century, the town remained in ruins, and the people – many of them Jews – lived in small hamlets (*qṣūr*). There, in the *qṣūr*, the economic life of Sijilmāsa continued; gold and silver coins were struck in the mint and rich merchants crossed the desert to trade with the Sudan.[21] The name of Sijilmāsa survived into the seventeenth century, and then sank into oblivion.

For the middle of the thirteenth century, when an intensive trade was carried over the Sahara, there is an excellent account of the operation of a great commercial firm owned by five brothers of the Maqqarī family from Tlemcen.[22] Tlemcen took the place of Tahert as the commercial entrepôt of the central Maghrib. al-Bakrī described it as the destination of traders from all directions.[23] A century later, al-Idrīsī regarded Tlemcen as the third richest town in the Maghrib after Fes and Aghmāt.[24] The commercial importance of Tlemcen increased with the growth of trade with the Europeans. Italian boats came to Hunayn, which served as port to Tlemcen. So important was the trade of Tlemcen with the Sudan that the ruler of Tlemcen at the beginning of the fourteenth century said that he would have sent all traders away save those who traded with the Sudan. The latter brought into the country the precious gold needed all over the world. The other traders, on the contrary, sent this gold out of the country to pay for perishable goods.[25]

Two brothers of the Maqqarī family – Abū Bakr and Muḥam-

mad – lived in Tlemcen, where they traded in North African and European merchandise in exchange for goods of the Sudan (hides, ivory, kola nuts, and gold). The two youngest brothers – 'Abd al-Wāḥid and 'Alī – lived in Walata, terminus of the caravans in Mali. There they distributed the merchandise received from the north to local traders and collected from them goods to be sent to their brothers in Tlemcen. The eldest brother, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, probably the head of the firm, had his headquarters in Sijilmāsa, where he obtained information about prices of goods in the markets of North Africa and the Sudan. He could therefore regulate the flow of goods to gain the best profits. The Maqqarī firm also invested in the organization of the principal trans-Saharan trade route from Sijilmāsa to Walata via Taghāza; they dug wells and afforded security to the traders. Their wealth increased to the extent that it could scarcely be computed.

In Sijilmāsa traders from all over the western and central Maghrib assembled to join the caravans for the trans-Saharan journey. In 1352, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa bought camels in Sijilmāsa and foddered them there for four months. He then set out with a caravan led by a Massūfa guide.[26] The role of the Massūfa as masters of the Western trans-Saharan routes and guides of the caravans was described by Ibn Ḥawqal.[27] Guides were essential for the journey across the desert, as no routes could be seen in the sand. One of the traders in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's caravan lagged behind and was lost in the desert.[28]

In the eleventh century traders from Sijilmāsa, Aghmāt, and other centres in Morocco assembled in Wādī Dar'a, the southern limit of the inhabited land of the Maghrib. Leaving Wādī Dar'a on the route to Awdaghust, the caravans passed three groups of wells, dug by 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Habīb, governor of Ifrīqiya, in the middle of the eighth century. The third well was reached after sixteen days travel, or *c.* two-fifths of the distance from Sijilmāsa to Awdaghust. Then the caravans passed the ridge of Adrār and entered the most difficult part of the route, through a

desert of shifting dunes without water (the desert of Waran). The travellers on this lap were relieved by a source of sweet water about halfway along. The caravans then crossed Tagant into Awkar, where they reached watering places every one, two, or three days.[29]

On another route described by al-Bakrī, leading from Wādī Dar'a to Ghana, there were again three successive wells 'dug in antiquity by the Umayyads'. The caravans made their way through the great desert (*al-Majāba al-Kubrā*) for eight days without water. The last part of the route was again easier, with watering places at distances of up to four days.[30]

These routes through the Western Sahara crossed the country of the nomad Ṣanhāja, mainly the Lamtūna. It was along one of these routes, known as *Trīq Lamtūna*, that the Almoravids moved north and south in their military exploits. All these principal routes left the salt mine of Tatental away to the east. In Tatental, twenty days travel from Sijilmāsa, salt was dug out and cut like stone and sent to Sijilmāsa, to Ghana, and to other countries of the Sudan.[31] Tatental is in all probability Taghāza, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reached twenty-five days after his caravan had left Sijilmāsa.[32] By the fourteenth century the route through Taghāza had become the principal highway of the Sahara. It was very probably because of the growing importance of the salt mine of Taghāza that caravans took this route, for it was much more difficult than the western routes described by al-Bakrī, where watering places were available at short intervals.

In Taghāza, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's caravan had to fill up with as much water as possible for the ten days journey between Taghāza and Tasarahla, where there was no water, excepting some ponds left over by the rain. Tasarahla is identified with Bi̊r al-Ksaib, the only important watering place between Taghāza and Walata. There, the caravan paused to rest before entering the most difficult part of the desert, where shortage of water was made worse by the danger of the moving dunes.[33] A caravan could not

cover the distance between Tasarahla (Bir al-Ksaib) and Walata with its own water supply only. From Tasarahla one of the Massūfa was sent as scout (*takshīf*) to Walata to inform the people there of the coming caravan. The people of Walata then went out with water a distance of four days travel to meet the tired and thirsty caravan. If the scout did not reach Walata, the whole caravan might perish.[34] A caravan would also be in danger if its guide lost the way to the watering place.[35]

The desert was crossed after the rainy season when the water ponds were full, and there was some pasture for the camels.[36] The camels were loaded every day at dawn and the caravan marched until the sun was high up in the sky. They then pitched camp and rested until the afternoon prayer, after which they set off and continued well after dark, until the night prayer.[37] On the last stage of the route to Walata, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's caravan began its daily march after the afternoon prayer only and travelled throughout the night until sunrise, and then stopped for the rest of the day.[38] When the waterskins were empty, they used to slaughter camels and drink the water in their stomachs.[39]

From the ninth to the eleventh centuries the more important Saharan routes led to Awdaghust. It is suggested that Awdaghust flourished on the site of Tegdaoust. Excavations carried out there since 1960 indicate a medieval settlement from the eighth or ninth to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. The oldest city was built of stone and houses were of a Mediterranean style. Among the objects found were pottery and iron tools of local production, but also imported glass ware and enamelled ceramics. Many oil lamps were discovered of a type which was widespread in the Muslim world until the thirteenth century. Decorative objects of copper found in Tegdaoust were similar to those found in Koumbi-Saleh, the probable site of the capital of Ghana. Glass ornaments were found of the same type as those excavated in Raqqāda, the ninth-century capital of the Aghlabids in Ifrīqiya. Small-scale standard weights of glass may be regarded as indication of a gold trade. Indeed, five gold bars

and trinkets were found wrapped in a piece of cloth. These are the first gold bars ever unearthed in a medieval site in West Africa.[40]

There is a vague similarity between the names of Awdaghust and Tegdaoust, but the linguistic analyst remains cautious about relations between the two.[41] Tegdaoust, however, was an important commercial centre in communication with the Maghrib, as was Awdaghust of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Though the identification is not certain, it remains a plausible proposition.

Awdaghust flourished at the same time as the capital of Ghana, some fifteen days travel to the south-east. Tadmekka, the site of which is now known as Es-Souk, had a similar position in relation to Gao.[42] Awdaghust and Tadmekka were not only resting places for the caravans before the last stage of the journey to the Sudan, but developed as commercial towns in their own right. The North African traders preferred to have their commercial base in the neighbourhood of the Sudan, but still in the domain of the Berbers and in the land of Islam. The *rapprochement* between Berbers and Sudanese developed with the intensification of trade and the advance of Islam. One may even mark it by a review of the evidence in the ninth (al-Ya'qūbī), tenth (Ibn Ḥawqal), and eleventh (al-Bakrī) centuries. The cleavage, it will be shown, was completely healed by the thirteenth century, by which time there was no further need for two rival trading centres – one Berber and the other Sudanic.

al-Bakrī described Awdaghust as it was before the Almoravids' conquest. 'The people there – mainly Zanāta and Arabs – are very well-to-do, and possess much fortune. The market there is always full of people.' Awdaghust exported the best gold in the world and ambergris of high quality.[43] In 1055, the Almoravids conquered Awdaghust and destroyed it. A century later al-Idrīsī described Awdaghust as 'a small town in the desert with little water. . . . Its population is small in number

and there is not much trade'.[44] According to the archaeological evidence, however, the commercial centre on the site of Tegdaoust flourished until the thirteenth century.[45]

At the beginning of the thirteenth century Walata developed as the principal terminus of the trans-Saharan trade. In this position Walata replaced both Awdaghust and the capital of Ghana. Indeed, whereas the existence of the two contemporaneous trading centres of Awdaghust and Ghana can be explained by the dichotomy between the Berbers and the Sudanese, Walata had a mixed population of Berbers and Sudanese. This was a result not only of the long contact between the two ethnic groups, and the advance of Islam among the Sudanese, but also because of the shift of the political centre of gravity farther south with the rise of Soso and Mali. In Ghana, the capital of the kingdom was also a principal terminus of the trans-Saharan trade. Walata, and later Timbuktu (which also counted Berbers and Sudanese among its inhabitants), were commercial centres, Muslim cosmopolitan towns.

Some traditions relate that following the conquest of Ghana by Sumanguru, king of Soso, the principal Muslim families of the capital of Ghana moved to the small Soninke village of Bīru, to escape the oppressive rule of this pagan ruler.[46] These Muslims were, in all probability, the Arab and Berber traders as well as their Muslim Soninke associates. Walata, the Berber name for Bīru, soon attracted more traders from the Maghrib.[47] The neighbouring Massūfa nomads, who had already been involved in the Saharan trade as guides, also settled in Walata. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Walata most of its inhabitants were Massūfa. The Berbers were the leading traders and the '*ulamā*', whereas the Soninke rendered services to local and foreign traders.[48]

The people of Walata, as we have seen, used to come out to meet the arriving caravans with water to help them in crossing the last difficult part of the way. The messenger sent to announce the coming of the caravan also carried letters from

the traders to their friends in Walata, asking them to hire lodgings for them.[49] In Walata, as in other trading centres of West Africa, resident traders served as hosts to the foreign traders, introduced them to the local chief or the governor, informed them of current prices, and acted as brokers in commercial transactions.

In 1352, Walata was the north-western province of Mali, under a Sudanese governor. The caravan traders first paid their respects to this governor. They later presented themselves before another official, 'the overseer' (*al-mushrif*), probably the inspector of the market. He was designated *mansā-dyon*, perhaps 'the king's slave'.[50] He may have been the king's commercial agent, who had the right to buy from foreign traders before they disposed of their merchandise elsewhere.[51] This *mushrif* was later dismissed by the king, following a complaint of ill-treatment by a merchant, who had been paid only a hundred *mithqāls* by the *mushrif* for what was six hundred *mithqāls* worth.[52]

At the same time that Walata replaced Awdaghust as the southern terminus of the trans-Saharan trade, significant changes occurred also at the northern end of the Sahara. By the beginning of the thirteenth century Arab nomads of the Banū-Ma'qil became masters of the Sūs and Wādī Dar'a.[53] Security deteriorated, and the caravans from Sijilmāsa, which had previously travelled to Wādī Dar'a before crossing the desert, now set out directly to the desert, to avoid the Arabs. This was another factor, besides the growing importance of the Taghāza salt mine, which induced caravans to take the more eastern route of Sijilmāsa–Taghāza–Walata.

In the fourteenth century the Arab nomads occupied tracts of the country between Mali and Morocco and took an active part in diplomatic exchanges between the rulers of these two empires.[54] Later in the same century Ibn Khaldūn reported that the Arabs of the Sūs attacked caravans on their way to Walata from Būdā, the most western *qṣar* in the oases of Tuat.

Caravans, therefore, moved eastwards and made Tamentit, at the eastern end of Tuat, their rendezvous. The route from Tamentit reached the territory of Mali at a town called Ghār.[55] This was yet another shift of the Saharan trade to the east which contributed to the decline of Sijilmāsa and Walata at both ends of the desert. These were replaced by Tuat in the north and by Timbuktu in the south.

There is some contemporary evidence on the growing importance of Tuat during the fourteenth century. In 1324 Mansā Mūsā set out for the pilgrimage from Walata and crossed the desert via Taghāza to Tuat.[56] In 1339 the map of Angelino Dulcert indicated a route from Sijilmāsa via Būdā (in Tuat) to Walata and Mali.[57] On the map of Abraham Cresques (1375), the route from Sijilmāsa to Timbuktu passed Tuat and Taghāza.[58] In 1413, the planisphere of the converted Majorcan Jew, Mecia de Viladestes, showed a route from Sijilmāsa via Būdā, Tabalbalat and Tamentit (in Tuat) to Timbuktu.[59] In 1455–6 Ca da Mosto recorded that part of the Sudanese gold was taken from Timbuktu to Tuat and Tunis.[60]

The best description of the trade in Tuat is that by Antonius Malfante, an agent of a Genoan firm. In 1447 he landed at Hunayn (the port of Tlemcen) and joined a caravan which made its way to Tuat in eighteen days. In the oases of Tuat he counted 150 to 200 *qṣūr*. He himself stayed at Tamentit, then the most important entrepôt for trade with the Sudan. There, traders from the south carrying gold met their counterparts from the Mediterranean coast. The people of Tuat acted as brokers for a very high commission. Malfante's host was a rich merchant, who had spent some thirty years in Timbuktu and had travelled for fourteen years in the Sudan. There were also Jewish goldsmiths in Tuat.[61] (In the 1490s the zealous cleric al-Maghīlī incited a massacre of these Jews of Tuat.[62])

By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Arab nomads imposed their 'protection' over the Berbers who traded with the Sudan. In the Western Sahara, in Wādī Dar'a as well as in the

pre-Saharan oases of North Africa, the Arabs did not take part directly in the trade, but exacted tribute from the traders.[63]

Trade in the Western Sahara, along the routes across Adrar, increased again in the fifteenth century with the growing importance of the salt mine of Idjil. Following a rather vague reference to this mine by Ca da Mosto in 1455,[64] its trade was described in detail by V. Fernandes half a century later. Walata, along with the desert towns of Tichitt and Wadan, participated in the salt trade of Idjil.[65] Wadan was then the principal town of Adrar, and the only town with a wall.[66] Part of Mali's gold, according to Ca da Mosto, was sent to Hoden (Wadan) from where it was distributed to Oran, Hunayn, Fes, Marrākush, Safi, and Māssa, to be sold to the Italian merchants.[67]

When the Portuguese reached the Saharan coast in the middle of the fifteenth century they established their factory in Arguin, close to the flourishing trading towns of Adrar. For a short time the Portuguese even tried to establish an entrepôt in Wadan (Adrar). Because of the hardships of the desert and the hostility of the population the Portuguese abandoned Adrar but continued their involvement in the Saharan trade from Arguin. Gold brought from the Sudan was divided into three parts: one was sold to the Portuguese to buy European manufactured goods; with another part of the gold they bought camels from the Arabs to carry the salt. This salt of Idjil the traders of the Sudan bought from the Ṣanhāja with the third part of their gold.[68]

By that time – from the middle of the fifteenth century – Mali had lost direct influence over the Saharan trade, after the northern provinces had escaped its authority. In the sixteenth century the political control over Saharan trade was contested between the *askiyās* of Songhay and the Sa'dīd *sharīfs* of Morocco.

Most of the trade across the Sahara was between the Sudan and the Maghrib. Part of the trade of the Sudan, however,

turned also to Egypt. Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī (*c.* 903) described a route from Ghana over Gao, Air and Tibesti to 'al-Waḥāt' in Egypt, that is, to the oases of Kharga and Dakhla.[69] Ibn al-Faqīh's information must refer to the end of the ninth century, because al-Iṣtakhrī, writing a few decades later, said that the oases of Egypt which had formerly been inhabited were ruined and deserted in his time.[70] Ibn Ḥawqal, who visited these oases himself, knew that they declined after the Egyptian ruler Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn (868–84) had forbidden traders to take the route from al-Waḥāt to Ghana. He took this step because many caravans had been lost in sandstorms or attacked by brigands.[71] al-Idrīsī mentioned two towns on the route from the oases to the Western Sudan which had prospered before they were covered by the sands and their water resources dried up.[72]

This route may have been revived in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, because al'Umarī described a route from Upper Egypt over the oases, and through a desert inhabited by Arab and then Berber tribes, to Mali and Ghana.[73] Leo Africanus says that the oases were inhabited by many villages, and that the people there were wealthy because of their position between Egypt and Gao.[74] Elsewhere he added that the people of Manfaloth (about 225 miles south of Cairo on the left bank of the Nile) were rich because they traded with the Sudan (undoubtedly via the oases of Dakhla and Kharga).[75]

From the fourteenth century there is evidence of active trade with Egypt along other routes. In 1353, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reported that the people of Takedda in Air were trading with Egypt. His caravan, after leaving Takedda, reached a crossroad in the Sahara, probably In-Azaoua, where one route turned north-west to Tuat and another to the north-east over Ghāt to Egypt.[76] The same year (1353) Ibn Khaldūn was informed of large caravans of 12,000 camels (*sic*), passing Tadmekka in trading between Egypt and Mali.[77] In 1447, Malfante mentioned that Egyptian traders came to Tuat to meet traders from the Sudan.[78] In 1455–6, Ca da Mosto heard that part of the gold

from Mali was taken in caravans to Cochia (Gao) on the route to Egypt and Syria.[79]

The trade between Mali and Egypt may have increased after Mansā Mūsā's visit to Cairo in 1324.[80] Mansā Mūsā and his followers spent much gold in Cairo, where they purchased goods of all kinds; Turkish slaves, bought in Cairo, attended the king of Mali.[81] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reported that the people of Walata wore Egyptian clothes,[82] and Egyptian traders frequented Mali.[83]

The fourteenth century was the period of greatest economic expansion for Mali. Its gold reached Egypt, the Maghrib and Europe; its traders reached the fringes of the forest to exploit new sources of gold.

XIV · Towns and Traders

The Goldfields

Gold was the most important staple in the trans-Saharan trade, yet little reliable information reached Arab geographers and historians about the location and nature of the goldfields. Gold is frequently associated with legends and myths, however. A common description in the Arabic sources is that of gold growing like plants.[1] Mansā Mūsā himself, when in Egypt, described two plants in his country the roots of which contained pure gold.[2]

Sudanese chiefs and traders tried to keep secret the sources of the gold to ward foreign traders off the goldfields. The host of Antonius Malfante in Tuat traded with the Sudan for many years, but admitted that he could not obtain any information about the place from which gold was collected.[3] The same experience was shared by Europeans on the Gold Coast. Villaud de Bellefond, a visitor to the Gold Coast in the seventeenth century, said that he could get no accurate information about the way gold was found; he heard many false explanations, not because people did not know, but because they tried to conceal the truth.[4] In 1710, La Courbe, the director of the French *Compagnie du Sénégal*, advanced up the Senegal river and reported that the Marabouts of Bambuk prevented foreigners from getting close to the gold mines.[5]

Not only did the Sudanese middlemen prevent foreigners from reaching the goldfields, but the gold producers themselves were reluctant, at least in the earlier periods, to meet even local traders face to face. This is best illustrated by that peculiar method of barter known as 'the silent trade'. Traders coming from the north laid down their goods on the bank of a river and

withdrew. Then came people with gold, laid some of it against each pile of goods and retreated. When given the sign the traders came forward, and if satisfied by the amount of gold left, they took it; otherwise they withdrew again and waited for the local people to add more gold. As soon as the traders disappeared with the gold, the local buyers collected the goods they had bought in this way. This method of trading was probably not as general as one might infer from repeated accounts by Arab and European authors.[6] Yet it was mysterious enough to encourage speculations about the reasons for its existence. Europeans were inclined to believe that the people of the goldfields avoided contact with foreigners because they were ashamed to appear with their alleged thick lips or canine teeth.[7] Malfante's host, on the other hand, related that the people of the goldfields regarded white men as monsters.

V. Fernandes suspected that the account of 'the silent trade' was invented by the Wangara, in order to exclude others from trading in the goldfields. Even the representatives of the powerful king of Mali were unwanted. The Wangara told Ca da Mosto that the king of Mali once sent his messengers with the Wangara to the gold-bearing country. They deceitfully captured one of the local people in order to obtain information about the goldfields from him. The captive refused to speak, to eat, or to drink, and died. In retaliation the gold owners stopped trading for three years.[8] Such information about a complete lack of communication between the king of Mali and the gold producers is exaggerated. In the court of Mali, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw natives of the country where gold was found.[9] These were probably Jallonke from Bure.

The king of Mali was able to subdue the people of the gold-bearing country, but he learned from experience that whenever one of the gold provinces was conquered, and Islam propagated, gold production in that region stopped, while the output in the neighbouring regions increased. The rulers of Mali did not rule the gold country directly, therefore, but were satisfied with the

tribute paid and with the income accrued from controlling the gold trade through their dominions.[10] Rulers of the Sudanese empires had to respect the 'masters of the gold', because only through their ritual association with the local spirits did the land yield the precious metal.[11]

Following the scanty contemporary evidence about the location of the goldfields and recent surveys by geologists, it is possible to indicate three principal goldfields, besides others of lesser importance: Bambuk, between the Senegal and the Faleme rivers; Bure on the Upper Niger; and the Akan goldfields near the forest of the present republics of Ghana and the Ivory Coast.

The goldfields of Bambuk were exploited when Ghana was the leading power in the Western Sudan. al-Bakrī says that the best gold of Ghana came from the town of Ghiyārū, eighteen days travel from the capital. Ghiyārū, on the right bank of the Upper Senegal, not far from Kayes, was a trading outpost facing the goldfields of Bambuk.[12] Bambuk, closed in by the Senegal and the Faleme rivers, may well have been 'the island of gold' or Wangara, known to al-Idrīsī, where alluvial gold was collected.[13]

Wasteful methods reduced the productivity of the goldfields of Bambuk, when closer contact with the Maghrib across the Sahara increased the demand for the gold of the Sudan. In the eleventh or twelfth century, the Sudanese traders ventured southwards and opened up the new goldfields of Bure on the Upper Niger, in the region of Siguiri. The shift of the principal gold sources coincided with the decline of Ghana, and is echoed in the Soninke traditions of Wagadu; Bida, the snake which had brought gold and prosperity to Wagadu, was killed and 'his bleeding head disappeared and fell in Bure, which became the country of gold'.[14] Mauny suggests that Yaresnā of al-Bakrī (or Barīsa of al-Idrīsī) was the market town facing the goldfields of Bure.[15] al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī alluded to the emergence of two principalities among the Malinke – Malal and Do – in a country

of loosely organized peoples. We have already suggested that the rise of Mali to hegemony in the thirteenth century was associated with the development of the Bure goldfields and the control over its trade. The production of the goldfields of Bure was about eight times that of Bambuk.[16] In the nineteenth century the gold of Bambuk was described as yellow and that of Bure as rather whitish.[17]

The demand for gold in Europe increased in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The enterprising Sudanese traders responded to this challenge and opened routes to the goldfields on the fringes of the Akan forest. Bono-Mansu and Be'o developed as a result of the gold trade with the Niger and the Sahel. A central theme in the traditions of Bono-Mansu, one of the earliest Akan states, is the trade in gold and kola, on which 'its prosperity and advanced civilization depended'.[18] Be'o was the southern outpost of the Mande traders who plied between the goldfields and Jenne.[19]

Jenne and Timbuktu

Early in the sixteenth century V. Fernandes reported that salt was transported by canoe along the Niger river from Timbuktu to Jenne. In Jenne the salt bars were divided into smaller pieces and taken on porters' heads by the '*Ungaros*' (Wangara) to the gold mines.[20] Raymond Mauny rightly suggests that salt for the goldfields of Bure would not have been unloaded at Jenne, but could be carried by boats up the main course of the Niger, as far as the river was navigable. In any case, it seems that much of the salt for Bure was sent to Niani, the capital of Mali, on camels.[21] On the other hand, Jenne may have developed as a commercial centre for the trade with the goldfields of the Akan forest. Located in the south-eastern end of the inner delta of the Niger, Jenne was the farthest point on the waterway in that direction.[22]

al-Sa'dī may refer to the same trading pattern: 'Jenne is one

of the greatest Muslim markets, where traders carrying salt from the mines of Taghāza meet traders with the gold of Biṭu. . . .[23] It is because of this blessed town [Jenne] that caravans come to Timbuktu from all points of the horizon. . . .'[24] Leo Africanus also described the traders of Timbuktu as carrying their merchandise in small boats on the Niger to Jenne.[25] The Niger waterway between Timbuktu and Jenne connected two important overland routes; the salt route from Taghāza to Timbuktu, and the gold route from Jenne to the fringes of the forest. The close commercial relationship between Timbuktu and Jenne suggests that these two important market towns developed simultaneously.

It has already been shown that some time in the second half of the fourteenth century the principal trans-Saharan routes shifted eastwards.[26] Timbuktu superseded Walata as the destination of the more important caravans. 'The prosperity of Timbuktu was the ruin of Bīru [Walata],' al-Sa'dī says in his excellent account of the history of Timbuktu:

> Timbuktu was founded by the Tuareg Maghsharen at the end of the fifth century A.H. [A.D. 1100]. . . . They chose the site of this town . . . as a store for their property and grain. It was passed by travellers going to and fro. . . . Then people began to settle there. . . . They came from all directions until the town became a market for trade. Most of those who had come to trade there were the people of Wagadu.
>
> The market had previously been at Bīru [Walata]. Caravans used to come there from all points of the horizon. The pick of scholars, pious, and rich men from every tribe and country lived there; people from Egypt, Awjila, Fezzan, Ghadames, Tuat, Dar'a, Tafilelt, Fes, Sūs, Bīṭu, and other places. Then, all these gradually moved to Timbuktu, where they were joined by different Ṣanhāja groups. The building of Timbuktu was the ruin of Bīru. . . . At first people's houses in Timbuktu were thorny stockades and huts roofed with

grass, then they changed to built-up walls, which were so low that whoever stood outside could have seen everything within. Later they built a Friday mosque, according to their ability. Then the Sankore mosque was built. At that time, everyone who stood at the gate of the city could see those who entered the Friday mosque, because the town was devoid of walls and solid buildings.

The prosperity of the town was established only at the end of the ninth century [end of the fifteenth century A.D.]. Its building, the joining of all its parts together, was completed only in the middle of the tenth century [mid-sixteenth century A.D.], during the reign of Askiyā Dāwūd ibn Askiyā al-Ḥājj Muḥammad [1549–82].[27]

This historical précis by a son of Timbuktu fits other available evidence very well. In the twelfth century Timbuktu was a small settlement of the Tuaregs. Tīraqqā, east of Timbuktu on the Niger's bend, was then an important trading centre.[28] The capital of Ghana to the west still attracted much of the Saharan trade. Following the liquidation of this empire, and the destruction of its capital, Timbuktu became a regional market town frequented by the Soninke traders of Wagadu. In the second half of the thirteenth century it became a provincial capital of Mali, because of its strategic position, facing the land of the Tuaregs, and as a link with the eastern province of Gao. Walata, which had been the principal commercial town until the middle of the fourteenth century, later lost this position as well as its religious and commercial elite to Timbuktu. It was therefore towards the end of the rule of Mali in Timbuktu that the town emerged as a famous centre of trade and Islamic learning. The golden age of Timbuktu was under the *askiyās* of Songhay, for whom it was a second capital.

The market towns which preceded Timbuktu – Awdaghust, Koumbi-Saleh, and Walata – were all land-locked towns. The Sudanese traders used to carry their merchandise on donkeys or

on porters' heads.[29] Timbuktu served as a terminus for the desert caravans, but at the same time had its port on the Niger, a dozen miles away. It was, in the words of al-Sa'dī, a rendezvous for those coming by boats and by land.[30]

Timbuktu was close enough to the Niger to benefit from water transportation, yet far enough to be outside the river's flooding area. It was therefore accessible by land throughout the year. Jenne, in the inner delta of the Niger, turns into an island during the flood, and may be reached at that time of the year by boats only. Jenne was better defended than Timbuktu, but was also more dependent on the river for its trade and everyday life.

According to oral traditions the early inhabitants of the region of Jenne were the Bozo fishermen. The town of Jenne itself was founded by the Nono, traders of Soninke origin. Because of their advanced civilization and wealth they succeeded in building up political power over the Bozo. The Nono came to Jenne from Diā, which preceded Jenne as a commercial and religious centre.

According to al-Sa'dī, Jenne was founded in the middle of the second century A.H. (eighth century A.D.) and was islamized at the end of the sixth century A.H. (*c.* 1200).[31] Both dates seem much too early for Jenne itself, but it is possible that al-Sa'dī, following the oral traditions, combined the history of Jenne with that of Diā. If related to Diā, these dates – though not certain – may be accepted. Diā may have been founded by the Soninke as part of the expansion of their empire, and it became Muslim when traders of Soninke origin made it their centre. Dyula families far and wide remember Diā as the town of their ancestors.[32]

The prayers of the first Muslim king of Jenne are typical of a ruler concerned with the growth of a commercial centre:

> He asked them [the gathering '*ulamā*'] to offer three prayers for that town: let everyone who emigrated from his own

> country out of distress and poverty be given by Allāh wealth and prosperity, so that he will forget his home country; let the foreigners in the town be more numerous than its local people; let patience be taken away from those who come to the town for trade, that they will be tired of it and will sell their merchandise to its people cheap, so that the latter make great profits.[33]

The people of Jenne, a city of commerce, were deeply immersed in worldly affairs. Competition was fierce, and the people hated any one among them who had achieved fame. They kept their hatred secret until misfortune overcame such a man.[34]

Jenne is first mentioned by name in Malfante's report of 1447.[35] Over sixty years later, Leo Africanus described the considerable profits made by the traders of this town, and its trade with Timbuktu over the Niger. He marked the abundance of barley, rice, livestock, fish, and cotton.[36] Unlike Timbuktu, in its arid surrounding, Jenne had an agricultural hinterland. al-Sa'dī indicated that the region of Jenne was densely populated, and there were 7077 villages (*sic.*) close together.[37] Whereas Timbuktu depended mainly on external trade across the Sahara, Jenne also developed intensive trade in agricultural products; some of it for local or regional consumption and some for export to the Sahel and to the Sahara.[38] The great merchants and the leading *'ulamā'* of Timbuktu were mostly Berbers. In Jenne, on the other hand, they were mainly Sudanese.[39] This distinction is related to the role of foreign and local merchants in the trade system of the Western Sudan.

The traders: foreign and Sudanese

The excavations at Koumbi-Saleh (Ghana), as well as the ruins of Tegdaoust (Awdaghust) and Es-Souk (Tadmekka), indicate the strong influence of the Maghrib on the material culture of these ancient towns. The carriers of this influence were North

African traders who settled in the market towns of the Sahel as agents or partners of commercial firms in the Maghrib, or as independent entrepreneurs.

Ibāḍites from the southern fringes of the Maghrib were among the earlier adventurers of the trans-Saharan trade, and some of them moved south of the Sahara for shorter or longer periods. They probably made up the foreign population of Awdaghust in the eleventh century. In Awdaghust Berber traders from the Maghrib lived in the Berber milieu of the southern Sahara, though they were Zanāta in the midst of Ṣanhāja. In the capital of Ghana these Muslim traders of the Maghrib settled under a non-Muslim Sudanese king. There, as in Gao, the Muslims had their own town, separated from the king's town. This pattern still exists in West Africa for migrants of different ethnic origin and religious affiliation: as in the *zongos* in modern Ghana, where Muslims from the north live apart from the local Akan people; or the *sabon-garīs* in Northern Nigeria, where Christians from the south have their own quarters outside the old Hausa Muslim towns. In the eleventh century Muslims in the capital of Ghana included both foreign traders from the Maghrib and Soninke converts. The pagan ruler was hospitable to the Muslim traders in his country. In the twelfth century most of the Soninke of Ghana and their king were Muslims. The decline of the capital of Ghana as a commercial centre is associated with its conquest by the pagan Soso.[40]

By the thirteenth century both Awdaghust and the capital of Ghana had lost their commercial importance, and their role was taken over by Walata, a Berber-Soninke town. Besides the Massūfa, who formed part of the local population, there were also traders from the Maghrib as residents in Walata. One of them was Ibn Baddā' of Salé, with whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa lodged in 1352.[41] Among the foreign traders in Walata in the middle of the thirteenth century were the brothers 'Abd al-Wāḥid and 'Alī of the Maqqarī family. They built stone houses, married

local women, and possessed slaves. When Walata was conquered by Mali the Maqqarī brothers suffered big losses and hired warriors to defend their property. One of the brothers sought audience with the king of Mali: he was well received and the king confirmed their position as leading traders in his country. The king of Mali even corresponded with the brothers in Tlemcen asking them to purchase goods for him. The Maqqarī brothers' business expanded, but their sons wasted what the fathers had accumulated. The sons suffered as a result of local disturbances and the oppression of the sultans. They were reduced to poverty, so that the *qāḍī* Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad, great-grandson of Abū Bakr of Tlemcen, inherited only a library from his father.[42]

The flourishing firm of the mid-thirteenth century disintegrated after the first generation, and the branch of the Maqqarī family in Tlemcen lost all its assets. But nothing is said about the fate of a branch of the family, the descendants of 'Abd al-Wāḥid and 'Alī, in the Sudan. Perhaps one of the descendants moved from Walata to the capital of Mali, where Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Maqqarī.[43]

'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Maqqarī was in-law of Muḥammad ibn al-Faqīh al-Jazūlī (i.e., of the Jazūla tribe in southern Morocco), the head of the white community in the capital of Mali. Ibn al-Faqīh himself married a cousin of the king of Mali, and had easy access to the court. Together with the local *qāḍī* and the *khaṭīb* he introduced Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to the king. Other prominent foreigners in the capital were Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Naqwīsh al-Miṣrī (the Egyptian), and the learned 'Ali al-Zūdī al-Marrākushī (of Marrākush). The North African community had its own ward in the town, but they were closely involved in the affairs of the capital, which was now Muslim. The residents acted as intermediaries between foreign traders passing through and the local authorities. No one was allowed to enter the capital without permission, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa wrote in advance to Ibn al-Faqīh to announce his arrival.[44]

Justice administered by the authorities gave security to foreign traders and their property. If a white man died in Mali his property was given in trust to one of the white residents until the legitimate heir claimed it.[45] The same was true three and a half centuries before, *c.* 1000: when a trader from Ifrīqiya died in the Sudan the king of that country appointed a Muslim to decide, according to the Muslim law, about the property left.[46] Such a procedure, which developed very early in those kingdoms of the Western Sudan which were involved in the trans-Saharan trade, was not always in force elsewhere. According to V. Fernandes, the king of the Floups (Falupos), south of the Casamance, confiscated the property of everyone who died in his country.[47]

If pestered by officials, foreign merchants could appeal to the king. A Massūfa trader complained to Mansā Sulaymān about the Walata overseer (*al-mushrif*) who had underpaid him for his merchandise. The official was called to the capital, had to pay the full price of the goods, and was dismissed.[48] When a white *qāḍī*, Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Dukkālī, complained that a great sum of money had been stolen from him in Mema, Mansā Mūsā called the governor of Mema, and threatened him with death if the thief was not brought forth. But when it became clear that the *qāḍī* had hidden the money himself, he was exiled for four years to the country of the anthropophagic infidels.[49] Theft was regarded in Mali, and elsewhere in the Sudan, as a capital crime which deserved death or enslavement.[50]

Among the virtues of the Sudanese, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa counted the care they took in protecting the trade routes. On his way from Walata to the capital of Mali, he travelled with only one guide, because it was not necessary to go in caravan.[51] In these conditions trade flourished and foreigners settled and conducted business in the Sudan.

North African traders, together with their Sudanese associates, formed the main part of the floating population in the great commercial centres. Throughout the centuries they

moved from one centre to the other; from Awdaghust and Ghana to Walata, and then from Walata to Timbuktu, or from Diā to Jenne. They were attached to a town as long as it performed its commercial function, and were among the first to leave a trading centre in its decline. These traders were very sensitive to the attitude of the local authorities, and would defy a governor by deserting his town, as did the merchants and the *'ulamā'* of Jenne in 1637. When the Moroccan *qa'īd* oppressed them, they moved to the neighbouring town of Bīnā.[52]

In the northern centres of the Sahel, such as Walata or Timbuktu, the percentage of white traders, Berbers of the Sahara and Arab-Berbers of North Africa, was high among the leading merchants. In the market towns farther inland, in Diā or Jenne, there were more Sudanese traders in the big commercial enterprises. The wealthy merchants were directly connected with the trans-Saharan trade; they bought salt and other goods brought by the caravans and loaded the caravans with gold and other exports of the Sudan.

Until the eleventh century the Arab authors had little information about trade south of the markets of the Sahel. This trade was first described by al-Bakrī. He mentioned Sudanese traders, known as Banū Naghmārtah, who transported the gold of Ghiyārū to neighbouring countries. They operated in a country inhabited by pagans who respected these Muslim traders. West of Ghiyārū, on the Senegal ('the Nile'), they had their own centre Yaresnā, a Muslim town surrounded by pagan settlements.[53] Yaresnā is undoubtedly the same town as Barīsa of al-Idrīsī, who says that its inhabitants were itinerant traders. They took part also in the slave trade to the Sahel, where they sold captives to North African merchants.[54]

Tīraqqā was an important market town on the Niger's bend in the eleventh and twelfth century, before the rise of Timbuktu. There traders from Ghana and Tadmekka met.[55] For al-Idrīsī Tīraqqā was one of the towns of Wangara. (Wangara is also the name of the gold bearing country.)[56] al-Idrīsī's confusion is

significant, because the term Wangara was used both for the country of the Manding and for the Mande-speaking traders. A seventeenth-century scholar was aware of the ambiguity of the term Wangara and explained it: 'the Wangara and the Malinke are of the same origin, but whereas the Malinke are the warriors, the Wangara are those traders who travel from one end of the world to the other'.[57] Tīraqqā was therefore a trading centre of the Wangara, linking both sides of the Niger's bend. Diā, or Diāgha of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, was another centre of the Wangara, one of the earliest stages in their southward expansion. Jenne, its successor, remained for a long period the centre of the Wangara's commercial operations. One of the best accounts of the Wangara is that by V. Fernandes (1506–10):

> Jenne is a great town built of stone and lime and encircled by a wall. The merchants who go to the gold mines come to this town. These traders belong to a particular race, called the *Ungaros*; they are red or brownish. In fact, only the members of this race, to the exclusion of others, are allowed to approach the mines, because they are considered trustworthy. No other person, whether white or black, can get there.
>
> When these *Ungaros* arrive at Jenne, each trader brings along with him one or two hundred black slaves, or even more, to carry the salt on their heads from Jenne to the gold mines, and to bring back the gold. . . .
>
> The traders who take the journey to the gold mines make considerable business. Some of them carry out a trade of over sixty thousand *mithqāls*; even those who only bring the salt to Jenne do business worth ten thousands of *mithqāls*.
>
> They trust each other without receipts, written agreements, or witnesses. The credit that they are given extends until a certain date in the year, because the *Ungaros* come to Jenne

> once a year only. They are so honest that if one of them died before the payment was due, his son or his heir would hastily repay the debt exactly. . . .[58]
>
> They are liked by all, by the people of Guynee [the Sudanese] as well as by the Christians [the Portuguese]. They travel with their merchandise very far into the interior, farther than any other people of that region. They go even as far as the fort of Mina [on the Gold Coast] overland.[59]

Throughout the centuries the Wangara continued to expand their commercial network. Until the second half of the fourteenth century they seem to have operated in the region marked by the Senegal and the Upper Niger rivers, or within the dominions of the empire of Mali. Mali was the first Sudanese empire which gave all this part of the Sudan an effective political unity, but the Wangara had always ventured beyond the political frontiers of empires. In the fourteenth century they reached the Akan forest to bring its gold northward; they opened routes to Worodugu ('the land of kola') on the Ivory Coast; they made contact with the peoples of the Western Atlantic Coast, and more significant still, they built up trade with Hausaland to the east.

'The Wangarawa,' says the Kano Chronicle, 'came from Mele, bringing with them the Mohammedan religion.'[60] This was during the reign of the king of Kano, Yeji, probably in the second half of the fourteenth century. Early in the sixteenth century Leo Africanus described the kingdom of Guangara, or Wangara: 'The inhabitants of the kingdom are very rich, as they go with their merchandise to remote countries.'[61] The importance of elements of Wangara origin in the commercial community of Hausaland as late as the mid-nineteenth century is attested by Barth, who says: 'almost all the more considerable native merchants in Katsena are Wangarawa (Eastern Mandingoes)'.[62]

Wangara is the generic name of the contemporary Arabic and

Portuguese sources for all the Mande-speaking traders. But as these traders dispersed and became associated with trade in distinct sections of the Sudan, living among different peoples, each group became known under its own particular name. The people of Soninke origin in the Middle Niger, of Jenne and its environs, who lived among the Bambara and adopted their language, are known as Marka. Those who settled in the Mossi-Dagomba group of states – in the country between Jenne and the Ashanti forest – are known as Yarse. They speak the language of the people among whom they live. Best known of all the Wangara are the Dyula, a name which became a synonym for 'a trader'.

Yves Person makes a distinction between two groups of Dyula.[63] Those Muslim traders who live among their Malinke kin (in Guinea and the north-western Ivory Coast) are also called *Malinke-mori,* i.e., Muslim Malinke. They are distinguished from their neighbours by their Muslim religion and commercial profession only. They had first moved south for the trade in kola. Their migration, however, intensified from the sixteenth century for the trade with the European factories on the coast. The second group of Dyula settled in commercial communities among non-Muslim and non-Mande peoples in the north-eastern Ivory Coast, along the route from Jenne to Beʿo (and later to Bonduku). There, they also form a distinct ethnic group. The Dyula communities of Kong, Bobo-Dyulasso, Buna, and Bonduku were founded towards the end of the seventeenth century. But Muslim groups in these centres claim to have come from the older market town of Beʿo. The Wangara who, according to Fernandes, visited the Portuguese fort of Elmina by the end of the fifteenth century, must have been Dyula from Beʿo. A century later, Mande-speaking warriors from the Middle Niger advanced south along the trodden Dyula route to reach the region of Beʿo, where they crossed the Black Volta river to found the kingdom of Gonja.[64]

At Elmina on the Gold Coast, the Portuguese first traded in

gold with the Dyula, who came down to the coast from Beʿo. But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the gold trade was taken over by the rising Akan states in the forest region. Most of the gold from this region was carried south, and little of the precious metal was left for the trade of the Dyula with the north. On the Gold Coast, therefore, the arrival of the Europeans badly affected the Dyula trade, but on the Gambia the Europeans stimulated a vigorous trade system.

The Mande-speaking Muslim traders, with whom the Portuguese negotiated on the Gambia, were the Diakhanke. The Diakhanke clans are of Soninke origin, and their traditions go back to Dinga, ancestor of the ruling dynasty of the ancient kingdom of Wagadu. Like other groups of Soninke origin (such as the Ture) they remember Diā in Massina as the town of their ancestor, Suware, a great *marabout* and a saint. Suware and his followers established a new town at Bambuk, called Diakha-ba (or Diakha-sur-Bafing) after their old centre at Diā. This new Muslim community was attracted by the gold of Bambuk. In the thirteenth century Bambuk was conquered by Mali, and colonized by Malinke. The Diakhanke allied themselves with the new Malinke chiefs, served them as Muslim clerics and adopted the Malinke language and customs.[65]

An early migration of Diakhanke traders to the Upper Gambia and the Casamance may have been stimulated by the goldfields of Kabu (Portuguese Guinea). As the Malinke expanded westwards to the Upper Gambia, the Diakhanke followed them as traders and clerics. In the middle of the fifteenth century, when the first Portuguese reached the Gambia, they met islamized Malinke chiefs and Muslim clerics at their courts; the latter were probably Diakhanke. When Diogo Gomes visited the Gambia in 1456 he was able to obtain gold in exchange for cloth and rings, and collected information about the trade of Timbuktu and about the gold sources.[66] This is clear evidence that the Gambia had already been linked to the trade system of the Western Sudan. Maritime salt was taken up

the river, and some gold came down. This local trade became international with the arrival of the Portuguese. From their centre in Bambuk, the Diakhanke spread to Bondu, Kedougou, and Futa Djallon and established new communities – such as Niokholo and Dantilia – in order to secure a monopoly over the trade with the Europeans.[67]

The Diakhanke traders brought down the Gambia river slaves, hides, local cotton cloth, and gold which they exchanged for horses and fancy clothes.[68] In 1620, Jobson called the local Muslim traders on the Gambia 'Mary-bucks'. One of them promised the English explorer large quantities of gold. The principal town of the Mary-bucks was Jaye, that is Diakha, where gold was abundant.[69] The same town, under the name of Jaga, is mentioned by J. B. Labat as the centre of 'a Republic of *marabouts*' in Bambuk. These *marabouts*, then autonomous, held all the trade in their hands and were respected by their neighbours because of their sanctity.[70]

Jobson's account of the life and trade of these ubiquitous itinerant traders may apply to other sections of the Wangara in other parts of West Africa:[71]

> The Mary-buckes are separated from the common people, both in their habitations and course of lives. . . . They marry likewise in their own tribe or kindred, taking no wives but the daughters of Mary-buckes. . . . These Mary-buckes are . . . going in whole families together, and carrying along their bookes, and manuscripts, and their boyes or younger race with them, whom they teach and instruct in any place they rest, or repose themselves. . . .
>
> They can speake of more countries then their owne native places: one chiefe reason to encourage their travell, we have learned, which is, that they have free recourse through all places, so that howsoever the Kings and Countries are at warres, and up in armes, the one against the other, yet still the Mary-bucke is a privileged person, and may follow his

trade, or course of travelling, without any let or interruption of either side. . . .

They goe in companies together, and drive before them their Asses, whose ordinary pace they follow, beginning their dayes journey, when the day appeares, which is even at the Sunne rising and continue travelling some three houres, then are they enforced to rest all the heate of the day, some two houres before the Sunne setteth, going forward againe, and so continue untill night comes, whenas they are sure to harbour themselves, for feare of wilde beastes, except in some Moone light nights, and then they will travell the better. Likewise when they come to some speciall Townes, they will rest themselves and their Asses two or three daies together, laying all their burdens under some shadie trees, close to the town, set forth such things as they have to sale, maintaining in the time they are there a kind of market. . . .

The onely and principallest man that maintained the greatest Trade, was that Buckor Sano, who maintained and kept three hundred Asses following that tedious travell. . . . In our time of trading together, if it were his owne goods he bartered for, he would tell us, this is for my selfe, and you must deale better with me, than either with the Kings of the Country or any others, because *I am as you are, a Julietto* [Dyula], *which signifies a Merchant, that goes from place to place . . . I seeke abroad as you doe; and therefore am nearer unto you.*

XV · The Staple Commodities

Gold was in great demand in the Maghrib and in Europe to lubricate a monetary system. Salt was needed in the Sudan, where the body loses much salt through perspiration. So, the precious yellow metal was exchanged in the trans-Saharan trade for the indispensable salt. It was because of their great need for salt that the people of the goldfields reluctantly came out to trade with foreigners. Ca da Mosto says that the people of Mali consumed much salt lest their blood would dry up.[1] According to Fernandes the owners of the gold put salt on their thick lips, 'lest these would dry up and fall down'. He adds that the Sudanese heal many internal diseases with salt.[2] Leo Africanus reported that whenever people of the Sudan ate bread, they used to lick a piece of salt.[3] So highly was salt valued that people far inland in the Sudan, close to the goldfields, bought it for an equivalent weight of gold.[4]

Maritime salt from the Atlantic coast was carried into the interior in some places,[5] but was unsuitable for distribution over vast and remote areas in the hot and humid climate of the Sudan. On the other hand, salt bars extracted from mines in the Sahara were dry and solid enough to be carried undamaged over long distances. There were several deposits of salt in the Sahara, which became principal sources for the salt trade in different periods.

Nearest to *Bilād al-Sūdān* were the salt mines of Awlīl mentioned by al-Bakrī (in the country of the Juddāla) and by al-Idrīsī (on an island near the coast).[6] These were the salines of Trarza in southern Mauritania, not far from the Senegal river. The salt of Awlīl was taken either by caravans overland, or by boats upstream to Takrūr, to Sillā, and as far as the goldfields of

Bambuk. In Bambuk this salt had to compete with the salt bars of the Sahara, which were of better quality, because they were thicker and more solid.

Taghāza, about half way between Sijilmāsa and the Sahel, was the principal salt mine between the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries. al-Bakrī described the mine of Tatental (probably Taghāza), twenty days travel from Sijilmāsa, where salt was dug about two fathoms under the ground and cut like stones. In this mine the fort and houses were built of salt stones. Salt buildings in Taghāza were reported also by Ibn Sa'īd, al-Qazwīnī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (who visited Taghāza) and by V. Fernandes. The labourers in the mine were slaves of the Massūfa. No food was produced in Taghāza, and the people there lived on dates brought from Sijilmāsa and Dar'a, on millet imported from the Sudan and on camels' meat. It was a miserable and unhealthy place, yet 'in spite of its wretchedness, transactions in tremendous sums of gold took place in the village of Taghāza'.[7]

As a result of intensive exploitation the mines of Taghāza were gradually exhausted and impoverished. Raymond Mauny points to the decline in quality of the salt by reviewing information of different periods. Whereas Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reported that two salt bars made a camel's load, Leo Africanus – who visited the mine about a century and a half later – found that a camel carried four salt bars. In other words, between the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries the size and weight of a salt bar were reduced by half. This is confirmed by Fernandes, a contemporary of Leo, who says that it was very difficult to load up the salt bars of Taghāza because these were too thin, and tended to crumble.[8] Fernandes recorded also that Taghāza had been deserted some time before because its water pits dried up. This, however, was for a short time only. In 1582 the Tuaregs, allies of the Songhay, evacuated Taghāza and opened the new salt mines of Taodeni, following the Moroccan conquest of Taghāza.[9] They left behind exhausted mines.

As the productivity of Taghāza declined, the salt mine of Idjil, between Rio de Oro and Fort Gouraud, gained importance. Its name – Ygild – was first mentioned by V. Fernandes. It is likely, however, that about half a century earlier Ca da Mosto had referred to the same mine – six days travel north of Wadan – though he still called it Taghāza.[10]

V. Fernandes described the pattern of the salt trade of Idjil. Traders from Wadan, which flourished on this trade, bought a camel load of salt at Idjil for one and a half *mithqāls*. In Wadan itself the price reached two or three *mithqāls*. From Wadan the salt was taken to Tichitt, where it fetched up to seven *mithqāls* for a camel's load. The merchants of Walata came to buy the salt at Tichitt and sent it to Timbuktu, where a camel load was sold for a hundred or a hundred and twenty *mithqāls*.[11] A seventy-fold increase in the price of a camel load between Idjil and Timbuktu, a distance of about 875 miles, may be somewhat exaggerated. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says that a camel's load of salt from Taghāza was sold for eight to ten *mithqāls* at Walata, and for twenty to thirty, and sometimes even forty, *mithqāls* at the capital of Mali.[12] Whatever the exact prices of the salt at each market town on the trade routes, it is certain that for such a bulky commodity the cost of transportation was much higher than the basic cost of the salt. Gold, on the other hand, was easier to carry. This is why it is reported that of the four hundred camels charged with salt on the way south, only twenty-five came back north with gold. The other camels were sold in the Sahel.[13]

From Timbuktu the salt was sent by canoe up the Niger river to Jenne.[14] Part of the salt reached Mali on camels over the Sahel.[15] At Jenne or at Niani, the capital of Mali, the salt bars were broken into smaller pieces to be carried to the goldfields on porters' heads, at the service of the Wangara traders. The same traders and porters carried the gold northwards.

Gold was found as powder or in nuggets. It was used in the courts of the kings of Ghana and Mali to decorate state

emblems.[16] Undoubtedly there were goldsmiths in the towns of the Sahel, who introduced this art from the Maghrib. Early in the sixteenth century V. Fernandes mentioned Jewish goldsmiths at Walata.[17] Current traditions in Mauritania attribute Jewish origin to Moorish goldsmiths, and it is possible that these were descendants of Jews who had come down from southern Morocco, perhaps from Wādī Dar'a.[18]

Part of the gold was worked in the towns of the Sahel. al-Bakrī noted that the gold of Awdaghust – considered the best in the world – was exported as twisted threads. The *dinārs* struck in Tadmekka were called 'balds', because they carried no inscriptions.[19] Proper gold coins, *dinārs*, were struck north of the desert only. In the tenth century al-Mas'ūdī reported that the gold bartered in the Sudan was coined into gold *dinārs* in Sijilmāsa.[20] Two centuries later, al-Idrīsī said that the gold of Wangara was bought by traders of Wargala and the Western Maghrib. They carried it to their own countries, where *dinārs* were minted.[21]

Kanem in the Central Sudan had no gold to offer, and its trade was mainly in slaves. Zawīla, on the route from Kanem to Tripoli, became the most famous centre for the slave trade in the Sahara.[22] In the Western Sudan, where gold dominated the market, slave trading was on a more limited scale. This difference in the role of gold and slaves between the Western and the Central Sudan respectively, had far-reaching historical consequences. For the gold trade it was vital that peace and security should prevail over all the country between the gold sources and the market towns of the Sahel. This trade encouraged the formation of states, their integration in large-scale empires, and the spread of Islam far inland to the south. An intensive slave trade, on the other hand, was based on continuous raids, which bred terror and hostile relations between the raiding kingdoms in the north and the invaded countries to the south, the sports ground for slave raiders. This may be one of the reasons why Kanem and Bornu had throughout their history antagonized

'savage' tribes on their southern frontiers; why a series of 'neo-Sudanic' states did not develop in the immediate hinterland of Bornu, which remained pagan until the nineteenth century.

Though of lesser importance than in the Central Sudan, and second to the gold trade, slave trading in the Western Sudan did exist. Slaves were important in different stages of the trans-Saharan trade. They worked in the salt mines of Taghāza and in the copper mines of Takedda. They were porters in the service of the Wangara traders in the southern section of the trading system, where beasts of burden were of little use.[23] At the end of the fifteenth century the Mandinga (Dyula) traders bought slaves in Elmina, whom the Portuguese had shipped from Benin. These slaves were needed as porters to carry gold and other commodities.[24] Slaves also constituted a source of wealth for the royalty and the nobility.

War captives were made slaves and sold to traders.[25] But there were also organized raids to obtain slaves. Armed bands from Sillā, Takrūr, and Ghana raided the country of the Lamlam for slaves, as did the people of the trading towns of Barīsa and Ghiyārū. These slaves were sold to merchants from the Maghrib.[26] Lamlam is the name given to the stateless peoples, who lived outside the orbit of the Sudanic kingdoms and were fair game for the latter. Portuguese sources reported that chiefs used to capture their own subjects to be sold as slaves to the Europeans.[27] This is by no means typical of Sudanic rulers. It may have been the immediate result of the new demand for slaves near the coast following the arrival of the Portuguese. In some societies people were sold into slavery for serious crimes, such as theft or adultery.[28]

No contemporary account exists of the way slaves were carried across the Sahara to the Maghrib. It was not, perhaps, so different from what Caillié described in the 1820s. He travelled in a caravan of 1400 camels. Slaves were put on camels which carried loads of lesser weight such as ostrich feathers and cloth; others went on foot. They were given very little water

and suffered more than others from the heat. Some of the Moors in Caillié's caravan treated the slaves very harshly.[29]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa joined a caravan from Takedda to Sijilmāsa which carried six hundred slaves, very probably from Bornu.[30] Just as Morocco obtained slaves from Bornu in the Central Sudan, so Tripoli traded in slaves with Gao in the Western Sudan. Leo Africanus recorded that the merchants of Mesrata (east of Tripoli) traded in European goods, bought from the Venetians, for Sudanese slaves.[31] That these slaves could have come from the Western Sudan is suggested by the presence of 'Abd al-Wāsi' al-Masrātī (from Mesrata) at the court of Askiyā Dāwūd in Gao, where he proposed to buy five hundred slaves.[32] The trade was indeed very complex; in 1446 João Fernandes reported that the Arabs and the Azenègues (Ṣanhāja) of the Western Sahara captured Negroes, and sold them to the Moors or took them themselves as far as Barca in the kingdom of Tunisia.[33] A decade later Ca da Mosto found that slave caravans conducted by the Arabs were divided at Wadan; one part was taken to Barca and then to Sicily, one part to Tunisia, another to the coast of Barbary, and a fourth to the Portuguese in Arguin.[34]

In southern Morocco and the oases of the northern Sahara, mainly in trading centres such as Tagaoust, Dar'a or Wargala, Leo Africanus noted a great number of black people and mulattos born of Sudanese slave women.[35] In Morocco Sudanese slaves were owned by commoners, and in Fes it was a custom to add a slave girl to the gift given to a fiancée.[36]

More important were the Sudanese slaves in the service of the rulers of the Maghrib. They formed the bodyguard of the Zīrid rulers of Ifrīqiya.[37] When Ibn Tāshfīn sought to strengthen his position *vis-à-vis* Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar, and was preparing for future military exploits, he bought two thousand Sudanese slaves to serve in his army (see p. 39).[38] Most of the servants of the royal household in Fes were Sudanese slaves, and Sudanese eunuchs guarded the royal harem.[39]

From Morocco Sudanese slaves were sent across the straits to Andalusia. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Sudanese slaves were recorded in Cordova and Algeciras. In the fourteenth century they appeared in the Christian states of Catalan, Valencia, Majorca, in Marseille and Montpellier. Yet at these northern latitudes they were never found in great numbers. Towards the end of the fourteenth, and during the fifteenth, centuries Sudanese slaves appear in European documentation. In Naples they amounted to 83 per cent of the servile population. In Sicily they were employed in agriculture. Genoa and Venice also had black slaves at that period, which Malowist associated with the scarcity of labour in Europe. Significantly, most of the Sudanese slaves in Southern Europe were attested to have come from 'the Mountains of Barca', or Cyrenaica.[40] This fits very well with the information of João Fernandes and Ca da Mosto from the 1400s to the 1450s, that some of the slaves of the Western Sudan were taken to 'Monde Barque', or the Mountains of Barca. At that time, however, Europeans became involved directly in the slave trade along the Atlantic coast.

When the Portuguese reached the Saharan coast they used to make forays from their ships to kidnap Moors, whom they brought to Portugal. Later, captured Moors were exchanged for black slaves brought by the Moors from the Sudan. South of the mouth of the Senegal river a more regular trade developed with the African rulers. The Portuguese were more successful in obtaining slaves than gold. They paid for the little gold and the many slaves in cloth and in other manufactured textiles, in beads, in tin or in silver, but most important of all, in horses. Horses were in great demand among the African chiefs, who were ready to pay for these in slaves.[41]

Horses were wanted by chiefs for military purposes and for prestige. The thousand horses in the stables of the Kaya-Magha (of Wagadu) were individually looked after. The Diāwara rulers of Kingui created a formidable force of cavalry.[42] The king of Ghana had small horses which were of local breeding.[43] In

Timbuktu, according to Leo Africanus, short horses only were bred, and these were used by the merchants and courtiers. The better horses came from the Maghrib and were first offered to the ruler. The price of horses in Timbuktu was four or five times the price in Europe.[44] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found that horses in Mali were more expensive than camels.[45] The king of Mali is said to have had about ten thousand cavalry mounts. He also had to provide horses for his army captains and paid considerable sums for Arab horses brought by merchants from beyond the desert.[46] The artisans of Beni Goumi in the northern Sahara used to invest their earnings in horses they bought in Fes, and later sold them to merchants going down to the Sudan.[47]

When the Portuguese reached the Atlantic coast, they responded to the demand for horses by the African chiefs of Djolof, Sine-Salum and the Malinke. Fernandes was told that the Djolof chiefs bought horses mainly for prestige, and did not even mind buying sick horses.[48] Nevertheless, cavalry was the striking force in the Sudan and afforded military superiority over an army of bowmen. A better supply of horses in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may have strengthened the power of chiefs closer to the coast, who posed a serious challenge to the military superiority of Mali.

The close connection between slaves and horses is shown by the fact that in Ifrīqiya the *nakhkhās* traded in both: he transported horses on the way south and slaves on the way back north.[49] The king of Bornu raided his neighbours to the south and captured slaves. These slaves were exchanged for horses brought by merchants from the Maghrib. With these horses his army became stronger, his raids more effective and the number of captured slaves increased.[50] One may draw parallels between the trade in horses in the Sudan and the trade in fire-arms in the Gulf of Guinea; horses, like fire-arms, were paid for in slaves, and both contributed to the intensity of slave raiding.

Salt, gold, and slaves were among the earliest staples of the trans-Saharan trade. It was through exchanging these basic

commodities that the trade system became more complex. New items of more luxurious character were introduced as a result of the cultural contacts which followed trading relations. The rural people in the Sudan, according to Ibn Saʿīd, used to go naked, but the Muslims covered their privy parts. Most of them wore skins, but those who mixed with the white men [i.e., the foreign traders] put on imported clothes of cotton and wool.[51] This suggests that clothing was introduced and diffused through trade and Islam.

In the tenth century Ibn al-Faqīh noted that the Sudanese people of Ghana wore skins.[52] A century later al-Bakrī described the commoners in Ghana wearing robes of cotton, silk, or brocade. Only the king and the crown prince had the right to wear sewn clothes according to the Muslims' fashion. Away from the capital, in the province of Sāma, the people went naked, and women only covered their sexual parts with skins.[53] The people of Malal, in the country of the Lamlam, were naked according to al-Idrīsī.[54] When the king of Malal was converted to Islam he was given a cotton dress.[55] Islam helped in creating a market for clothes and encouraged the increase of imports as well as the expansion of local manufacturing.

It is significant that the cotton tree and the manufacture of cloth were first reported from Takrūr, the earliest Muslim state.[56] The cloth industry in the Western Sudan, which started in the eleventh century, reached its highest point of prosperity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Production was for the local Sudanese market and for export to the Sahara and the Maghrib.[57] The more important centres of trade and Islam, Timbuktu and Jenne, were also famous as centres of weaving. In the seventeenth century there were twenty-six workshops of tailors in Timbuktu, each with fifty to a hundred apprentices.[58]

The development of a local textile industry did not reduce the volume of cloth imports. These were mainly luxurious clothes such as the Egyptian dress of the wealthy people in Walata and the European imported clothes of the king of Mali.[59] Silk

products were exported to the Sudan from Tunisia and Granada.[60] About 1470 Bendetto Dei reported an active trade of European cloth in Timbuktu.[61] Leo Africanus met the same in Gao.[62] These European products reached the entrepôts of the Sahel across the desert. By that time the Portuguese on the Atlantic coast had begun to trade in cloth, responding to a great demand by the local traders.[63] On the Casamance, where the people wove fine cloth, the Portuguese exchanged their cloth for the local woven cloth.[64] In Elmina the Portuguese met with a demand for Moroccan cloth, as the people there developed a taste for this cloth, which had reached them for some time through the Dyula commercial network. The cloth was, however, very expensive because of high transport costs incurred in the long overland route and because it changed hands many times. The Portuguese bought the cloth in Morocco, and by taking it directly by sea, sold it on the African coast at lower prices.[65]

Copper, used mainly for ornaments, is often mentioned among the imports. It came from southern Morocco,[66] and later also from the Byzantine empire.[67] The twelfth-century 'lost caravan' discovered by Monod in the Sahara carried some two thousand rods of copper at the total weight of about a ton.[68] Some silver, tin, and lead also reached the Western Sudan as well as perfumes, bracelets, arms, and books. Beads of stone, coral, and glass were in demand both for ornaments and as currency. Musk extracted from the civet cat, spices, ambergris, ostrich feathers, hides, and kola nuts were among the exports. While grains, sorghum, and millet were exported from the Sudan to the Sahara for the consumption of the Sudanese, the Arab and Berber communities in the Sahel imported wheat from North Africa. They also imported sugar, raisins, and dried dates and figs.[69]

Three arboreal products were important in the trade of the Western Sudan: the gum tree of the Sahel, the shea butter of the savannah and the kola of the forest. The gum tree was

observed near Awdaghust in the eleventh century and its products were exported to Andalusia.[70] There is little information in the Arabic sources on the trade in gum. Arabic gum was among the products brought to the Portuguese factory of Arguin at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[71] It became of considerable importance in the European trade on the Mauritanian coast from the seventeenth century. The oil extracted from the shea butter, or the *karite*, was used for cooking, for light, and for manufacturing soap.[72] The shea butter was exported to the north and was observed by Malfante at Tuat in 1447.[73] Kola, however, was by far the most commercialized fruit in West Africa.

'The nut' (*al-jawz*) is mentioned among the articles exported from the Sudan by the Maqqarī brothers in the thirteenth century.[74] In 1586, the private physician of the Moroccan Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī described *ḥarrūb al-Sūdān* ('carob of the Sudan'), also called *goro*. The fruit came from a place called Bīṭū close to the gold mines. It was transported in bags covered by wet leaves which kept the fruit fresh until it reached the Maghrib. The author saw the fruit, and he recorded the information about the tree and its location from a merchant who was trading with the Sudan.[75]

The Akan forest is the only region where both gold and kola were abundant and it was very likely this region that the sixteenth-century Maghrib source referred to as 'Bīṭū close to the gold mines'.[76] The gold mines and the kola plantations are said to have been the two principal sources of the wealth of Mali.[77] The bitter fruit, a diet of many Sudanese in the fourteenth century, may well have been the kola.[78] By the sixteenth century there is clear evidence for its widespread consumption, and that people became almost addicted to it.[79] Kola nuts were given as presents by the *askiyās*.[80]

This scanty evidence indicates that during the age of the great empires the kola nut already fulfilled many of its more recent economic and social functions.[81] Kola is chewed and its

liquid acts as a stimulant which helps to overcome thirst. Because of its value the kola comprises a most appropriate present and is often exchanged between a host and his guests or a chief and his subjects. The kola grows in the forest, but it is consumed mostly by people of the savannah and the Sahel. Hence its importance in generating long-distance trade.

A small amount only of the kola was exported to the Maghrib, and most of it was destined for markets south of the Sahara. The volume of the gold trade and its destination were conditioned by the changing relations of West Africa with the outside world. The kola trade, on the other hand, was an internal African affair. From the seventeenth century, when the gold trade declined, the kola trade expanded in response to an ever growing demand. During these centuries, the kola trade was crucial in the spread of Islam between the Sahel and the fringes of the forest.

XVI · Islam in the Sudanic Kingdoms

Muslim traders from the Maghrib frequented the trading centres of the Sahel from the eighth century. As these centres were also capitals of the early kingdoms, the Sudanese rulers came under the influence of the Muslims. In the eighth century Gao (Kaw-kaw) had commercial as well as political relations with the Ibāḍite state of Tahert.[1] In the tenth century Gao was divided by the Niger into two towns. East of the river was the merchants' town and on the western bank the king's town. The king and most of his people behaved as if they were Muslim.[2] 'Their king,' al-Bakrī wrote in 1067–8, 'is a Muslim, for they entrust the kingship to Muslims only. When a king comes to power, he is given a signet-ring, a sword, and a copy of the Koran, which they claim were sent by *amīr al-mū'minīn* [the caliph].'[3] The royal tombs of Gao prove that by the end of the eleventh century the kings of Gao were Muslim.[4]

al-Bakrī's intriguing information indicates, however, that though the king was Muslim and the royal emblems Islamic, 'the common people worshipped idols as did the [other] Sudanese'. Also, pre-Islamic customs persisted: 'When the king sits down [to eat] a drum is beaten . . . and no one in his town may go about until the king has finished his meal.'

The nominal and partial acceptance of Islam in Gao may be compared with the zealous adherence to Islam of the king of Takrūr on the Lower Senegal (see p. 44):

> The people of Takrūr are black and were previously idolators like the other Sudanese and worshipped *dakākīr*, idols in their language, until the reign of Wār-Dyābe ibn Rabīs. He adopted Islam, introduced the Islamic law, compelled them to observe its rules, and opened their eyes to see the Truth.

> Wār-Dyābe died in 432 A.H. [A.D. 1040/1] and the people of Takrūr are Muslims today. From the town of Takrūr you would go to Sillā. . . . Its people are Muslims. They were converted to Islam by Wār-Dyābe. . . . The king of Sillā is at war with the infidels.[5]

The kings of Gao and Takrūr set the example for two trends in the development of Islam in West Africa: that of a symbiotic relationship between Islam and the traditional religion represented by Gao, as against the militant Islam of Takrūr, which aimed at the imposition of the new religion in all its vigorousness, forcing the subjects to adopt Islam, introducing the Islamic law, carrying the propagation of Islam among neighbours and waging the holy war against the infidels. A compromising attitude, as represented by Gao, was more typical of Islam in West Africa until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and it is the early militancy of Islam in Takrūr which needs some explanation.

In the western parts of the Sahara the influence of the ocean moderates the harsh desert conditions which prevail farther east, and makes it more suitable for human life. It was therefore in this region that contacts between the white nomads and the black sedentaries were continuous and more intensive throughout the centuries. This fact may account for the greater influence of *maraboutism* in modern Senegal, compared with other parts of West Africa. Takrūr of the eleventh century, like the people of the Lower Senegal before the French conquest, was under the influence of militant white nomads.

Wār-Dyābe died in 1040/1, that is, about the time ʿAbdallāh ibn Yāsīn came to the desert (see above, pp. 33–4). The king of Takrūr was therefore converted in the pre-Almoravid period, probably under the pressure of the Ṣanhāja. After they had become Muslims the Ṣanhāja continued their raids on the Sudanese as a *jihād*.[6] Unlike Ghana, Takrūr was too weak to resist the Ṣanhāja impact and its king adopted Islam. Among

the riverain sedentaries of Takrūr the teaching of Islam probably found more fertile ground than among the Saharan nomads. 'When 'Abdallāh ibn Yāsīn saw that they [the Juddāla] turned away from him, and followed their own passions, he wanted to leave them to go to the Sudanese, who had already adopted Islam.'[7] As he was then among the western Juddāla, it is very likely that he intended to go to Takrūr.

Islamization brought about a *rapprochement* between the Almoravids and Takrūr. Farther to the east the confrontation between the Almoravids and Ghana was hostile. It was a continuation of the centuries-old struggle between the Sudanic kingdom of Ghana and the Ṣanhāja nomads. It may be suggested that the adherence of the king of Ghana to his ancestral religion may have been in defiance of his northern enemies, who represented the expanding wave of Islam. Acceptance of their religion could imply political subjugation. By fortifying the traditional (national) religion the king of Ghana may have tried to protect his kingdom from the impact of the north.[8] An element of resistance to Islam in the royal court of Ghana has been stressed because the Islamic presence in Ghana seems to have been intensive enough to bring about the islamization of the king:

> The city of Ghana consists of two towns in a plain. One of these towns is inhabited by Muslims. It is large with a dozen mosques, in one of which they assemble for the Friday prayer. There are *imāms*, *mu'adhdhins*, salaried reciters of the Koran as well as jurisconsults and learned men. . . . The royal town is six miles distance from this one and is called al-Ghaba. Between these two towns are contiguous habitations. . . . In the king's town, not far from the court, is a mosque where Muslims pray when they call upon him. . . . The king's interpreters, the official in charge of his treasury, and the majority of his ministers are Muslims.
>
> The religion [of the people of Ghana] is paganism and the

> worship of idols. . . . When the people who follow the king's religion approach him, they fall on their knees and sprinkle dust upon their heads, for this is their way of greeting him. The Muslims, on the other hand, greet him by clapping their hands. . . . Their former king Basī, who died in 455 A.H. [A.D. 1063], led a praiseworthy life; he loved justice and was friendly to the Muslims.[9]

The position of Islam in Ghana exemplifies yet another pattern in the spread of Islam in West Africa, that of Muslims who live under the auspices of pagan rulers.[10] The king of Ghana was interested in attracting Muslim traders to the capital, because the prosperity of his kingdom depended on the trans-Saharan gold trade. He let the Muslims practice their religion without interference. Both parties, however, preferred to live apart. The Muslims were interested in retaining an autonomous Muslim community, whereas the king tried to restrict Islamic foreign influence over his subjects. There were, however, points of contact, and the king employed the literate Muslims in his court as interpreters, in the treasury, and whenever a knowledge of writing could be of use. Muslims were welcomed, in fact, as long as they did not represent an obvious danger to the political system.

The ground for the islamization of Ghana had already been prepared through the long, peaceful influence of the Muslim residents. But it needed the Almoravids' conquest to destroy the political and military power of Ghana, which had stiffened opposition to Islam.[11]

> They [the people of Ghana] were converted to Islam during the times of the Lamtūna [Almoravids], and they proved this conversion to be sincere. They are now Muslims and they have scholars, jurists and reciters of the Koran. . . . Some of their chiefs and notables performed the pilgrimage . . ., and they spend much wealth for the *jihād* [holy war].[12]

Not all the Muslims in Ghana before the Almoravid conquest were foreigners from the Maghrib; many were Soninke. al-Bakrī distinguished between Muslims and 'followers of the king's religion' (*ahl dīn al-malik*), and not between Muslims and local people. The Muslim Soninke were traders who operated over the routes leading south to the gold sources. In Ghana, as in the other commercial towns of the Sahel, these Sudanese traders were in close contact with the North African Muslim traders. Through their trade they became detached from the agricultural and tribal ways of life, in which the traditional African religion is rooted. Hence they adopted Islam more easily, and in their wanderings they found hospitality as well as a sense of community among fellow Muslims in the trading centres which developed along the routes. These were described by al-Bakrī:

> The best gold in the country [of the king of Ghana] comes from the town of Ghiyārū, eighteen days travelling from the king's town . . . Gharantal [on this route] is a large territory and an important kingdom. Muslims do not live there, but the people treat them with respect, and come out to meet them, when they enter the country. . . . The town of Ghiyārū is twelve miles distant from the Nile, and there are many Muslims. . . . West of Ghiyārū on the Nile the town of Yaresnā is inhabited by Muslims, but is surrounded by pagans. . . . From Yaresnā Sudanese, known as Banū Naghmārtah, trade in gold to [all] countries.[13]

In the middle of the eleventh century these trading centres on the Upper Senegal, opposite the goldfields of Bambuk and Bure, were the southern outposts of Islam. In subsequent centuries, as the trade routes extended southwards, Muslims established new trading centres, which by the end of the fifteenth century reached the fringes of the forest. This was one aspect in the spread of Islam, which may be better defined as the *dispersion of Muslims*. The next phase, in which Islam was transmitted by the Muslim traders who had hailed from the Sahel to the local

people, began when closer relations developed between the hospitable chiefs and their Muslim guests. We may now turn back to al-Bakrī's text, where we left it above, to follow an account of the islamization of an African chief at that early period:

> Opposite Yaresnā, on the other side of the Nile, is a great kingdom . . . the title of its king is Do. . . . Beyond it is a country called Malal, the king of which is known as al-Muslimānī. He was so called because his country once became afflicted with drought one year following another. They prayed for rain through their sacrifices, to the extent that they almost exterminated the cattle, but the drought and distress only increased. The king had a Muslim guest with him, who read the Koran and studied the Sunna. The king complained to this Muslim of the calamities that assailed them. The Muslim said: 'O king, if you only believed in Allāh the exalted, and testified to Him being One, and to the prophetic mission of Muḥammad (Allāh's blessing and peace be upon him), and if you accepted all the religious laws of Islam, I would pray on your behalf for deliverance from your plight. You would bring Allāh's mercy upon the people of your country, and your enemies and adversaries would envy you on this account.'
>
> He persisted with the king until the latter sincerely adopted Islam. He taught him to recite some easy passages from the Koran and instructed him in those religious obligations and practices [the minimum] which one ought to know. Then the Muslim asked the king to wait until the night of the following Friday, when he told him to be purified by a complete ablution, and clothed him in a cotton robe he had with him. Then they set out to a mound of earth, where the Muslim stood praying and the king, on his right, followed his example. They prayed throughout the night; the Muslim reciting invocations, and the king saying the amen. The

> dawn had just begun to break, when Allāh brought down abundant rain.
>
> Then the king ordered that the idols be broken and the sorcerers expelled from his country. He, together with his descendants and the nobility, became sincerely attached to Islam, but the common people of his kingdom remained pagans. On this account, their kings have since been given the title of al-Muslimānī.[14]

The Muslim succeeded in winning over the chief by demonstrating the omnipotence of the great Allāh. Praying to Allāh saved the kingdom where all sacrifices performed by the local priests failed. One is reminded of the contest between the Prophet Elijah and the Prophets of the Baal on mount Carmel.[15] Islam had made its earliest appeal in competition with the traditional religion and had proved its superiority. Over large parts of West Africa Muslim amulets, highly appreciated because of the written passages from the Great Book which they hold, paved the way for the spread of Islam. These amulets were in great demand by pagans even before they came under strong Islamic influence. The prayers of Muslims and the miracles they could perform were called for by non-Muslim chiefs.[16] Indeed, chiefs were particularly inclined to seek the aid of Muslims in recruiting supernatural support, because they were under greater strain than the common people whose way of life harmonized with the rhythm of the traditional religion.

The role of chiefs as early recipients of Islamic influence underlines the importance of chiefdoms in the process of islamization. In al-Bakrī's account, Islam was introduced to one of those Malinke chiefdoms which had emerged among the loosely organized Lamlam. The Muslim taught the king of Malal 'to recite some easy passages from the Koran, and instructed him in those religious obligations and practices [the minimum] which one ought to know'. This is indicative of the rudimentary islamization of the chief. The king of Malal, together with

members of his family and the nobility, accepted Islam, whereas the commoners remained pagans. The same was true of Gao at this time. Islam thus became a factor of division within African kingdoms and a potential source of internal crises. This may have been of considerable concern to the king of Alukan who 'is said to have been a Muslim, but concealed his religion'.[17]

Islamized kings were placed in a delicate position between an influential Muslim minority (who lived close to the centre, monopolized the trade and had extensive outside relations) and the majority of their pagan subjects. They were thus obliged to hold a middle position between Islam and the traditional religion; they were neither real Muslims nor complete pagans. From this middle position some chiefs or dynasties might turn towards the true Islam, while others might fall back to regain closer relations with their traditional religion. The historical circumstances in which such changes may have taken place will now be illustrated, as we trace the development of Islam in Mali over the centuries.

Traditions assert that chiefs among the Malinke came under Islamic influence before the time of Sundjata, founder of the empire of Mali. Ibn Khaldūn, on the authority of the sheikh 'Uthmān, says that 'the first of them to embrace Islam was a king named Barmandana who made the pilgrimage'.[18] Elsewhere Ibn Khaldūn says that the people of Mali were islamized in the seventh century A.H. [the thirteenth century A.D.].[19] Allakoi Mūsā of the oral traditions, three generations before Sundjata, is said to have performed the pilgrimage four times.[20]

Islam is accommodated into the traditional thought of the Malinke. The Berte, Ture, Sisse, Saghanogho, and Jane are the five *maraboutic* clans of the Malinke, who appear from the oral traditions to have been essential components of the nation. *Marabouts*, or Muslim divines, play the role of advisers in traditional histories. The Berte are masters of the ceremony in the septennial ceremonies of the Kamblon at Kangaba. There is an alliance by oath between the royal Keita and the Berte. The

latter are said to have come with Sundjata from Mema. The first wife of Sundjata was of the Berte clan.[21]

In the traditional epos of Mali Sundjata appears as a great hunter and magician, who fought against another powerful magician, Sumanguru the king of Soso. In a critical hour of history, when he had to mobilize the national resources of the Malinke, Sundjata – though a nominal Muslim – turned to the traditional religion for support, to the particularist spirit of the nation, rather than to the universalistic appeal of Islam. Significantly, the same may be true of Sonni ʿAlī, who made the small kingdom of Songhay into a large empire. Kings like Sundjata and Sonni ʿAlī, founders of empires, remain the god-heroes of the national traditions, and not their successors like Mansā Mūsā of Mali and Askiyā Muḥammad of Songhay, who were to become famous as great Muslim kings through the Arabic records.

From its centre on the Upper Niger Mali expanded into the Sahel. Old centres of Islam, like Diā and Walata, became part of the empire. Muslim traders operated over the wide network of routes that spread across the empire. These traders, as well as North African Muslims, came to live in the capital of Mali. Through its involvement in the trans-Saharan trade Mali came closer to the Muslim world north of the Sahara, and more so for those kings who went on pilgrimage to Mecca. As the small Malinke chiefdom turned into a vast multi-ethnic empire, with influential Muslim elements inside and extensive Islamic relations with the outside, the kings changed their orientation from closer attachment to their ancestral religion towards an Islamic outlook. Islam as a supra-tribal religion contributed to the cohesiveness of the multi-ethnic empire, just as the trade routes became like veins that would make this vast empire a functioning organism.

Because of the inadequacy of the Arabic sources in the thirteenth century it is difficult to follow from contemporary evidence the parallel growth of imperial power and Islamic

influence. By the fourteenth century, for which the excellent accounts of Ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-ʻUmarī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, and Ibn Khaldūn are available, Mali had already taken on the character of an Islamic empire – or this, at least, is the impression one gets from reading these accounts. Yet a more critical review of the information furnished by these Egyptian and North African authors may present a more balanced assessment of the position of Islam in a Sudanic empire.

Mansā Mūsā 'was a pious and righteous man, and there had been no one among [the kings of Mali] like him in piety and justice'.[22] 'He made his empire part of the land of Islam; he built there mosques and Friday mosques with minarets; he instituted the Friday prayer, the public prayer, and the call to prayer. He attracted Mālikī scholars, established himself as the sultan of the Muslims, and was devoted to Islamic studies.'[23] During the reign of Mansā Mūsā (1312–37) Islam in Mali was in a stronger position than before, and it is to this period and that of Mansā Sulaymān (c. 1340–60) that the bulk of the evidence is related. In 1352–3 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was present during the two great Islamic festivals – *ʻid al-fiṭr* and *ʻid al-adḥā* – and gave a detailed account of how these were celebrated in Mali:

> The people come out, dressed in their best white clothes, to the place of prayer, which is close to the palace of the Sultan. The Sultan came mounted . . . with the *qāḍī*, the *khaṭīb* [preacher], and the *fuquhā'* [jurists] in front of him, calling *'la illāha illā llāh'* ['There is no God but Allāh'], and *'allāhu akbar'* ['Allah is Great']. In front of him were red silken flags. The sultan entered a tent, which had been pitched close to the place of prayer, to prepare himself. He then came out to the place of prayer. After the prayer and the sermon had been accomplished, the preacher came down, sat in front of the Sultan, and made a long speech. There was a man, holding a spear in his hand, who explained the preacher's speech to the people in their language. The speech was an admonition and a

> warning to the people; it praised the Sultan and urged his people to obey him and to fulfil their obligations to him.[24]

The presence of the king in the public prayer made it an official occasion, to which non-Muslims in the capital may also have been drawn. In return for this support accorded to Islam by the king, the whole prestige of the new religion was directed to exhorting loyalty to the ruler. The alliance between kingship and Islam made the latter into an imperial cult. But as national feasts the Islamic festivals also had to accommodate traditional ceremonies, since it was these rituals which had strengthened and upheld the legitimacy of the kingship.

> On the two festivals following the afternoon prayer the Sultan sits on the *bembe* [dais]. The sword-bearers come with their wonderful arms . . ., four *amīrs* stand behind him . . . while the army officers, the *qāḍī* and the preacher sit according to the custom. Then Dughā the linguist comes in with his four wives and about a hundred slave girls. . . . Dughā sits down on a chair prepared for him, and plays an instrument made of reed with gourds underneath [a *balafon*]. He sings a song praising the king, an account of his wars and deeds. The women and the slave girls sing together with him, and play on bows. . . . Dughā performs this ceremony every Friday following the afternoon prayer.
>
> . . . After Dughā had completed his play, the poets, called *dyulā*, plural of *dyāli*, entered dressed in a masked-figure made of feathers, carrying a wooden mask with a red beak, as if they were birds.[25] They stood in front of the king in this ridiculous form and recited their poems. It was explained to me that their poem was a kind of sermon telling the Sultan that among the kings who had occupied that dais [before him] was so-and-so whose praiseworthy deeds were such-and-such, and another whose deeds were so-and-so. Now [addressing the king] you should do good that will be remembered for posterity. . . . I have been told that this was an old custom,

which had been current among them before [they adopted] Islam, and they persisted in it.[26]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the pious Muslim, regarded this 'ridiculous reciting of the poets' among 'the vile practices' of the people of Mali. As expected, the other practices he mentioned were also pre-Islamic customs, such as 'the way slave-maids and young girls appeared in public naked, with their private parts visible'.

> I myself saw many of them in this way in the Ramaḍān. It is the custom of the *amīrs* that they break the fast in the Sultan's residence. Everyone brought with him his own food carried by twenty or more slave-maids, all naked. All women must come before the king naked without any cover, as do also the king's own daughters. On the twenty-seventh night of Ramaḍān [i.e., *laylat al-qadr*, the night on which the Koran was revealed] I myself saw about one hundred naked slave-maids coming out with food from the palace, and with them two of the king's daughters, in the bloom of youth, with no cover on them.[27]

Here, as in the case of the *griots*' performance at the Muslim festivals, the pre-Islamic customs were still practised among those who adopted Islam, and on occasions which are specifically Islamic. Another custom deplored by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa – that many of them ate non-ritually killed animals, dogs, and donkeys – was probably practised by pagan commoners only.[28] al-'Umarī noted the extensive use of magic in Mali. 'On this subject they come constantly before the king, saying: "So-and-so killed my brother by magic, or my son, or my sister, or my daughter." A murderer is punished in retaliation, and a sorcerer is put to death.'[29]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was also critical of the practice of sprinkling dust and ashes on the head as a sign of respect before the king.[30] This was similarly regarded as an evil custom by the nineteenth-century reformer 'Uthmān dan Fodio 'because it is a sign of

excess'. It was contrary to the Muslim concepts of individual dignity, and the obligation to worship none other than Allāh.[31] In Ghana, under a pagan king, the Muslims were exempted from this practice, and greeted the king by clapping hands only. As al-Bakrī states explicitly that only those who followed the king's religion knelt down and sprinkled themselves with dust, it appears that the exemption was applied also to Sudanese Muslims, subjects of the king.[32] But in the islamized empire of Mali the distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects was obliterated and all – excluding North African Muslims – had to follow the custom.[33] In other words, as long as Islam stood in opposition to kingship, as in Ghana, Muslims were not obliged to perform what they regarded as a pagan custom. But under islamized kings, who themselves combined Islamic and traditional elements, pre-Islamic customs had to be accommodated. Mansā Mūsā, the Muslim king, kept the old Sudanese custom that the sovereign does not eat in the presence of any of his subjects.[34]

Ian Baṭṭūṭa was much impressed by the punctiliousness with which people in Mali observed prayers and by their concern for the study of the Koran:

> Among the practices of the Sudanese which I appreciate . . . is that they are devoted to the prayers and keep praying in congregation, which they impose also on their children. If a man does not come early in the morning to the mosque he will not find a place to pray because of the large crowd. It is their custom that each one sends his slave with the prayer carpet, which is spread out in the place that he is entitled to until the master comes to the mosque. . . .
>
> . . . Also their custom of dressing in handsome white clothes on Friday. Even if a man has one worn gown only, he will wash and clean it for the Friday prayer. Also their concern with the study of the Koran by heart. They will put their children in chains if it appears that they neglect their

> duty of studying [the Koran], and [the chains] will not be taken off until they memorise it.[35]

Praying and the study of the Koran, both of which may be regarded among the ritual aspects of Islam, were well observed by Muslims in the Sudan. The Islamic law, on the other hand, was but loosely practised in the islamized court of Mali, and clearly had less appeal. Ibn Amīr Ḥājib, an official at the court of the Mamluk Sultan in Egypt who had met Mansā Mūsā in Cairo, said that this Sudanese ruler 'was pious, and he strictly observed the prayer, the recitation of the Koran, and the mention of Allāh's name'. But, the same informant added, this king had a custom that if one of his subjects had a beautiful daughter he brought her to the king's bed without marriage, as if this free woman were a slave concubine.

> One day I told him that this was not permitted to a Muslim by the letter or by the spirit of the law. 'Not even to kings?' he asked. 'Not even to kings,' I replied; 'ask the learned scholars.' 'By Allāh,' he said, 'I did not know that. Now I will renounce it completely.'[36]

Shortcomings in the application of the Muslim law were most apparent in marriage customs and sexual behaviour. The free sexual relations among the Massūfa of Walata, including the *qāḍī* there, shocked Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.[37] In Mali itself, as we have seen, he was critical of the naked women going about in public.

The precepts of Islam were observed in different degrees by the various social groups in the kingdom. Through its adaptability to the African ways of life, Islam could appeal to a wider section of the population. Commoners in the capital and near the courts of provincial governors may have been drawn into the orbit of Islam by attending public prayers on Islamic festivals and other ceremonies in which Muslim clerics took active part. The king, his chiefs, and nobility were more deeply islamized,[38] though they still adhered to some traditional customs

unacceptable to puritan Muslims. At a higher level Islam was practised by those Sudanese Muslims who became detached from the traditional way of life. Traders and clerics were in close communication with the foreign Muslim community of North Africans. The latter played an important role in setting the example for a Muslim way of life closer to that prescribed by normative Islam.

In Jenne Sudanese Muslims did not refer to the *qāḍī*, the Muslim judge, but preferred to come before the *khaṭīb*, the preacher, who settled their affairs by conciliation (and very likely with reference to customary law as much as to the *sharīʿa*). The white residents, on the other hand, litigated before the *qāḍī*.[39] A scholar from Sijilmāsa, Ibn Wāsūl, was *qāḍī* in Gao before 1374.[40] He probably dealt with the judicial affairs of the white Muslim community in Gao, which also had its own mosque. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's host in Gao was the *imām* of the whites' mosque (*imām masjid al-bīḍān*), a man from Tafilelt in southern Morocco.[41]

In the fourteenth as in the eleventh century, the separation between the two towns – Muslim and local – in Gao was preserved. In the capital of Mali the whites had their own quarter, though it was probably not separated from the town. The foreign Muslims there, Moroccans and Egyptians, were closely associated with the king of Mali.

The official clerics in the capital of Mali – the *qāḍī* and the preacher (*khaṭīb*) – were Sudanese. These two had a recognized official status at court. They were present at the royal audience, along with the other titled officials of the state. The mosque and the preacher's house were sanctuaries for people fleeing from the king's justice or his wrath.[42]

> In the kingdom of Mansā Mūsā no one is allowed to shake his hand but his *qāḍī*, who is known as *anfarīkoma*. Koma is the clan from which their *qāḍī* is appointed. They do not know the [term] *qāḍī* and say only *anfarī*.[43]

Who was the Muslim official in Mali whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa called *qāḍī*? Was he the *anfarī-koma* mentioned by the seventeenth-century chronicler? More research is needed into this problem. From Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account it seems that the *khaṭīb* rather than the *qāḍī* was the chief representative of Islam at the court of Mali. His house, not that of the *qāḍī*, was the sanctuary.

In the following chapter we will consider the role of Islam in the autonomous commercial towns of Mali and the relations of this Sudanic empire with the outside Muslim world. During the fourteenth century, when the empire of Mali was at its peak, Islam made its greatest impact. The kings of Mali at that period, such as Mansā Mūsā and Mansā Sulaymān, regarded themselves as Muslims and were accepted as such by local and foreign Muslims in the Sudan as well as in the Muslim world north of the Sahara. Yet a closer review of the contemporary evidence reveals the survival of pre-Islamic customs which sustained elements of the traditional religion. The outcome was not syncretism, nor the moulding of Islamic and traditional elements, but rather a dualism, in which the two systems existed side by side. These two cultural systems did not exist in abstraction, but were represented by social groups within the empire. Whereas Islam gained ground in the urban centres, in the trading community and among the ruling estate, it had little impact on the rural communities, which remained closely attached to the traditional religion. The king, we have already suggested, was at the centre. He communicated with pagans and Muslims and endeavoured to keep the allegiance of both. His position between the two poles of Islam and paganism was conditioned to a large extent by the relative strength of the opposing social groups in a given historical context.

In the fifteenth century Mali lost its control over Timbuktu, Jenne, and the other centres of the Sahel which formed the Islamic *foci* of the empire. Mali was deprived of direct contact with the trans-Saharan routes and with the wider Muslim world. The capital declined together with the empire, and the foreign

Muslim community left Niani. Hence all the factors which had lent strength to the Islamic pole ceased to function. As more ethnic groups escaped the domination of Mali, the kingdom gradually contracted back to the Malinke nucleus. Once again, as in the time of Sundjata, the traditional particularist spirit of the Malinke nation triumphed over the universal supra-tribal appeal of Islam.

Muslim divines remained attached to the courts of the many Malinke chiefdoms and continued to render religious service to the chiefs. But the latter lost the Islamic zeal and appearance of the fourteenth-century kings of Mali. The chiefs returned to the middle position between Islam and the traditional religion, with a greater inclination towards the latter.[44] As the Malinke ruling estate became less committed to Islam, the burden of carrying on the spread of Islam was again left to the traders. The Dyula brought Islam as far as the fringes of the forest, and initiated there a process of islamization, parallel to that experienced centuries earlier in the northern belt of the Sudan.[45]

XVII · Scholars, Pilgrims, Ambassadors

The long, peaceful process of the islamization of Africa was paralleled by the Africanization of Islam; Islam was integrated into African societies, and though foreign in origin it became one of the African religions. While winning over converts, Islam also assimilated African traditional elements. In view of the adaptability of Islam to differing traditional environments, one might have expected the development of very particularistic forms of Islam in Africa. There are indeed some localized Islamic customs, but in spite of its diversity Islam in Africa preserved its unity and universality.

The trade routes over which Islam spread later served as lines of communication between remote Muslim communities and stronger Islamic centres. There, Muslim scholars constantly referred to the literary tradition of Islam and to its written code. Hence normative Islam has always been able to prevent the widening of the gap with the multicoloured popular Islam.

The centres of Islamic learning were the commercial towns from where the influence of the *ʿulamāʾ* radiated. Muslims who lived in the capital of the empire or in the provinces rendered religious service to islamized chiefs. They were pious and observant believers themselves, but had to tolerate the more diluted forms of Islam as practised by their chiefs, and even to take part in ceremonies in which pre-Islamic rites were performed. In purely Muslim towns, centred around the market and not around a chief's court, Islam tended to be more exclusive and the Muslim *ʿulamāʾ* held greater authority.

Diaʿba, a town of the *fuqahāʾ*, was in the middle of the land of Mali, but the Sultan did not enter it. No one had authority

there but its *qāḍī*. Any one who entered this town was safe from the Sultan's oppression and his outrage. [Even] one who killed a child of the Sultan could not be avenged there. It was called 'the town of Allāh'.[1]

Dia'ba is Diā, the old town of the Muslim Soninke traders in Massina. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 'the people of Diāgha [Diā] were Muslims of old, and are distinguished by their piety and their quest for knowledge'.[2] For the seventeenth century there is evidence on the autonomy of Gundiuru (or Konjuru), an important centre of trade and Islam on the Upper Senegal.[3] In the sixteenth century the *qāḍī* held authority in Timbuktu.[4]

The recorded history of the Muslim community of Timbuktu begins in the first half of the fourteenth century under Mansā Mūsā. In 1353, when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Timbuktu, it was still a small town inhabited mainly by the Massūfa. He noted, however, the tombs of two Muslims who had followed Mansā Mūsā across the Sahara.[5] One of them was Sarāj al-Dīn ibn al-Kuwayk, a merchant from Alexandria, who died in Timbuktu in January 1334 (Jumadā I, 734).[6] He was on his way to Mali to claim a loan from Mansā Mūsā. In Timbuktu he was a guest of Abū Isḥāq al-Sāḥilī, a poet and an architect from Andalusia, who accompanied Mansā Mūsā on his return from pilgrimage. After building a magnificent palace for Mansā Mūsā in the capital, he settled in Timbuktu, where he died in October 1346 [Jumadā al-Akhira, 747].[7] His descendants, however, settled in Walata.[8] Though Timbuktu began at that time to develop into a cultural centre, Walata, the principal terminus of the Saharan trade, was even more attractive than Timbuktu. Leo Africanus mentions that the great mosque of Timbuktu was built by an Andalusian architect, which must refer to Abū Isḥāq al-Saḥilī.[9] This would follow the strong traditions, also recorded in the *Ta'rīkhs*, that the great Friday mosque (*al-jāmi' al-kabīr*) was built by order of Mansā Mūsā.[10] Mansā Mūsā encouraged Islamic learning by sending Sudanese *'ulamā'* to study in Fes. This

was continued at least until the end of Mali's rule in Timbuktu, early in the fifteenth century; Kātib Mūsā, the last Sudanese *imām* of the great Friday mosque in Timbuktu, was among those who went to study in Fes.[11] The high standard of learning acquired by these Sudanese *'ulamā'* is illustrated in an anecdote related in the name of the great sheikh Sīdī Yaḥyā, who died in 1461/2:

> Sīdī 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tamīmī came from the Ḥijāz. He settled in Timbuktu, and realized that it was full of Sudanese *fuqahā'*. When he saw that they surpassed him in [the knowledge of] *fiqh* [jurisprudence] he travelled to Fās [Fes] to study *fiqh*, and then returned to Timbuktu to settle there.[12]

Sīdī 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tamīmī followed the custom of the local scholars in going to study in Fes. He became integrated into the scholarly community in Timbuktu and his descendant Ḥabīb served as *qāḍī* of Timbuktu in 1468–1498/9.[13]

Under the rule of Mali the *imāms* of the old Friday mosque were Sudanese. The last of these *imāms*, Kātib Mūsā, officiated for forty years both before the Tuareg conquered Timbuktu in 1433 and afterwards. He was also the *qāḍī*. He was succeeded by the first white *imām*, Sīdī 'Abdallāh al-Balbalī (of Tabalbalat, an oasis west of Tuat). He came from Fes with his predecessor Kātib Mūsā, when the latter returned from his studies in the Moroccan capital. Sīdī 'Abdallāh held office during the later period of the Tuaregs and at the beginning of Sonni 'Alī's reign. His successors in the *imām*ship of the Friday mosque were Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Tuati (died 1528/9), Manṣūr al-Fazānī and Sīdī 'Alī al-Jazūlī (whose deputy was 'Uthmān al-Tishītī).[14] We may conclude that from the middle of the fifteenth century the *imāms* of the Friday mosque were whites, Berbers or Arabs from the northern Sahara or the Maghrib, and *not* the Ṣanhāja from Timbuktu's immediate neighbourhood. The relevance of this distinction within the white community will soon be discussed.

Under the protection of Mali and in the early Tuareg period, not only the *imāms* were Sudanese but also many of the *'ulamā'*. 'At that time the town was full of Sudanese students [from the Western Sudan] who diligently pursued science and piety.' Their master was *shaykh al-shuyūkh* (shaykh of the shaykhs) Mobido Muḥammad al-Kābori.[15] He was a native of Kābora, very probably the same Kābora on the Niger mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa together with Diā (Diāgha), and identified by Delafosse as Diafarabe in Massina.[16] Kābora was an important centre of *'ulamā'* and of Islamic learning; Mori Magha Kanke, one of the famous *'ulamā'* of Jenne, studied in Kābora in the middle of the fifteenth century.[17] Ṣiddīq ibn Muḥammad Ta'allī, *imām* of the Friday mosque of Timbuktu in 1541–65, came from Kābora.[18] Many of the students of Mobido Muḥammad al-Kābori himself were from Kābora, and it is said that around his tomb (in Timbuktu) 'some thirty men of Kābora are buried, all scholars and men of piety'. Two prominent white scholars of Timbuktu, 'Umar ibn Muḥammad Aqīt and Sīdī Yaḥyā, studied under him.[19]

The development of Timbuktu as the principal commercial city at the expense of Walata took place, it has already been shown, in the second half of the fourteenth century. The close association between commerce and Islamic scholarship was again proved as the *'ulamā'* followed the merchants from Walata to Timbuktu:

> The market had previously been at Bīru [Walata]. Caravans used to come there from all directions of the horizon. The pick of scholars, pious and rich men from every tribe and country lived there. . . . Then all these moved to Timbuktu.[20]

There is some biographical evidence on migration from Walata to Timbuktu in the first half of the fifteenth century. *al-faqīh* al-Ḥājj came from Walata to become *qāḍī* of Timbuktu towards the end of Mali's rule.[21] The ancestor of the famous and influential Aqīt family, Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Ṣanhājī

al-Massūfī, came to Timbuktu from Walata when Ākillu, the Tuareg chief, ruled over Timbuktu. Muḥammad Aqīt entered Timbuktu only after an old enmity with Ākillu had been settled.[22] About Abū ʿAbdallāh And-ag-Muḥammad, a *qāḍī* of Timbuktu in the middle of the fifteenth century, Aḥmad Bābā said: 'He was the first of my ancestors who dedicated himself to the study of the Islamic sciences. . . .'[23] It was therefore at that period that a new tradition of intellectual celebrity began.

Members of these three families – Aqīt, And-ag-Muḥammad, and *al-faqīh* al-Ḥājj – formed the core of what was known as 'the people of Sankore', that quarter of Timbuktu famous for its mosque. The Sankore mosque was built by a wealthy woman (probably of the Tuareg), but it is not known at what date. The first known *imām* of this mosque was Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad Aqīt, appointed *c.* 1480. He was succeeded in this office by a grandson of And-ag-Muḥammad.[24] Under the *askiyās* all the *qāḍīs* of Timbuktu were of this group.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, under the rule of the Tuareg, there was a significant change in the religious leadership of Timbuktu. White *imāms* replaced the Sudanese in the great Friday mosque, and about the same time Ṣanhāja *ʿulamāʾ* became prominent. This coincided with the migration of *ʿulamāʾ* from Walata to Timbuktu. This, one should reiterate, was not the beginning of Islamic scholarship in Timbuktu, for it had been cultivated by Sudanese *ʿulamāʾ* for about a century before. Only the character of the scholarly community changed. Though some of the eminent scholars of Timbuktu in the sixteenth century were Sudanese – such as Muḥammad Baghayogho and his brother Aḥmad – the leadership was taken over by Ṣanhāja *ʿulamāʾ*. Their close association with Ākillu, the Tuareg chief, became evident when Timbuktu was conquered by Sonni ʿAlī:

> When Ākillu heard of the coming of Sonni ʿAlī, he brought a thousand camels to carry the *fuqahāʾ* of Sankore, and he

went with them to Bīru [Walata]. *He said that they concerned him more than anything else.* Among those who went was *al-faqīh* 'Umar ibn Muḥammad Aqīt with his three sons – 'Abdallāh, Aḥmad and Maḥmūd – as well as *al-faqīh* al-Mukhtār ibn *al-faqīh* And-ag-Muḥammad, their maternal uncle. . . .

The godless tyrant [Sonni 'Alī] was engaged in slaughtering those [of the people of Sankore] who remained in Timbuktu, and in humiliating them. *He claimed that they were close friends of the Tuaregs, and that it was on this account he hated them.*

Sonni 'Alī put And-ag-Muḥammad's daughter, mother of the future *qāḍī* Maḥmūd Aqīt, in jail, killed two of her brothers and ordered that thirty virgins of that family be slaughtered. In 875 [A.D. 1470–1] 'those who remained of the Sankore people fled to Bīru', but they were overtaken on the way and killed. 'He then turned to the descendants of *al-qāḍī* al-Ḥājj; he despised and humiliated them. Many of them ran away to Takedda . . . to seek the aid of the Tuaregs there . . . while Sonni 'Alī killed many of those who stayed behind and imprisoned many men and women.'[25] Although al-Ḥājj and his descendants always lived outside Timbuktu, they were counted among the people of Sankore.[26]

Notwithstanding all the wrong and pains Sonni 'Alī inflicted upon the '*ulamā*', he acknowledged their eminence and used to say: 'Without the '*ulamā*' the world would be no good.' He did favours for other '*ulamā*' and respected them.[27]

Who were the 'other' '*ulamā*' favoured by Sonni 'Alī? After the *fuqahā*' of Sankore had fled to Walata, Sonni 'Alī appointed Ḥabīb, a descendant of Sīdī 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tamīmī, as *qāḍī* of Timbuktu (the former *qāḍī* was probably among those who had left the town). Ḥabīb held office for thirty years, throughout Sonni 'Alī's reign. He was so influential that he pleaded with Sonni 'Alī for the return of Maḥmūd Aqīt, with the

result that the latter returned from Walata in 1480 and was appointed *imām* of the Sankore mosque. Sonni 'Alī had the greatest respect too for al-Ma'mūn, Ḥabīb's cousin.[28] He honoured Sīdī 'Abdallāh al-Balbalī, the first white *imām* of the Friday mosque.[29] Sonni 'Alī's secretary was Ibrāhīm al-Khadar from Fes, whose house was in the quarter of the Friday mosque.[30]

Those favoured by Sonni 'Alī represented two groups in Timbuktu. Habīb and al-Ma'mūn, descendants of Sīdī 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tamīmī, belonged to the older group of *'ulamā'* who had been prominent under the rule of Mali. The *imām* Sīdī 'Abdallāh of Tabalbalat and the secretary Ibrāhīm of Fes were foreign immigrants from the northern Sahara and the Maghrib. These groups lived in the quarter of the old Friday mosque, whereas the Ṣanhāja lived in the Sankore quarter. The Ṣanhāja *'ulamā'* were kinsmen of the Tuaregs and Sonni 'Alī persecuted them because he suspected them of collaborating with his nomadic enemies.[31]

Sonni 'Alī's reign and his attitude towards Islam and Muslims, are outside the scope of this study. But reference to these events is helpful in analysing the structure of Timbuktu's scholarly community, shortly before the period of its splendour. Under Askiyā al-Ḥājj Muḥammad and his successors the Ṣanhāja *'ulamā'*, led by members of the Aqīt family, not only dominated the town of Timbuktu but became influential in the councils of the imperial government. The excessive independence of the *qāḍī*, Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar, under the rule of Askiyā al-Ḥājj Muḥammad, brought about the following dialogue between these two strong personalities:

> Askiyā Muḥammad said: 'I have dispatched my messengers to look after my own affairs. Are you ruling in my place in Timbuktu that you have sent away my messengers, and prevented them from carrying out my orders? Did not the king of Mali rule over Timbuktu?'

The *shaykh* replied: 'Yes, he did.'

– 'Was not there a *qāḍī* at that time?'

– 'Yes, there was.'

– 'Are you better than that *qāḍī*, or was he better than you?'

– 'He was better and greater than me.'

– 'Did that *qāḍī* prevent [the king of Mali] from acting freely in Timbuktu?'

– 'No, he did not prevent him.'[32]

From the above dialogue, one may assume that there were learned *qāḍīs* in Timbuktu under the rule of Mali. But the *qāḍī* did not act freely and dared not defy the king of Mali or his representatives. The growth of Timbuktu and its Muslim community – merchants and *'ulamā'* – as well as the structural changes analysed above, go some way to explain the difference in relations between the imperial authorities of Mali and Songhay and the religious leadership of Timbuktu.

al-Sa'dī, a son of Timbuktu, proudly said: 'Never has Timbuktu been sullied by the worship of idols, and never has any man prostrated on its earth but to the Most Merciful.'[33] The same could not have been said of Jenne, for this town 'began in infidelity'. Its king became a Muslim after Jenne had developed as an important commercial centre in the late fourteenth century. He demolished his royal palace and built a Friday mosque on the site.[34] At the end of the fifteenth century, a pious *'ālim*, Fodi *al-faqīh* Muḥammad Sanū al-Wangarī, came to Jenne from the land of Bīṭū in the south. 'He began by destroying the idols' house, which the ignorants [or pagans] worshipped, as well as the houses surrounding it that had been left empty since the people adopted Islam.'[35]

In the Sudanese town of Jenne Islam gained ground slowly and its first *qāḍī* was not appointed until after 1498. Even later than this the local people used to litigate before the *khaṭīb* (preacher), who settled their affairs by conciliation.[36] In Jenne

all the *qāḍīs* and the other religious officials were Sudanese. In other words, Jenne fits better than Timbuktu into the general pattern of islamization in the Western Sudan. In the centuries that followed Jenne became a centre for the Dyula who contributed to the spread of Islam, while Timbuktu set the example for a higher level of observance and learning.

In addition to Islamic scholarship, pilgrimage was another important factor in enhancing the universality of Islam, and in promoting a sense of Islamic solidarity. The pilgrimage was also a source of inspiration for reforming the Islamic milieu, in an attempt to bring it closer to the *sharī'a* and to the way it was taught and practised in the principal centres of Islamic learning, be it Mecca, Fes, or Cairo. Many Muslim scholars from Mali (or Takrūr, as it was known in Egypt) went to Mecca and visited Cairo. Some of them were held in high esteem there, because of their piety and learning.[37]

The pilgrimages of West African kings often had more immediate consequences, because of the impression they left on those who held authority. The Almoravid movement had its origin in the pilgrimage of the Ṣanhāja chief Yaḥyā ibn Ibrāhīm, who met the great scholar Abū-'Imrān al Fāsī (see p. 33). Askiyā Muḥammad of Songhay met Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī in Cairo, and consulted this venerable *'ālim* on problems concerning the government of his empire. His Islamic policy gained new impetus after the pilgrimage.[38] The impact of Mansā Mūsā's pilgrimage will be discussed later in this chapter.

There was a long tradition of royal pilgrims in West Africa. At least two Ṣanhāja chiefs – Muḥammad Tareshnā of the Lamtūna and Yaḥyā ibn Ibrāhīm al-Juddālī – performed the pilgrimage at the beginning of the eleventh century.[39] In the twelfth century, after their conversion, chiefs and notables of Ghana are reported to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca and to Medina.[40] Barmandana, the first Muslim king of Mali, 'made the pilgrimage and was followed in this practice by the kings after him'.[41] Pilgrimage by kings of Mali in the pre-Sundjata

period (probably the twelfth century) is also recorded in the oral traditions. According to one version, it was the pilgrim king Lahilatul,[42] and according to another it was Allakoi Mūsā Djigui, who made the pilgrimage four times.[43]

What was it that made early islamized kings undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca? Was it, as suggested by Trimingham, 'with a view to enhancing their status in the new religion?'[44] As the new religion was not shared by the subjects of the king, who remained pagan, a pilgrimage to Mecca as an Islamic religious act could increase the prestige of a king in the eyes of the Muslim minority only. But the oral traditions, which usually represent the non-Islamic ideology, assert that certain pagan cults of the Malinke (some say the *Komo*) were introduced by Mansā Mūsā or other pilgrim kings after they had returned from Mecca.[45] It is significant that the pilgrim king is credited also with enriching the traditional religion. The blessing (*baraka*) which was ascribed to pilgrims was respected by both Muslims and non-Muslims, and could add another dimension to the status and authority of the king.

The pilgrimage across the Sahara, over the Maghrib and Egypt to Mecca, took more than a year. Only kings whose authority was well established could absent themselves for so long a time from their kingdoms. The three rulers of Mali who, according to Ibn Khaldūn, went to Mecca were all regarded by the same authority as powerful kings. Mansā Ulī, son of Sundjata, visited Cairo on his way to Mecca during the reign of the Mamluk Sultan Baybars, 1260–77. Following the reign of weaker kings (Wātī, Khalīfa, and Abū Bakr), the usurper Sākūra set out for the pilgrimage. He visited Cairo during the reign of the Mamluk Sultan al-Mālik al-Nāṣir ibn Qalā'ūn, *c.* 1300. Sākūra died on his way back from the pilgrimage (see p. 65).[46]

Of all the Sudanese pilgrims the most famous was Mansā Mūsā. His visit to Cairo left so deep an impression in Egypt that it was recorded in Egyptian chronicles as one of the principal

events of the year 724 A.H. (A.D. 1324): 'In that year Mansā Mūsā king of Takrūr came [to Cairo] on his way to the *ḥajj*.'[47] This is repeated even by Ibn Iyās, the last historian of the Mamluks who died in 1524.[48] Both Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī and Ibn Khaldūn collected information about Mansā Mūsā's pilgrimage from people who had met the Sudanese sovereign on his way there or in Cairo. In the seventeenth century the following tradition was recorded from Muḥammad Quma, 'custodian of the ancestors' tales':

> It is said that Gongo Mūsā killed his mother Nāna Gongo accidentally. In his agony, and being afraid of punishment, he gave a large fortune to charity. He resolved to fast for the rest of his life. He asked one of the *'ulamā'* what he should do to obtain forgiveness for this capital crime. The *'ālim* replied: 'It is my opinion that you should seek asylum with the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); run to him, enter his sanctuary, and beseech him to intercede on your behalf with Allāh.' He was determined to do this the same day.[49]

Mansā Mūsā's spirit of penitence and devotion during the pilgrimage is echoed also in al-'Umarī's contemporary account. After completing the rites of the pilgrimage, and the visit to the Prophet's tomb, 'he returned to his country with the intention of abdicating in favour of his son and leaving all power in his hands, so that he might return to the Venerable Mecca to live in the neighbourhood of its sanctuary'.[50]

In preparing for the pilgrimage Mansā Mūsā collected provisions from all over his country. He then consulted one of his elders (*ba'ḍ mashā'ikhihi*) as to an appropriate day for the journey. He was advised to wait until a Saturday which would fall on the twelfth day of the (Muslim) month. Mūsā had to wait nine months for such an appropriate day. It is significant that the advice to go to Mecca is said to have been given by a Muslim scholar (*'ālim*), whereas the day for the journey was

indicated by an elder (*shaykh*). The latter was also a Muslim, but probably of another class – one of those divines who catered for the king's welfare through cabalistic devices.[51]

Many thousands of his subjects accompanied Mansā Mūsā on the pilgrimage: slaves to carry the provisions, soldiers to guard the caravan, and state dignitaries.[52] He was also accompanied by his senior wife, Ināri-Kunāte, with five hundred of her maids and slaves.[53]

He started out from his capital, made his way along the Niger to Mema,[54] and then either to Timbuktu or to Walata. The large caravan, whose route passed through Taghāza and Tuat and eastwards towards Egypt,[55] suffered a good deal from the hardships of the desert. Mansā Mūsā took another trans-Saharan route on his way back, passing through Ghadames to Gao and Timbuktu.[56] While the king's caravan took an overland route from Timbuktu to the capital, the baggage, the women, and the *shurafā'* he brought back with him from Mecca were sent by boat up the Niger river.[57]

Mansā Mūsā entered the land of Egypt, and camped near the pyramids for three days. He sent a rich present of fifty thousand *dinārs* to the sultan of Egypt to announce his arrival and herald his greatness. He entered Cairo in Rajab 724 (July 1324), and remained there for about three months (including the Ramaḍān) before setting out for Mecca.[58]

The meeting between the Sudanese and the Egyptian sultans was a source of embarrassment to the Sudanese, for Mansā Mūsā, the most powerful ruler of the Sudan, in whose presence people prostrated themselves and put dust on their heads, was himself obliged to kiss the ground before the Egyptian sultan.[59]

However, in other respects Mansā Mūsā was given royal treatment. The sultan lent him a palace for the duration of his stay in Cairo. He presented the Sudanese king and his principal officers with robes of honour (*khil'a*), and gave orders that the king of Mali should be stocked up with provisions for the journey to Mecca.

The Sudanese visitors joined an Egyptian pilgrims' caravan, whose leader, *amīr al-ḥājj*, received explicit instructions from the sultan to treat the king of Mali with deference. They left for Ḥijāz in Shawwāl (October), returning to Cairo over four months later.[60]

Mansā Mūsā brought with him much gold to pay for his expenses, and to display his wealth and generosity.[61] He distributed presents and alms among the tribes he passed on his way from his country to Cairo, in Cairo itself, and to the people of the two holy cities in the Ḥijāz. He gave presents of gold to the Egyptian sultan and to those Egyptian officials who looked after him. Among the possessions of the *mihimindār*, the Mamluk official responsible for the reception of important visitors, there were thousands of ingots of raw gold presented to him by the Sudanese ruler.[62] So much gold was brought to Cairo by Mansā Mūsā, distributed there as presents and spent in the markets, that the value of gold decreased considerably, from ten to twenty five per cent, according to the different sources.[63]

The merchants of Egypt and Cairo made great profits in their dealings with the Sudanese followers of Mansā Mūsā. They exploited the simplicity and naïvety of these customers, and charged five *dinārs* for a commodity which cost one *dinār* only. This is on the evidence of an Egyptian author, al-'Umarī, who added that once the people of Mali realized how they had been deceived in Cairo, they changed their manner towards Egyptian merchants who visited Mali, and handled them roughly.[64]

The vast quantities of gold Mansā Mūsā had brought with him were all exhausted in Cairo through the lavish presents he distributed and the expensive shopping. By the time he re-entered Cairo after his pilgrimage to Mecca he had no money left and was forced to borrow from Egyptian merchants. The interest on these loans was so high that he paid back seven hundred *dinārs* for every three hundred *dinārs* borrowed. al-Qalqashandī adds that Mansā Mūsā repaid the loans after he had returned to his country.[65] Sarāj al-Dīn ibn al-Kuwayk of

Alexandria had lent money to Mansā Mūsā and to his officers in Cairo. He sent his agent back with them to Mali to claim the money. But as the agent preferred to stay in Mali, Sarāj al-Dīn himself, together with his son, proceeded there. He got no further than Timbuktu, where he died. His son continued to the capital of Mali, accepted the money due to his father and returned to Egypt.[66]

Mansā Mūsā surrounded himself with Arab followers, whom he attracted on his return from pilgrimage. We have already mentioned the Andalusian poet and architect Abū Isḥāq al-Saḥilī, and the Ismāʿīlī missionary al-Muʿammar Abū ʿAbdallāh ibn Khadīja al-Kūmī.[67] In Mecca Mansā Mūsā asked for two or three *shurafāʾ*, descendants of the Prophet, to accompany him to his country, 'so that the people there would be blessed by looking at them, and the country would be blessed by their footprints'. At first the Grand *sharīf* of Mecca refused this request lest one of these holy men should fall into the hands of the infidels. But after Mūsā had long entreated him, the *sharīf* agreed that Mansā Mūsā should take with him any *shurafāʾ* who were prepared to follow him. The king of Mali announced in the mosques that a thousand *mithqāls* of gold were offered to every *sharīf* who would follow him to his country. Four men from the tribe of Quraysh (the Prophet's tribe) came forward, and travelled together with their families to Mali in Mansā Mūsā's company.[68]

The pilgrimage of Mansā Mūsā became a landmark in the history of Mali and the Western Sudan. Its importance is vindicated by sources of different nature and origin: Muslim and non-Muslim traditions in the Western Sudan, Egyptian chronicles, as well as Jewish and Christian maps and planispheres. Mali came to be known in Europe; its trade with Egypt increased; some innovations may have been introduced into the court in imitation of the Egyptian Mamluks.[69] It is possible also that Mansā Mūsā's Islamic policy was more ardently pursued after the pilgrimage; he built mosques and sent *ʿulamāʾ* to study

abroad in Fes. One should not, however, ascribe too much importance to a single event, as this pilgrimage itself was but one manifestation of the golden age of Mali. The trans-Saharan trade reached new dimensions with the European rush on gold, and Mali became very much an integral part of the Muslim world.

> There were friendly relations and exchanges of gifts between this Sultan Mansā Mūsā and his contemporary, the Marīnid king of the Maghrib, the Sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan. Eminent personalities were despatched from one kingdom to the other. Their successors continued these relations.[70]

Elsewhere, Ibn Khaldūn offers a more detailed account of the embassies exchanged between Mali and Morocco:

> When Abu 'l-Ḥasan took over Tlemcen from Banū ʻAbd al-Wād [in 737 A.H./A.D. 1337], and conquered the kingdoms of the central Maghrib . . . the news spread far and wide. The Sultan Mansā Mūsā of Mali greatly desired to address him, and despatched two of his subjects with an interpreter from the neighbouring Ṣanhāja. They presented themselves before the Sultan and congratulated him on his victory over his enemies.

The initiative came from Mansā Mūsā, after Abu 'l-Ḥasan asserted himself as master of the central and western Maghrib.[71] Abu 'l-Ḥasan himself 'was well known for his pride and his presumption in vying with the mightiest monarchs, in imitating their practice of exchanging gifts with their peers . . .. At that time the king of Mali was the greatest of the Sudanese monarchs'. So Abu 'l-Ḥasan responded favourably to Mūsā's initiative; he treated the emissaries with deference and reciprocated by sending a deputation with rich presents to the king of Mali.

Mansā Mūsā died before the embassy returned from Morocco

and Abu 'l Ḥasan sent the presents to Mansā Sulaymān. In the years following Mansā Mūsā's death the kingship was contested between Maghā, son of Mūsā, and Sulaymān, brother of Mūsā.[72] Sulaymān overcame his nephew, but when the Moroccan deputation arrived he was still struggling to consolidate his authority. Hence, while the first deputation from Mali to Morocco had been sent by Mansā Mūsā, a powerful ruler of a mighty empire, the Moroccan deputation, which brought presents and greetings in exchange, found a troubled empire. Mansā Sulaymān may have taken this opportunity to obtain support from the Moroccan sultan for his own position. With reference to this background we may explain the somewhat puzzling account of Ibn Khaldūn:

> Mansā Sulaymān accorded a lavish reception to the Moroccan embassy and honoured them during their visit and on their departure. They returned with a deputation of dignitaries from Mali, who lauded the authority of the [Moroccan] Sultan, acknowledged his prerogative, conveyed the submission of their king and his willingness to pay the Sultan his dues, and to act according to his wish and advice. They fulfilled their mission, and the Sultan achieved his aim of setting himself above other kings and making them submit to his authority. He thanked Allāh for his favours.[73]

An exchange of embassies and gifts between two sovereigns is presented here as an act of submission. Was it because Mansā Sulaymān sought the sultan's support, or was this perhaps the subjective view of Abu 'l-Ḥasan, then at the height of his power and seeking to extend his authority? If so, this is an early sign of the claim by Moroccan rulers to sovereignty over the Sahara and the Sudan beyond it.

This Moroccan sultan, however, could not have boasted for long. In 1348 an official deputation from Mansā Sulaymān of Mali was eye-witness to one of the greatest disasters that befell Abu 'l-Ḥasan; it marked the end of his expansionist policy and

H

the decline of the Marīnid dynasty. In 1347 Abu 'l-Ḥasan conquered Ifrīqiya and took over the Ḥafṣid dominions. Among those who came to greet him was a deputation from Mali. They were in Constantine when the news of the defeat of the Marīnid army by the Arabs of Ifrīqiya, between Tunis and Qayrawān, reached that town. The people of Constantine revolted and the emissaries of Mali narrowly escaped with their lives.[74] Abu 'l-Ḥasan was beaten, his fleet sunk, and what was left of his kingdom was seized by his son Abū 'Inān.

Abu 'l-Ḥasan died in 1351 and a year later Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was present at a memorial ceremony for him held at the court of Mansā Sulaymān.[75] This is another indication of the close relations between the two kingdoms and their sovereigns. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa himself, though on a private visit to the Sudan, had been received by the Sultan Abū 'Inān before he left. He also reported to Fes during his travels, because the sultan knew his whereabouts and sent a messenger to Takedda ordering him to come back. When he returned to Fes, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa immediately called at the sultan's court, kissed his hand, and probably also gave a detailed account of what he had seen.[76]

Relations between Mali and Morocco in the early 1350s – during Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit – changed once again. The Marīnid sultanate had declined in power, while Mansā Sulaymān had established his authority and restored the power of the empire. Any sign of Moroccan supremacy which may have been implied at the beginning of Sulaymān's reign had by then disappeared.

> A deputation prepared by Mansā Sulaymān shortly before his death and despatched by Mārī-Djāṭa II in 1360, 'presented themselves before the [Moroccan] Sultan, and delivered their message, affirming the affection and the sincere friendship [of their sovereign]. . . '.[77]

This was the last deputation recorded by Ibn Khaldūn. During the rest of the fourteenth century both kingdoms – Mali

and Morocco – were in decline and a prey to dynastic rivalries; the courtiers on both sides of the Sahara wielded real power at the expense of the kings. It is likely that under these conditions diplomatic activity diminished.

XVIII · Ancient Kingdoms and New Republics

In 1957 the British colony of the Gold Coast became the independent state of Ghana. The association with the ancient kingdom resulted from attempts by historians of the Gold Coast to seek the origins of the Akan people of the forest, whose traditions indicate that they migrated from the north. Following some early and vague references to historical connections with Ghana,[1] this was put forward more explicitly by the Rev. W. T. Balmer in 1926: 'It is very probable that the Fanti, Ashanti, Ahanta and Akan people in general formed part of this ancient Negro kingdom.'[2]

In the 1950s another English writer, Mrs E. Meyerowitz, in her contribution enriching the historical heritage of the Akan, produced an elaborated hypothesis about the Akan and Ghana. She argued that the founders of ancient Ghana and of the Akan kingdoms were of common origin, as both hailed from the 'White Desert' in the far north. She suggested also that a series of migrations from Ghana brought refugees from the north to the early Akan kingdoms.[3] Mrs Meyerowitz's hypothesis was convincingly refuted soon after she had published her books and articles, and it would be superfluous to repeat it here.[4]

Modern scholarly interpretations of the history of the Akan do not support claims which trace their origin to Ghana.[5] The historical link of the Akan with the ancient kingdoms of the Western Sudan developed after the fourteenth century when the Dyula traders opened up routes to the goldfields and the kola plantations of the Akan forest. This trade, we have already noted, contributed to the emergence of Bono-Mansu, one of the earliest Akan states.[6]

The theories of Balmer and Meyerowitz have not proved valid explanations for the origins of the Akan. Yet they were important in stimulating the imagination and the spirit of nationalists in the Gold Coast. Dr J. B. Danquah was fascinated by the myth of Ghana as early as 1928. Though he also tried to prove historical connections between the Akan and ancient Ghana, his main concern was to give the people of the Gold Coast a symbol for inspiration, a link with the glorious past of Africa and a break with the colonial period.[7] Significantly, the myth of Ghana appealed more to politicians with academic backgrounds and close associations with chiefs. In 1952 Dr Busia called his party the Ghana Congress Party.[8] It was after much historical speculation and considerable discussion that the name of Ghana was adopted for the new state. In May 1956 Kwame Nkrumah said, 'We take pride in the name, not out of romanticism but as an inspiration for the future.'[9]

The new republic of Ghana on the Atlantic coast is separated by many hundreds of miles from the ancient kingdom of Ghana on the shore of the desert. When black Africa came to the notice of the medieval Arab geographers, the first kingdom they heard of was Ghana. It appeared to them as a concrete political entity which deserved consideration in the midst of what they regarded as a social and political chaos. Modern Ghana was the first independent African state to bring to the world the message of new Africa as it escaped from colonial domination. Ancient Ghana was known as 'the Land of Gold', while modern Ghana was 'the Gold Coast'. Both were important in the international trade of Africa and in its earliest contacts with outside civilizations, the Moslem world across the desert and Europe overseas.[10]

Connections between ancient and new Ghana are explicable in symbolical terms only. In Mali there is a more organic continuity between the ancient kingdom and the new republic. Though the boundaries of the two are not identical, most of the territory of ancient Mali is within the present republic. Moreover, one may distinguish the same two core areas in both

ancient and new Mali. One extends along the Niger river as it links the historical trading centres. The other – farther to the south and to the west – is the land of the Manding-speaking Malinke and Bambera.[11] The successive hegemonies of Malinke and Bambera over the territory of Mali bequeathed their related dialects as a widely spoken language which added to the unity of the country.

Modern Mali also inherited the urban tradition which had developed under the ancient kingdoms, with the *bourgeoisie* of merchants and *'ulamā'*. Islam, which became part of the imperial system in ancient Mali, is an integral component of the national ethos in modern Mali. The people of Mali have a strong sense of history and they say 'our wealth is our civilization'.[12]

Notes

[For full bibliographical details, see Bibliography.]

PART ONE

CHAPTER I

1. Quoted in al-Maʿsūdī (1861–77), IV, 37–8.
2. al-Yaʿqūbī, *K. al-taʾrikh* (1883), 219–20.
3. al-Idrīsī (1866), 4/tr. 4; Ibn Saʿīd (1958), 24.
4. Delafosse (1912), I, 207–26, II, 22–5. For a critical view of this approach see Mauny (1954), 204–5.
5. *T. al-Sūdān*, 9/tr. 18; *T. al-Fattāsh*, 42/tr. 78. For a quotation see below, pp. 18–19.
6. For a collation of these traditions, see Ch. Monteil (1953), 369.
7. al-Idrīsī (1866) 6/tr. 7. He would have been related to Idrīs (d. 791), founder of the Idrīsid dynasty in Morocco. Idrīs was a son of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, see D. Eustache, ʻIdrīs I', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition (Leiden, 1970), III, 1031. Ibn Khaldūn (*al-Muqaddima*, 48/tr. I, 119) criticized the genealogy suggested by al-Idrīsī for the king of Ghana.
8. Lhote (1955), 64–75; on the desiccation of the Sahara see Mauny (1961), 197–211.
9. Lhote (1955), 77; Lhote (1951), 305; Law (1967), 182.
10. Mauny (1961), 65–7; Modat (1919), 374–8; La Chapelle (1930), 49–55.
11. al-Bakrī (1911), 157, 164/tr. (1968) 52, 59.
12. al-Idrīsī (1866), 29–30/tr. 35.
13. Basset (1909), 445–6; Moraes Farias (1967), 855–6. For another version of the expulsion of Soninke by the nomads, see Colombani (1931), 394–6.
14. Mauny (1961), 209–10; Thomassey (1951).
15. al-Bakrī (1911), 175/tr. (1968), 70.
16. Bou-Haqq (1938), 483–5.
17. Urvoy (1949), 17–30; Trimingham (1962), 106, 110–11; Fage (1969), 31–2. But see a different interpretation by R. Cohen (1967), 13–14. In the interlacustrine region of East Africa, Nilotic (not

Hamitic!) pastoralists imposed their authority over Bantu agriculturalists who had already developed state-like political organization.

18. On contacts of the Libyans with Egypt, see Lhote (1955), 85, 92 ff.; Mauny (1952b), 587.
19. Clark (1962); Clark (1967); Davies (1967), 147–70; McCall (1967), 76–7. There are other theories as valid alternatives: see Th. Shaw, 'The Origins and Development of Food Production in Africa', paper presented in a Symposium on the Origins and Spread of Agriculture at the International Union of the Pre- and Proto-Historic Sciences, Belgrade, September 1971.
20. Munson (Manding Conference).
21. Mauny (1952b), 576–8, 586–7, and (1970), 65–73; see also Clark (1967), 18; Shaw (1965), 34; Williams (1969), 80; Huard (1964), 389–91. L. M. Diop (1968) rejects trans-Saharan influence, and though she is ready to consider some influence from Nubia, she advocates most patiently for autochtonous African metallurgy.
22. al-Zuhrī (1968), § 337, p. 182.
23. al-Bakrī (1911), 177/tr. (1968), 74.
24. al-Ya'qūbī, *K. al-Ta'rīkh* (1883), 219–20; my italics.

CHAPTER II

1. Ch. Monteil (1953), 397–406; Meillassoux (1963), 188–92; Smith (1965), 238. The different versions of the legend – Tautain (1895), Adam (1903), Delafosse (1912), (1913), Arnaud (1912), Vidal (1923b) – were collated by Ch. Monteil (1953), 369–82. Monteil recorded his own version from a *griot* (bard who recites traditions) in Goumbou, that is, in the region of Wagadu itself. The other versions were recorded in different regions of Mali and Senegal. Some of them are coloured by Islamic influence, especially Delafosse (1913), which is a translation of an Arabic manuscript.
2. Meillassoux *et al.* (1967), 8.
3. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 41–2/tr. 75–9.
4. *T. al-Sūdān*, 9/tr. 18.
5. Delafosse (1912), I, 226.
6. *T. al-Sūdān*, 8, 25/tr. 15, 42.
7. Compare the explanation as to why the Tagdawest left no traditions in their country of origin, in el-Chennafi (1970), 106.
8. Like other Arab geographers, al-Bakrī used the name of Ghana to denote both the kingdom and its capital. Yet he said 'Ghana is the

mark [title] of their kings'. Indeed, there is the Malinke word *Gana* or *Kana* which still has the meaning of a war-chief. al-Bakrī himself, however, never used the word Ghana as the title of the ruler. We have at least two other titles for the ruler of Ghana: *Magha* or *manga* of the oral traditions, and *tunka*, which was part of the name of the reigning king in 1067/8, Tunka Menin. *Tunka* in Soninke means 'a chief', and it is still used in this sense by the modern Soninke. al-Bakrī's statement may be taken simply as another attempt to explain the meaning of the name Ghana, which still remains a riddle.

9. al-Ya'qūbī, *K. al-Ta'rīkh* (1883), 219–20.
10. *Akhbār al-zamān* in Youssouf Kamal, III, 628.
11. Ibn Ḥawqal (1938–9), 61, 99/tr. 58, 97–8.
12. Ibn al-Faqīh (1885), 68; al-Iṣṭakhrī (1870), 52; Ibn Ḥawqal (1938–9), 61, 153/tr. 58, 151.
13. al-Bakrī (1911), 174/tr. (1968), 70.
14. ibid., 175/tr. (1968), 71–2.
15. Thomassey and Mauny (1951), (1956); Mauny (1961), 71–4, 469–473, 480–2, and (1970), 149–50.
16. Cf. Levtzion (1968), 68, 129.
17. al-Bakrī (1911), 175–6/tr. (1968), 72–3.
18. Desplagnes (1907), 57–66; Mauny (1961), 95–7.
19. Fernandes (1951), 39.
20. al-Bakrī (1911), 173–4/tr. (1968), 69.
21. ibid., 174–5/tr. 70.
22. ibid., 172–4/tr. 68–9.
23. Lewicki (1962), 518–26.
24. *T. al-Fattāsh* (1913), Appendix II, 334.
25. al-Bakrī (1911), 180–1/tr. (1968), 77–9.
26. Pageard (*J.S.A.*, 1961), 85.
27. al-Bakrī (1911), 178/tr. (1968), 75; Mauny (1961), 126.
28. Ch. Monteil (1928); Mauny (1961), 124.
29. al-Bakrī (1911), 177–8/tr. (1968), 73–4.
30. al-Ya'qūbī, *K. al-Buldān* (1892), 360/tr. 227.
31. Ibn Ḥawqal (1938–9), 101/tr. 99.
32. al-Bakrī (1911), 159/tr. (1968), 53–4.
33. Mauny (1961), 509; el-Chennafi (1970), 101.
34. al-Bakrī (1911), 180/tr. (1968), 76.
35. ibid., 168/tr. 62–3.

CHAPTER III

1. al-Bakrī (1911), 161/tr. (1968), 56.
2. Ibn Ḥawqal (1938–9), 101/tr. 99–100; al-Bakrī (1911), 149/tr. (1968), 43.
3. al-Bakrī (1911), 157, 164, 172/tr. (1968), 50–2, 58–9, 66.
4. On a confederation of the Ṣanhāja, see La Chapelle (1930), 60–2.
5. This was the holder of the famous 42,000 dinars cheque. It is now suggested that Ibn Ḥawqal himself did not visit Awdaghust, see Levtzion (*J.A.H.*, 1968).
6. Ibn Ḥawqal (1938–9), 100–1/tr. 98–9.
7. al-Bakrī (1911), 159/tr. (1968), 53–4.
8. In Arabic script the two names differ in one diacretic dot only.
9. al-Ya'qūbī, *K. al-Buldān* (1892), 360/tr. 227; Ibn Ḥawqal (1938–1939), 101/tr. 99; al-Bakrī (1911), 164/tr. (1968), 58–9.
10. Terrasse (1949), I, 223.
11. Ibn 'Idhārī (1961), 55.
12. *T. al-Sūdān* (1900), 22/tr. 38.
13. al-Bakrī (1911), 158, 168/tr. (1968), 53, 62.
14. Devisse (1970), 116–17, 128–30, 149, 156, based much of his interpretation of the history of Awdaghust on the assumption that the Zanāta took over Awdaghust from the Ṣanhāja in the tenth century.
15. A critical textual analysis of the evidence on the political organization of the Ṣanhāja of the southern Sahara will be presented in a forthcoming paper by the present author.
16. Ibn Abī Zar' (1843–66), 76/tr. (1860), 164–5. He is quoted also by Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 236/tr. II, 67.
17. al-Bakrī (1911), 164/tr. (1968), 59.
18. For the genealogy of the Almoravids' leaders, see al-Bakrī (1911), 165/tr. (1968), 60; Ibn 'Idhārī (1961), 53. On the Banū-Wartanṭaq, see Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 236/tr. II, 67.
19. al-Bakrī (1911), 164/tr. (1968), 59.
20. Ibn Abī Zar' (1843–66), 76/tr. 165; Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 237/tr. II, 67.
21. Ibn Abī Zar' (1843–66), 85/tr. 185.
22. Norris (1971), 260–2.
23. This narrative, which follows al-Bakrī's account, is common to all the principal sources. The dates, however, are given only by Ibn Abī Zar' (1843–66), 76, 78/tr. 165–8.

24. al-Bakrī (1911), 165/tr. (1968), 60. For a more detailed study of the historical and religious background of the Almoravids, see Levtzion (forthcoming).
25. ibid.; according to Ibn ʿIdhārī (1961, 47), Ibn Yāsīn wrote to Wajāj and did not go to al-Sūs al-Aqṣā himself.
26. Ibn Abī Zarʿ (1843–66, 78/tr. 170) tells of the building of a *ribāṭ*, 'a monastery'. Ibn Khaldūn (1847, I, 238/tr. II, 68–9) implies a retreat without the building of a *ribāṭ*.
27. Ibn Abī Zarʿ (1843–66), 80/tr. 172.
28. al-Bakrī (1911), 167–8/tr. (1968), 62.
29. Ibn ʿIdhārī (1961), 55; Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 239/tr. II, 72.
30. Ibn Abī Zarʿ (1843–66), 88–9/tr. 194; Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 248/tr. II, 86–7.
31. Ibn al-Athīr (1851–76), IX, 427; see also Terrasse (1949), I, 217–18.
32. This analogy with *mulūk al-ṭṭawāʾif* of Spain is made by Ibn ʿIdhārī (1961), 48. For the history of that period, see Terrasse (1949), I, 136–208.
33. Ibn Abī Zarʿ (1843–66), 71–2/tr. 155–7; see also Ibn al-Athīr (1851–76), IX, 428.
34. There is evidence for that feeling of solidarity in Maḥmūd (1957), 41–2; Terrasse (1951), 675.
35. For a fuller discussion, see Levtzion (forthcoming).
36. Ibn Abī Zarʿ (1843–66), 80/tr. 173. According to the same authority Wajāj's *Dār al-Murābiṭīn* was in Nafīs, in the lands of the Maṣmūda (ibid., 77/tr. 168).
37. ibid., 81/tr. 175. According to Ibn Khaldūn (1847, I, 238/tr. II, 69) this invitation came from Wajāj himself, for according to this source Wajāj's residence at this time was in Sijilmāsa (ibid., I, 237/tr. II, 68).
38. *Mafākhir* (1934), 69. See also Trimingham (1962), 25.
39. al-Bakrī (1911), 166–7/tr. (1968), 61–2; Ibn ʿIdhārī (1961), 50–1.
40. Ibn ʿIdhārī (1961), 51–2; Ibn Abī Zarʿ (1843–66), 82, 84/tr. 177–8, 182–3; Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 238–9/tr. II, 71–2.
41. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 239/tr. II, 72.
42. Ibn Abī Zarʿ (1843–66), 36/tr. 187; Ibn ʿIdhārī (1961), 56.
43. Ibn Abī Zarʿ (1843–66), 82/tr. 177; Ibn ʿIdhārī (1961), 54, 56.
44. Ibn ʿIdhārī (1961), 53–4; Ibn Abī Zarʿ (1843–66), 85/tr. 186; Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 239/tr. II, 71.
45. Ibn ʿIdhārī (1961), 56; Ibn Abī Zarʿ (1843–66), 86/tr. 186–7.
46. Ibn ʿIdhārī (1961), 56–7.
47. Ibn Abī Zarʿ (1843–66), 89/tr. 195.

48. Ibn 'Idhārī (1961), 56, 57.
49. Ibn Abī Zar' (1843–66) p. 86/tr. 188.
50. Ibn Khallikān (1299 A.H.), II, 481/tr. IV, 449.
51. Ibn 'Idhārī (1961), 57–8.
52. Ibn Abī Zar' (1843–66), 86/tr. 188.
53. *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshīya* (1936), 15; Ibn 'Idhārī (1961), 58–9; Ibn Abī Zar' (1843–66), 87/tr. 189.
54. Hazard (1952), 61–2.
55. Ibn Abī Zar' (1843–66), 87–8/tr. 189–91.
56. In Youssouf Kamal III, 915.
57. Yāqūt (1866), II, 908. On Diāfūnu, see below pp. 47–8.
58. Sauvaget (1950), 429–30.
59. Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1319 A.H.), I, 243.
60. Hazard (1952), 48, 55, 60–1; Idris (1962), II, 663–8, 674–6. See al-Idrīsī (1866, 66/tr. 76) on the prosperous trade of Aghmāt in southern Morocco with the Sudan under the Almoravids.

CHAPTER IV

1. al-Bakrī (1911), 167/tr. (1968), 62; at Zuhrī (1968), § 312, p. 190.
2. al-Idrīsī (1866), 3, 60/tr. 3, 69.
3. Yāqūt (1866), IV, 229.
4. Moraes Farias (1967), 852–5.
5. al-Bakrī (1911), 164/tr. (1968), 59; see also ibid., 157/tr. 51. Perhaps *Madīnat Banklābin* is the same as *Madīnat al-Kilāb* of the oral traditions.
6. Basset (1909), 446; La Chapelle (1930), 64.
7. Basset (1909), 445–6; Moraes Farias (1967), 849–51.
8. V. Monteil (1966), 26–8. Historically this is unlikely because Ndyadyan Ndyay could not have lived before the fourteenth century.
9. al-Bakrī (1911), 172/tr. (1968), 68.
10. Ibn Abī Zar' (1843–66), 78/tr. 170.
11. al-Bakrī (1911), 167–8/tr. (1968), 62.
12. al-Idrīsī (1866), 4/tr. 4; Ibn Sa'īd (1958, 24), writing in 1240 and following al-Idrīsī's account, says that 'the town of Barīsa is a very well-known town in Takrūr. Whenever the king of Takrūr becomes weaker the ruler of Barīsa asserts his independence'.
13. In al-Bakrī (1911, 177/tr. 1968, 74) this town is called Yaresnā or Irsanī (يرسنى which in Arabic script is quite close to the reading of Barīsa بريسى).

14. al-Idrīsī (1866, 2/tr. 2) adds that the boats which carried the salt also reached Ghana, Wangara, Kūgha and the rest of the Sudan. It follows al-Idrīsī's false notion of the course of the river.
15. al-Bakrī (1911), 168/tr. (1968), 62–3.
16. ibid., 170/tr. 64.
17. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 263/tr. II, 109; see quotation below, p. 52.
18. al-Zuhrī (1968), § 336, 338, pp. 182–3. In some MSS the date is given as 496 A.H. [A.D. 1102–3]. See also *al-Ḥulal al-mawshīya* (1936), 7.
19. al-Idrīsī (1866), 6/tr. 7.
20. Ibn Abī Zar' (1843–66), 87/tr. 189.
21. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), 260/tr. II, 104.
22. Norris (1967), 634–5.
23. al-Idrīsī, loc. cit.
24. Ch. Monteil (1929a), 329–30.
25. At this point it may be instructive to refer to the earliest analysis of the Arabs' geographical knowledge of Africa by Cooley (1841, 50–1): 'Now in El-Idrisi's geography there is no mention made of Singhana [which El-Bakri described as standing on both banks of the river], but *its description is transferred to Ghana*, which is made to stand on both banks of the river' (my italics). I incline to accept some of Cooley's criticism of al-Idrīsī, and in particular the confusion of Sanghāna and Ghana. See also Mauny (1954), 202, 205.
26. Ibn Sa'īd (1958), 26; Yāqūt (1866), III, 770; al-'Umarī (1927), 54, 59; Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 263/tr. 110.
27. See above p. 25.
28. Compare the sacrilegious act of opening the *mune* in Kanem associated with the refutation of the old imperial cult during the reign of the first Muslim king. Trimingham (1962), 117–18.
29. *T. al-Fattāsh* (1913), 39/tr. 71.
30. Ch. Monteil (1953), 372.
31. al-Bakrī (1911), 173/tr. (1968), 69. V. Monteil (notes to al-Bakrī's translation, 109) suggests the following readings of the name: Zaqfawa, Dyaghafawa or Dyaghfu. The Arabic, however, may easily be read also as Diāfuqū, see above p. 26.
32. Ibn Sa'īd (1958), 48; Yāqūt (1866), II, 908.
33. *T. al-Fattāsh* (1913), loc. cit.
34. Adam (1903), 232–3.
35. *T. al-Fattāsh* (1913), loc. cit.; Boyer (1953), 24–6.
36. Ch. Monteil (1953), 403–4.
37. Meillassoux *et al.* (1967), 9.

38. Ch. Monteil (1929a), 853.
39. Ch. Monteil (1953), 370, 403–4. *Tunka-ra* means 'one who belongs to the *tunka*'; *tunka* was one of the titles of the king of Ghana/Wagadu.
40. Niane (1965), 36.
41. Vidal (1923c), 66; Ch. Monteil (1929a), loc. cit. Barth (1858), III, 696 says 'Mimé . . . is a locality still bearing this name, although the place is at present deserted, a little to the west of Lére'.
42. Mauny (1961), 93–7.
43. Niane (1965), 36–7, 47–8.
44. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 430.
45. *T. al-Sūdān* (1900), 10/tr. 20.
46. *T. al-Fattāsh* (1913), 43/tr. 81.
47. Pageard (*J.S.A.*, 1961), 84.
48. Pacques (1953), 1143–5.
49. Colombani (1931), 388–400; Bathily (1969), 48.
50. Ch. Monteil (1929), 354–5.
51. Houis (1961), 85. However, the relationship between the modern Susu of Guinea and the ancient Soso kingdom is not certain.
52. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 263/tr. II, 109–10.

CHAPTER V

1. al-Bakrī (1911), 178/tr. (1968), 74.
2. al-Idrīsī (1866), 4, 6/tr. 4, 6–7.
3. 'The *Lamlam* are neglected people who eat men. . . . The *Namnam* are brothers in descent of the Lamlam, and are similar to them in their behaviour' (Ibn Sa'īd, 1958, 24, 25). 'The *Damdam* [beyond Kawkaw] eat those who fall into their hands' (al-Bakrī, 1911, 183/tr. 1968, 79). Lamlam, Namnam or Damdam are the terms used for these 'primitives'.
4. The identification of these places is disputed; for the different opinions, see Ch. Monteil (1929), 298–9, 305–6, 343–7; Niane (1959), 38, and (1965), 87, n.13; Pageard (*P.A.*, 1961), 59.
5. *T. al-Sūdān*, 9/tr. 18–19.
6. Having the grandson of the ancestor as the real founder of a kingdom may represent the beginning of the historical period freed from the myth. Compare Naba Oubri in Mossi or Na Nyaghse in Dagomba (Levtzion, 1968, 197–201). Significantly, Latal Kalabi appears as the first chief in a list recorded at Keyla by Vidal (1924, 319).
7. Vidal (1924), 319; Ch. Monteil (1929), 361–2; Niane (1965), 2–3.

There is some disagreement about names of rulers and their chronological order.

8. Niane (1965), 2.
9. Delafosse (1913), 298.
10. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 264/tr. II, 110–11.
11. Delafosse (1912), II, 176.
12. Niane (1965), 3.
13. *T. al-Fattāsh* (1913), 38/tr. 65.
14. Niane (1965), loc. cit.
15. Cissé (1964), 175–6, 188–90.
16. Niane (1965), 4–9. 'Sundjata was quite young when he received the title of Simbon, or master hunter' (ibid., 23). When Sundjata led his victorious army to Niani 'he had donned his costume of a hunter king' (ibid., 80).
17. ibid., 12–26; Pageard (*P.A.*, 1961), 61.
18. Niane (1965), 26–38; also Vidal (1924), 322. According to Delafosse (1913, 289), Sundjata did not leave the Malinke country.
19. According to another version – Ch. Monteil (1929a), 321 – the Soso attacked the Malinke during the reign of Nare-Maghan, Sundjata's father, who was killed.
20. Niane (1965), 38–72; elucidated by Claude Meillassoux and Yves Person (personal communications).
21. Niane (*N.A.*, 1960), 125.
22. Niane (1965), 54–6, 73–8.
23. ibid., 79–83.
24. al-'Umarī (1927), 52; Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 267/tr. II, 116. However, al-Qalqashandī (1915, V, 283), in quoting al-'Umarī, spells out the name of the capital of Mali as B·N·B. In two recent papers, Hunwick (Manding Conference) and Meillassoux (Manding Conference) reject the identification of Niani with the fourteenth-century capital of Mali. Though both have Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's itinerary as their main source, they reach different conclusions. According to Hunwick the capital was on the Niger north of Bamako, while Meillassoux places it on the Upper Gambia.
25. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 38/tr. 66.
26. Vidal (1923c), 607–8; Gaillard (1923), 621–3.
27. For such an early hypothesis, see Binger (1892), II, 180–2.
28. Dieterlen (1957), 124; Meillassoux (*J.S.A.*, 1968).
29. Trimingham (1962), 65, n. 2.
30. al-'Umarī (1927), 60. See Filipowiak (1970, 112) for possible traces of the palace and the wall.

31. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 267/tr. II, 116.
32. Filipowiak (1966), 124 and (1970), 109–10, 115–17; Ch. Monteil (1929a, 303) was doubtful about the identification of Niani as the capital of Mali visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922, IV, 397) because no cemetery had been found in the 1920s.

CHAPTER VI

1. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922, IV, 419–20), does, however, refer vaguely to Sāriq-Djāṭa, grandfather of Mansā Mūsā, who may be identified also with Sundjata.
2. Y. Person, 'Chronologie des Manding du Sud', paper submitted to the conference on African Chronology, S.O.A.S., July 1966.
3. The chronicle which will be quoted extensively in this chapter appears in Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 264–8/tr. II, 111–16.
4. On the identification of Tajūra, see Beckingham (1953). The Mamluk sultan al-Mālik al-Nāṣir ibn Qalā'ūn reigned three times: 1293–4, 1298–1308, 1309–40. In 1324, during his third reign, Ibn Qalā'ūn was visited by Mansā Mūsā.
5. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 268/tr. II, 116.
6. See Levtzion (1963), 346–7, where a fallacy of earlier scholars, that Abū Bakr was son of Mārī-Djāṭa's sister, is refuted.
7. Ch. Monteil (1929a), 356, 362; Niane (1965), 23, 31, 34, 81. Here he is called Manding Bory.
8. Niane (1959), 40.
9. For the calculation of the dates of the reigns of Mansā Mūsā, his son Mansā Maghā and his brother Mansā Sulaymān, according to Ibn Khaldūn's evidence, see Ch. Monteil (1929a), 321–2; Levtzion (1963), 349–50, also N. Bell (Manding Conference).
10. al-'Umārī (1927), 73.
11. This interpretation follows Ch. Monteil (1929a), 414–16.
12. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 399.
13. ibid., 417–19.
14. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), II, 459/tr. IV, 343.
15. ibid., I, 266–8/tr. II, 115–16.

CHAPTER VII

1. Niane (1965), 78.
2. al-'Umarī (1927), 59; though Niane excuses himself as being only the translator of recorded traditions, it is clear that he enriched these traditions by his knowledge of other historical sources. Has he not been influenced by this passage of al-'Umarī?

3. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 430.
4. Walata was conquered by Mali about the middle of the thirteenth century when the Maqqarī brothers operated there (see below p. 162).
5. Two versions from two informants in Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 264/tr. II, 111.
6. *T. al-Sūdān*, 7, 56–7/tr. 12–14, 91.
7. ibid., 5–6/tr. 10–12.
8. *T. al-Fattāsh* (second appendix), tr. 334.
9. Ch. Monteil (1929a), 365–6; Rouch (1953), 175–81.
10. al-ʻUmarī (1927), 56, 58; see also Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 395.
11. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 266/tr. II, 114.
12. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 441–2.
13. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 267/tr. II, 116.
14. Lewicki (1960), 4–7.
15. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), II, 73/tr. III, 287.
16. Delafosse (1912), II, 206; Ch. Monteil (1929a), 372.
17. al-ʻUmarī (1927), 94.
18. Ibn Khaldūn, loc. cit.
19. ibid., I, 267/tr. II, 115–16.
20. ibid., 265/tr. II, 112–13 (my italics); Muʻammar accompanied Mansā Mūsā to Mali.
21. ibid., 260/tr. II, 104.
22. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 377–8.
23. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 373/tr. II, 280.
24. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 385; cf. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 265/tr. II, 112. The descendants of Abū Isḥāq al-Saḥilī 'settled in Walata on the frontiers of their country towards the Maghrib'.
25. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 430–1.
26. *T. al-Fattāsh*, tr. 335.
27. *T. al-Sūdān*, 7–8/tr. 14–15.
28. ibid., 8–9/tr. 16–17.
29. ibid., 9, 22/tr. 17, 38; for the reading of the governor's name see el-Chennafi (1970), 104.
30. *T. al-Sūdān*, 24/tr. 41.
31. La Roncière (1925), I, 153.
32. *T. al-Sūdān*, 24/tr. 41.
33. al-ʻUmarī (1927), 55; Zāqūn should be read Zāfūn (q and f are very similar in the Arabic script). On Diāfūnu, see above, p. 48.
34. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 39/tr. 70.
35. Y. Person, personal communication.
36. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 42–3/tr. 80–1.

37. *T. al-Sūdān*, 11/tr. 21.
38. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 37/tr. 65.
39. ibid., 37/tr. 64.
40. *T. al-Sūdān*, 13/tr. 25; see Ch. Monteil (1932), 1.
41. ibid., 9–10/tr. 19–20; Ch. Monteil (1965), 485–9; Pageard (*J.S.A.*, 1961), 74–6.
42. *T. al-Sūdān*, 10–11/tr. 20–1.
43. Compare the destruction of the Kaya-Magha dynasty, *T. al-Fattāsh*, 42/tr. 77.
44. *T. al-Sūdān* (27/tr. 45–6) recorded a tale about a raid of the Mossi on Benka (the lacustrine region on the right bank of the Niger up-stream of Timbuktu) at the time of *al-faqīh* al-Ḥājj, *qāḍī* of Timbuktu towards the end of Mali's rule in that town. This Mossi raid must therefore have taken place in the early decades of the fifteenth century. An earlier Mossi raid on Timbuktu has already been mentioned (see above, p. 80, *T. al-Sūdān*, 8–9/tr. 16–17). This raid occurred, according to Ch. Monteil (1929a, 414–15; see also Izard, 1970, 36–7, 198) in 1337, because the French translation reads '[le Soultan du Mossi] retourna dans son pays. Les gens de Melli rentrèrent ensuite à Tombouctou *et y deumeurèrent encore en maîtres durant cent ans*'. Timbuktu was lost to Mali in 837 A.H., so the Mossi raid a hundred years earlier should have been in 737 A.H. (1336/7), probably soon after Mansā Mūsā's death. The Arabic text of *T. al-Sūdān* should be read as follows: 'The people of Mali returned to Timbuktu. They ruled over it for a hundred years.' In a subsequent passage, al-Sa'dī (22/tr. 37) estimates the number of years each power ruled over Timbuktu: 'Mali's rule in Timbuktu lasted for a hundred years.' It is clear that by a hundred years al-Sa'dī refers to the whole length of Mali's rule, and not to the period since the episodal raid of the Mossi. The dates given by al-Sa'dī for the rule of the Tuaregs, the Songhay and the Moroccans are quite accurate. His hundred years for the rule of Mali is probably too short by more than fifty years. His information about this early period was much vaguer, and for him Mali's rule in Timbuktu began with Mansā Mūsā. Whatever the case, the hundred years are no indication of the date of the Mossi raid, and there is nothing in the text to help place it. As far as the interpretation of history is concerned, it would have been more convenient to suggest that the raid on Timbuktu was closer in time to the raid on Benka, towards the end of Mali's rule in Timbuktu.

CHAPTER VIII

1. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 42–3/tr. 80–1. An earlier expedition against Mali by Sonni Mā Da'o, father of Sonni 'Alī the Great, in which servile groups were captured, is reported in *T. al-Fattāsh* (55/tr. 107). This, however, appears in *MS. C.* only, and its authority is seriously suspected, see Levtzion (*BSOAS* 1971).
2. On the conquests of Sonni 'Alī, see *T. al-Sūdān*, 65–71/tr. 103–16; *T. al-Fattāsh*, 43–52/tr. 81–100; Rouch (1953), 182, n. 4.
3. *T. al-Sūdān*, 27, 68–70, 186/tr. 46, 112–15, 284; *T. al-Fattāsh*, 46–8/tr. 90–3.
4. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 44/tr. 83.
5. *T. al-Sūdān*, 70/tr. 114–15; Rouch (1953), 183.
6. *T. al-Sūdān*, 78/tr. 129.
7. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 77/tr. 146.
8. ibid., 70/tr. 135; *T. al-Sūdān*, 75/tr. 124.
9. Pageard (*J.S.A.*, 1961), 79.
10. *T. al-Sūdān*, 185/tr. 283. The date for the arrival of the Fulbe in Massina is calculated according to the genealogical list of the kings of Massina (ibid., 185–9/tr. 283–8). The fourth king, a grandson of Maghan who led the migration, fought the Mossi invasion some time between 1470 and 1483.
11. ibid., 75/tr. 124; *T. al-Fattāsh*, 70/tr. 135. In a recent dissertation (referred to by Y. Person, Manding Conference) Mme M. Ly identified Dialan with Diāra in Kingui. But Diāra, as mentioned before (p. 81), had already been independent of Mali earlier in the fifteenth century. Ch. Monteil (1965, 497) identified Dialan with Diala of Kaarta.
12. *T. al-Sūdān*, 76–7/tr. 126–7; *T. al-Fattāsh*, 75–7/tr. 143–7. On Tengella and Koli-Tengella, see below p. 98.
13. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 73/tr. 140. This appears in a document written for Askiyā Muḥammad, which Ibn al-Mukhtār, author of *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, himself saw.
14. Leo Africanus (1956), II, 466.
15. For a summary of the principal events in Songhay under Askiyā Muḥammad and his successors, see Rouch (1953), 195, n. 6 and 200, n. 16.
16. *T. al-Sūdān*, 93–4/tr. 154–5. On Sāma, see Pageard (*J.S.A.*, 1961), 75.
17. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 85/tr. 160; on Ta'ba, see *T. al-Sūdān*, 10/tr. 20; Ch. Monteil (1965), 487.

18. Rouch (1953), 200, n. 16.
19. *T. al-Sūdān*, 96/tr. 159.
20. ibid., 98/tr. 161.
21. ibid., 105/tr. 172.
22. Tymowski (1967), 80–4.
23. *T. al-Sūdān*, 103–4/tr. 169–70.
24. ibid., 110/tr. 179.
25. ibid., 116–17, 131/tr. 188, 209.
26. ibid., 132/tr. 210.
27. ibid., 142–4/tr. 222–4.
28. ibid., 182–3/tr. 278–9.
29. Kala-Shā'a was probably an office created by the Songhay, and its holder may have been responsible for guarding and administrating the southern frontiers of Songhay on the Niger. He may have acted also as a commissioner in dealing with the chiefs of Kala. Following the Moroccan conquest, the Kala-Shā'a Bokar collaborated with the pashas, and took part in their wars against the Fulbe. His residence was in Kukiri or Kokri (up-river from Ke-Macina).

    On Kala-Shā'a, see *T. al-Sūdān*, 89, 120, 124, 131, 179/tr. 148, 193, 199, 209, 273–4. See also Pageard (*J.S.A.*, 1961), 75.
30. ibid., 266/tr. 406; see also 143/tr. 223.
31. ibid., 183/tr. 280.
32. ibid., 249/tr. 381.
33. ibid., 179/tr. 273–4.

CHAPTER IX

1. Zurara (1960), 218.
2. Ca da Mosto (1895), 158–9; V. Fernandes (1951), 35–7.
3. Diogo Gomes (1959), 38, 40.
4. V. Fernandes (1951), 37, 43, 55, 59, 69, 75. Here the capital of Mali is said to have been Jaga. Perhaps for Diakha (-sur-Bafing) centre of the Diakhanke (Malinke-speaking traders of the Gambia). Diogo Gomes (loc. cit.) called it Quioquia. Names of places in the hinterland are rather confused and distorted in the Portuguese sources, most of them cannot be identified, and identifications suggested are not certain.
5. On Kabu and its traditions, see papers read to the Manding Conference by S. M. Cissoko, B. K. Sidibe and A. S. Diop. See also Girard (1966), 541–3; Aubert (1923).

6. J. Boulègue (Manding Conference) in an analysis of the information given by Alvares de Almada.
7. The rest of this chapter is based to a large extent on the very convincing paper of Y. Person (Manding Conference). Yves Person, in his turn, made much use of the unpublished dissertation of Jean Boulègue, *La Sénégambie du milieu du XVe siècle au début du XIIe siècle.* I am greatly indebted to these two scholars.
8. On the rule of Mali over Futa Toro or Takrūr, see al-ʿUmarī (1927), 54–6; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima* 46/tr. I, 118; *T. al-Fattāsh,* 39/tr. 69.
9. Y. Person (Manding Conference) is relying on the unpublished dissertation of B. Barry, *Le royaume du Waalo, 1659–1859.*
10. Compare with the conflicts between the Fulbe of Massina and the Songhay and Moroccan authorities. Ḥammadi Amina, leader of the Fulbe resistance in Massina, entered into an alliance with the Bambara and other neighbours in challenging the imperial authority.
11. De Barros (1844), I, 22, Ch. VIII.
12. *T. al-Sūdān,* 47–8/tr. 127–9; *T. al-Fattāsh,* 40/tr. 72–4; Soh (1913), 23–5; Boyer (1953), 28–30.
13. Jobson (1932), 64–5.
14. *T. al-Sūdān,* 11/tr. 21.
15. Paques (1954), 45–6; R. Pageard, *Notes sur l'histoire des Bambara du Segou* (Paris, 1957). In two consecutive articles Pageard (*J.S.A.*, 1961 and 1961a) put forward a proposition about the role of the Traore chiefly clan in the region between the Niger and the Bani rivers. He even postulated the possible existence of a bi-familial empire of the Keita-Traore.
16. *T. al-Sūdān,* 105/tr. 172.
17. ibid., 143/tr. 223.
18. ibid., 179, 183/tr. 274, 280.
19. ibid., 274, 275/tr. 418, 420.
20. On the Dyula trade to the Akan forest and as far as Elmina on the Gold Coast, see below p. 167. Also Wilks (1961); Teixeira da Mota (Manding Conference).
21. *T. al-Fattāsh,* 39/tr. 67.
22. Fernandes (1951), 47.
23. Rodney (1970), 41, according to information by de Almada.
24. Goody (1964); Levtzion (1968), 51–3.
25. Y. Person (1968), 64–76.

PART TWO

CHAPTER X

1. Ch. Monteil (1929a), 309–11; Person (1968), 57–67.
2. Yāqūt (1866), II, 932–3.
3. See above, pp. 25–6.
4. al-Bakrī (1911), 183/tr. (1968), 80.
5. al-'Umarī (1927), 72; al-Qalqashandī (1915), V, 301.
6. Fernandes (1951), 37.
7. al-Bakrī (1911), 176/tr. (1968), 72; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 407–9; al-'Umarī (1927), 68; *T. al-Fattāsh*, 35/tr. 59–60. See also on Songhay, *T. al-Fattāsh*, 98/tr. 184–5; *T. al-Sūdān*, 84/tr. 139, and Leo Africanus (1956), II, V, 468. See also on this custom among the Malinke on the Gambia, Fernandes (1951), 43–5; Jobson (1932), 66, 134.
8. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 409; Ibn Khaldūn (1847), II, 459/tr. IV, 344.
9. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 35/tr. 59–60.
10. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 408; al'Umarī (1927), 67–8, 72.
11. al-'Umarī (1927), 66; cf. also Meek (1931), 27: 'When the Jukun king sneezes all those present slap their thighs respectfully.'
12. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 404, 407; al-'Umarī (1927), 65.
13. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 408.
14. al-Bakrī (1911), 176/tr. (1968), 72; al'Umarī (1927), 64–5; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 403–7.
15. Gaudfroy-Demombynes in the Introduction to al-'Umarī (1927), lxi–lxiv.
16. al-Idrīsī (1866), 7/tr. 8; al-'Umarī (1927), 69, 72; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 410.
17. See also Soh (1913), 23–4; Boyer (1953), 28–9.
18. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 39–40/tr. 71–2.
19. al-Bakrī (1911), 175/tr. (1968), 72.
20. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 406.
21. al-'Umarī (1927), 72.
22. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 116/tr. 211.
23. ibid., 81/tr. 151.
24. Jobson (1932), 80–4.
25. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), 417.
26. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 34/tr. 59.
27. ibid., 37/tr. 65.

28. On royal succession in Ghana, see Levtzion (1972), and in Mali, see above p. 64, and Levtzion (1963).
29. The present dichotomy between the Keita of Hamana (who claim descent from Abū Bakr, father of Mansā Mūsā) and those of Dioma (said to be the descendants of Niani Mamudu or Muḥammad, son of Qū, grandson of Sundjata) may represent the division into the two branches (Niane, *N.A.*, 1960, 125).
30. al-Idrīsī (1966), 7/tr. 8; for a similar nocturnal tour of the capital by the Kaya-Magha, see *T. al-Fattāsh*, 42/tr. 27.
31. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 416.
32. al-ʻUmarī (1927), 69.
33. al-Bakrī (1911), 175/tr. (1968), 70.
34. al-ʻUmarī (1927), 69–70.
35. ibid., 79–80.
36. *K. al-Istibṣār*, in Youssouf Kamal, III, 915.
37. al-Bakrī (1911), 176/tr. (1968), 72.
38. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 404, 407.
39. ibid., 418–19.
40. ibid., 415.
41. On slaves and villages see below, pp. 117–19.
42. al-ʻUmarī (1927), 66–7; the expression 'large trousers' is synonymous among the Malinke with 'a great man', Laing (1825), 129.
43. al-Bakrī (1911), 176/tr. (1968), 72.
44. Niane (1965), 36.
45. *T. al-Sūdān*, 6/tr. 10–11.
46. Diagne (1970), 861–2.
47. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 34/tr. 59.
48. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), 386; see Ch. Monteil (1929a), 417.
49. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 264, 267/tr. II, 111, 116; see Ch. Monteil (1929a), 450.
50. Niane (1965), 17.
51. ibid., 11.
52. ibid., 1.
53. ibid., 58–9.
54. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 418. Dua is a contracted form of the name Dughā.
55. ibid., 404, 405; see also al-ʻUmarī (1927), 65.
56. Niane (1965), 77.
57. al-ʻUmarī (1927), 76.
58. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 411–14.

CHAPTER XI

1. al-Bakrī (1911), 176/tr. (1968), 73; a *mithqāl* is equivalent to a standard *dinār*.
2. For an argument about the relative price of salt and copper, see Lhote (*B.I.F.A.N.*, 1955), 367–9.
3. cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 378: a camel's load of salt was sold for eight to ten *mithqāls* in Walata and for twenty to thirty (or even forty) *mithqāls* in the capital of Mali.
4. al-Bakrī, loc. cit.
5. al-Idrīsī (1866) 7/tr. 8; a *roṭl* is equivalent to about 1lb.
6. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 266–7/tr. II, 115. See also Diogo Gomes (1959), 38. One *quinṭār* is equivalent to 100 *roṭls*, or about 100lbs.
7. al-'Umarī (1927), 58–9, 70, 72.
8. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 37/tr. 65 (the tribute of Jenne); Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 260/tr. II, 104 (tribute by the veiled Berbers).
9. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 33/tr. 57.
10. On agriculture, fishing, and animal husbandry, see Mauny (1961), 235–93; Lewicki (1965b); Tymowski (1971).
11. V. Fernandes (1951), 47, 49; Niane (1961), 46–8.
12. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 378; Leo Africanus (1956), 464; see also Tymowski (1967), 82 on the transportation of food supplies to Timbuktu on the Niger river.
13. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 94–100/tr. 178–88.
14. ibid., 102–3/tr. 180–1.
15. For a complete list of twelve 'servile' tribes, see *T. al-Fattāsh*, 55–58/tr. 107–13; see also Hunwick (1968).
16. Levtzion (BSOAS 1971), 588–91.
17. Goody (1969), 398–400.
18. Diagne (1970), 878.
19. ibid., 854–6, 868–9.
20. Niane (1961) 32–5 suggests that Sundjata subjugated the population in the provinces which had formerly been ruled by the Soso, and reduced them legally into a servile status.
21. For references to donations of slaves and 'Zanj' see *T. al-Fattāsh*, 23–4, 32, 71, 117/tr. 38–9, 53–4, 136–7, 214–15 ('Zanj') and 71, 106–7, 109, 113, 151/tr. 137, 197–8, 201, 207, 271 (slaves).
22. M. Sidibé (1959a); Diagne (1970), 850–1; Bokar N'Diaye (Manding Conference). Occupational castes do not exist among those Mande-speaking peoples – like the Mende and the Guro – who had migrated to the forest before the rise of the empire of Mali. It is

also likely that occupational castes were introduced among some Voltaic and Senegambian people under the influence of the Manding: see R. Launay (Manding Conference).

23. Ch. Monteil (1926), 604. See also Marion Johnson (Manding Conference).
24. al-Bakrī (1911), 173/tr. (1968), 68.
25. ibid., 183/tr. 80.
26. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 393–4, 432.
27. al-'Umarī (1927), 44 (Kanem); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 441 (Takedda).
28. al-Bakrī (1911), 11/tr. (1913), 29 (Zawīla); al-'Umarī (1927), 44 (Kanem); Leo Africanus (1956), II, 89–90 (the Sūs); Jobson (1932), 122 (Gambia).
29. al-Bakrī (1911), 158/tr. (1968), 52 (Awdaghust); ibid., 181/tr. 78 (Tadmekka).
30. Leo Africanus (1956), II, 435 (Jenne), 469 (Timbuktu).
31. al-Bakrī (1911), 179/tr. (1968), 75.
32. Mauny (1970), 154.
33. Hiskett (1966), 345–6.
34. al-'Umarī (1927), 75–6.
35. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 435.
36. Polanyi (1966), 186–90.
37. Meillassoux (1970), 148.
38. Hiskett (1966), 355–6.
39. Johnson (1970), 46.
40. al-'Umarī (1927), 76.
41. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 121–2.
42. *T. al-Sūdān*, 222/tr. 338.

CHAPTER XII

1. On the trans-Saharan trade in classical times, see Mauny (1947); Lhote (1951) and (1955), 1138–1228; Bovill (1968), 13–44; Law (1967).
2. Mauny (1961), 398. Mauny (1970, 82) even suggests that the gold of the Sudan was not known in the Mediterranean world until the Arabs arrived in the Sūs in the seventh and eighth centuries.
3. For a critical study of this account, see Germain (1957); Mauny (1960), 1–25.
4. Quoted in Law (1967), 188.
5. Quoted ibid., 189.
6. al-Balādhurī (1863–6), 231–2; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (1922), 217.

7. al-Bakrī (1911), 156–7, 163/tr. (1968), 50–1, 58.
8. al-Ya'qūbī (1892), 334–5/tr. (1937), 190; Lombard (1947), 148–9.
9. Quoted in al-Mas'ūdī (1861–77), IV, 37–8.
10. Dunlop (1957), 39.
11. For a discussion of the numismatic evidence, see Devisse (1970), 139–40.
12. Ibn Ḥawqal (1938–9), 99–100/tr. 97–9. On the role of gold in the expansion of the Fāṭimids, see Lombard (1947), 150–1; A. Lewis (1951), 169–70; Devisse (1970), 141–5.
13. Devisse (1970), 146.
14. Lombard (1947), 152.
15. Devisse (1970), 147–9.
16. Hazard (1952), 48, 60–1.
17. Brunschwig (1940–7), II, 267.
18. Hazard (1952), 55.
19. Lombard (1947), 151; Idris (1962), II, 540, 651–6.
20. Brett (1969).
21. Ashtor (1971), 9. I am grateful to Professor Ashtor for allowing me to see the proofs of his new book.
22. Magalhaes-Godinho (1969), 121.
23. Bloch (1933), 11; Lombard (1947), 155–6.
24. Krueger (1933), 377–9 and Krueger (1937).
25. Watson (1967), 7–9.
26. Dalché (1962), 73.
27. Bloch (1933), 4–5.
28. Watson (1967), 25–6; Magalhaes-Godinho (1969), 134–5.
29. Watson (1967), 30–1.
30. La Roncière (1925), I, 111–15, 135–41.
31. Wilks (1961), 6.
32. Watson (1967), 16, 18.
33. Magalhaes-Godinho (1969), 143, 153, 179, 423.
34. La Roncière (1925), I, 143–4.
35. ibid., I, 162–3.
36. Magalhaes-Godinho (1969), 182–8.
37. Teixeira da Mota (Manding Conference).
38. Magalhaes-Godinho (1969), 210–20.

CHAPTER XIII

1. al-Ya'qūbī, *K. al-Buldān* (1892), 345/tr. 205; Ibn Ḥawqal (1938–1939), 61/tr. 58.
2. Lewicki (1962), 523–6.

3. Ibn Ḥawqal (1938–9), 96/tr. 94.
4. Ibn al-Athīr (1851–76), VIII, 315; Ibn Khaldūn (1847), II, 17/tr. III, 201.
5. Lewicki (1960), 20–1.
6. al-Idrīsī (1866), 8, 120–1/tr. 9, 141.
7. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), II, 72/tr. 287; Leo Africanus (1956), II, 439.
8. al-Bakrī (1911), 158/tr. (1968), 53. al-Bakrī here follows the account of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Warrāq who died in 974. For a more detailed discussion of the role of the Ibāḍites in Awdaghust, see Devisse (1970), 123–8.
9. Lewicki (1960), 21, and (1962), 525–8, 531–2.
10. al-Bakrī (1911), 148–51/tr. (1968), 42–5; Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 167–70/tr. I, 260–5.
11. Ibn Ḥawqal (1938–9), 99/tr. 97.
12. Levtzion (*J.A.H.*, 1968).
13. Ibn Ḥawqal (1938–9), 99–100/tr. 98.
14. ibid., 107/tr. 104; *Mafākhir al-Barbar*, 16.
15. Ibn Abī Zar' (1843–66), 71–2/tr. 155–7; Ibn al-Athīr (1851–76), IX, 428; *Mafākhir al-Barbar*, 53; for a wider background, see Terrasse (1949), I, 136–208.
16. al-Idrīsī (1866), 61/tr. 70.
17. ibid., 66–7/tr. 76–7.
18. al-Maqqarī (1855–61), 74.
19. *E.I.*, 2nd ed., II, 1008.
20. Leo Africanus (1956), II, 425.
21. ibid., 425, 429–30.
22. The source for the story of the Maqqarī firm is a note by the *qāḍī* Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, who died in December 1357. The famous *wazīr* of Granada, Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 1375) studied with the *qāḍī* Abū 'Abdallāh and copied his note (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, 1319 A.H., II, 136–8). Ibn al-Khaṭīb's account was reproduced in the seventeenth century by al-Maqqarī, 1949, VII, 129–32. English translation in Pascual de Gayangos' translation of al-Maqqarī (1840–3), I, 301–4. See also Pérès (1937).

    The genealogy of the *qāḍī* Abū 'Abdallāh may help in suggesting an approximate date for the operation of the Maqqarī firm. He was *Muḥammad* b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. *Abī Bakr* b. Yaḥyā b. '*Abd al-Raḥmān* al-Maqqarī. Abū Bakr, one of the five Maqqarī brothers, was the grandson of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, a companion of the famous saint Abū Madyan who died in 1199. Abū Bakr was the great-grandfather of the *qāḍī* Abū 'Abdallāh who died in 1357. It is likely, therefore, that Abū Bakr and his four brothers

lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. This date fits well with the conquest of Walata by Mali under Mansā Ulī (see above, p. 75).

23. al-Bakrī (1911), 77/tr. (1913), 156; a century earlier Ibn Ḥawqal (1938–9, 89/tr. 86) had nothing to say about the trade of Tlemcen.
24. al-Idrīsī (1866), 80–1/tr. 92–3.
25. Ibn al-Khatīb (1319 A.H.), II, 137; al-Maqqarī (1949), VII, 131/tr. I, 303–4.
26. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 376–7.
27. Ibn Ḥawqal (1938–9), 101–2/tr. 99–100.
28. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 379–80.
29. al-Bakrī (1911), 156–7/tr. (1968), 50–2; Daveau (1970), 33–8.
30. al-Bakrī (1911), 163–4/tr. (1968), 58.
31. ibid., 171/tr. 65–6.
32. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 377.
33. This is the desert of Mreyye, see Monod (1958), 19–20, 27–8. For a modern account of this journey, see Captain Fevez, (1922), 241–250.
34. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 378–83.
35. Leo Africanus (1956), I, 53–4.
36. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922, IV, 379) crossed the desert in February–April. See also Ibn Ḥawqal (1938–9), 103/tr. 101.
37. al-Idrīsī (1866), 31/tr. 38.
38. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 384–5.
39. al-Qazwīnī (1848), 11; Ibn Sa'īd (1958), 47; Leo Africanus (1956), I, 53; V. Fernandes (1938), 75.
40. Robert (1970).
41. Galand (1970).
42. al-Bakrī (1911), 180–3/tr. (1968), 77–9.
43. ibid., 158–9/tr. 52–3.
44. al-Idrīsī (1966), 31/tr. 38.
45. Mauny (1970), 153.
46. Delafosse (1912), I, 165–6. Towards the very end of the twelfth century the Almohad governor of Sijilmāsa sent 'a letter to the king of the Sūdān in Ghana, reproaching him for detaining traders, and saying: "we may live as good neighbours though we differ in [our] religions".' (al-Maqqarī, 1855–61, II, 72.) This reference is somewhat surprising as the king of Ghana would have been Muslim by then. Perhaps this letter was sent following the conquest of Ghana by the pagan king of Soso who, the traditions say, persecuted the Muslim traders. This letter was written only a

few years before 1199 when, according to al-Sarakhsī quoted by al-Maqqarī, this governor of Sijilmāsa came to Marrākush to pay allegiance to the new Almohad sovereign, al-Naṣir Muḥammad b. al-Manṣūr Ya'qūb. If so, the date suggested by Delafosse for the conquest of Ghana by the Soso – in 1203 – is perhaps no more than ten years too late.

47. Pérès (1937), 409–14.
48. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 385, 387.
49. ibid., 381.
50. ibid., 385–6.
51. Imported horses were first offered to the king who bought what pleased him (Leo Africanus, 1956, II, 468).
52. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 416.
53. Terrasse (1949), I, 347; II, 18–19.
54. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), II, 395, 459–60/tr. IV, 243, 341.
55. ibid., II, 80–1/tr. III, 298. Ghār has not been identified.
56. *T. al-Sūdān*, 17/tr. 13; *T. al-Fattāsh*, 34/tr. 59.
57. La Roncière (1925), I, 114, pl. VII.
58. ibid., I, 135–6, pl. XI.
59. ibid., I, 115, pl. I.
60. Ca da Mosto (1895), 62–4.
61. La Roncière (1925), I, 151–7.
62. Hirschberg (1963), 325.
63. Leo Africanus (1956), I, 30–1, II, 423–7; V. Fernandes (1938), 71–3.
64. Ca da Mosto (1895), 54–5.
65. V. Fernandes (1938), 79–85.
66. Zurara (1960), 214.
67. Ca da Mosto (1895), 64.
68. V. Fernandes (1938), 115.
69. Ibn al-Faqīh (1885), 68; see Mauny (1961), 139; Lewicki (1965), 296.
70. al-Iṣṭakhrī (1870), 52.
71. Ibn Ḥawqal (1938–9), 153/tr. 151. On brigands south of the oases, see al-Bakrī (1911), 17/tr. (1913), 40.
72. al-Idrīsī (1866), 35, 41/tr. 41, 48.
73. al-'Umarī (1927), 80.
74. Leo Africanus (1956), II, 457–8.
75. ibid., 532.
76. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1822), IV, 439, 445.
77. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), II, 73/tr. III, 287–8.
78. La Roncière (1925), I, 156–7.

79. Ca da Mosto (1895), 62–3.
80. Ch. Monteil (1929), 408.
81. al-ʿUmarī (1927), 65.
82. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 387.
83. al-ʿUmarī (1927), 79; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 399; Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 267/tr. II, 115.

CHAPTER XIV

1. Ibn al-Faqīh (1885), 87; al-Masʿūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān* in Youssouf Kamal III, 629; Abu Ḥāmid al-Andalusī (1925), 41–2; Yāqūt (1866), III, 822.
2. al-ʿUmarī (1927), 70–2.
3. La Roncière (1925), I, 157.
4. ibid., I, 97.
5. Labat (1728), IV, 1–18.
6. The 'silent trade' was first described by Herodotus (*The History*, IV, 196). It is then related by Arab geographers: al-Masʿūdī (1861–77), IV, 92; Yāqūt (1866), I, 821–2; al-Qazwīnī (1848), 11; al-ʿUmarī (1927), 83. Similar accounts are repeated by some early European explorers: Ca da Mosto (1895), 57–8; Jobson (1932), 138.
7. Ca da Mosto (1895), 61; V. Fernandes (1938), 89; D. Pacheco Pereira (1956), 65–7; Jobson (1932), 138–41. Significantly, none of the Arab authors attributed monstrous appearance to these people.
8. Ca da Mosto, *loc. cit.*; Fernandes, *loc. cit.*
9. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 428–9.
10. al-ʿUmarī (1927), 58–9, 72.
11. On the role of the 'gold priests', see A. Belan, 1946.
12. al-Bakrī (1911), 176–7/tr. (1968), 73; Mauny (1961), 124–5, 365.
13. al-Idrīsī (1866), 8/tr. 9; Mauny (1961), 296, 302.
14. Ch. Monteil (1953), 380.
15. al-Bakrī (1911), 177–8/tr. (1968), 74; al-Idrīsī (1866), 4/tr. 4; Mauny (1961), 302, 365.
16. Mauny (1961), 300.
17. Barth (1890), II, 351 [16.1.1854].
18. Meyerowitz (1951), 198.
19. Wilks (1961), 1–13; Levtzion (1968), 8–11.
20. V. Fernandes (1938), 85–7.
21. Ca da Mosto (1895), 57.
22. Mauny (1961), 359–60; Wilks (1961), 6.

23. I accept the identification of Bīṭu with the Akan goldfields (see Mauny, 1961, 298, 359, 382).
24. *T. al-Sūdān*, 11–12/tr. 22–3.
25. Leo Africanus (1956), II, 456.
26. See above, pp. 148–9.
27. *T. al-Sūdān*, 20–2/tr. 36–8.
28. al-Bakrī (1911), 180/tr. (1968), 77.
29. ibid., 176/tr. 73; Pacheco Pereira (1956), 65; Jobson (1932), 111; Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 265/tr. II, 113; Ca da Mosto (1895), 56–7; V. Fernandes (1938), 97.
30. *T. al-Sūdān*, 21/tr. 36.
31. ibid., 12/tr. 23.
32. Person (1963), 131–2.
33. *T. al-Sūdān*, 12–13/tr. 24.
34. ibid., 11/tr. 22.
35. La Roncière (1925), I, 154.
36. Leo Africanus (1956), II, 464–5.
37. *T. al-Sūdān*, 13/tr. 24–5.
38. cf. Tymowski (1967), 91–2.
39. On the *'ulamā'* of Jenne, see *T. al-Sūdān*, 16–20/tr. 28–35.
40. See p. 242, note 46 above for a possible reference to the persecution of traders in Ghana at the end of the twelfth century.
41. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 386.
42. Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1319 A.H.), II, 136–8; al-Maqqarī (1949), VII, 130–1/tr. I, 303–4.
43. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 397. The translation reads *al-Muqri'*, i.e., 'the reciter of the Koran'. See also the Dakar translation of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1966, 50). De Slane's translation (*Journal Asiatique*, 1843, 203) reads 'al-Maccari', as does Ch. Monteil (1929), 418.
44. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 397–400.
45. ibid., 421.
46. Idris (1962), 675, quoting a *fatwa* (legal opinion) of al-Qābisī who died 403/1012.
47. V. Fernandes (1951), 65.
48. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 416.
49. ibib., 426–8.
50. al-'Uma (1927), 61; al-Bakrī (1911), 173/tr. (1968), 69; V. Fernandes (1951), 41.
51. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 390–1, 421.
52. *T. al-Sūdān*, 258/tr. 395.
53. al-Bakrī (1911), 177–8/tr. (1968), 74.
54. al-Idrīsī (1966), 4/tr. 4.

55. al-Bakrī (1911), 180/tr. (1968), 76–7.
56. al-Idrīsī (1866), 8/tr. 9.
57. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 38/tr. 65.
58. V. Fernandes (1938), 85–7.
59. V. Fernandes (1951), 47.
60. Palmer (1909), 70.
61. Leo Africanus (1956), II, 477–9.
62. Barth (1890), I, 280 [30.1.1851]; see Levtzion (1968), 19–20.
63. Person (1963), (1964), and (1968), 122.
64. Goody (1964); Levtzion (1968), 8–13.
65. Smith (1965); Ch. Monteil (1915), 357–60.
66. Diogo Gomes (1959), 34–44.
67. Smith (1965), 243–6; Ch. Monteil (1915), 362.
68. V. Fernandes (1951), 37, 43, 75.
69. Jobson (1932), 122–3, 137–9.
70. Labat (1728), IV, 243, 333, 336, 371.
71. Jobson (1932), 85, 104–6, 115, 123–5. My italics.

CHAPTER XV

1. Ca da Mosto (1895), 56.
2. Fernandes (1938), 87.
3. Leo Africanus (1956), II, 574.
4. Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī (1925), 42; al-ʿUmarī (1927), 83.
5. Fernandes (1951), 75; Pacheco Pereira (1956), 83; Jobson (1932), 120; Mauny (1961), 324, 362; Rodney (1970), 18–20.
6. al-Bakrī (1911), 171/tr. (1968), 66; al-Idrīsī (1866), 2/tr. 2; Ibn Saʿīd (1958), 23–4; Mauny (1961), 325–6, 357–8; Gaden (1910).
7. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 377–8; Ibn Saʿīd (1958), 47; al-Qazwīnī (1848), 16; Leo Africanus (1956), II, 455; Fernandes (1938), 89.
8. Mauny (1961), 359; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, loc. cit.; Leo Africanus, loc. cit.; Fernandes (1938), 9. According to Pacheco Pereira (1956, 41) a camel carried five bars of salt.
9. *T. al-Sūdān*, 106–7, 160–1/tr. 174, 193–4.
10. Fernandes (1938), 79; Ca da Mosto (1895), 54.
11. Fernandes (1938), 83–5; caravans from Wadan to Timbuktu were mentioned also by Ca da Mosto (1895), 44–5 and Diogo Gomes (1959), 20.
12. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 378.
13. Ca da Mosto (1895), 55; Mauny (1961), 290.
14. Fernandes (1938), 85.
15. Ca da Mosto (1895), 57.

16. al-Bakrī (1911), 176/tr. (1968), 70, 72; al-'Umarī (1927), 65–6; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 404–6.
17. Fernandes (1938), 85.
18. Meunié (1961), 28, 130; Delafosse (1924b), 158–9.
19. al-Bakrī (1911), 159, 181/tr. (1968), 53, 78.
20. al-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān*, in Youssouf Kamal III, 628.
21. al-Idrīsī (1866), 8/tr. 9.
22. al-Ya'qūbī, *K. al-Buldān* (1892), 345/tr. 205; al-Iṣṭakhrī (1870), 40; al-Bakrī (1911), 11/tr. (1913), 28–9.
23. al-Qazwīnī (1848), 16; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 378, 440–1; Leo Africanus (1956), II, 479; Fernandes (1938), 87.
24. Teixeira da Mota (Manding Conference); see also Wilks (1961), 32, Fage (1962), 343–4.
25. Malfante in La Roncière (1925), I, 151; Leo Africanus (1956), II, 468; Fernandes (1951), 55.
26. al-Idrīsī (1866), 4, 6, 9/tr. 4, 7, 11.
27. Ca da Mosto (1895), 76–7; Fernandes (1951), 21.
28. al-Bakrī (1911), 173/tr. (1968), 69; Jobson (1932), 72.
29. Caillié (1830), II, 358–9, 365.
30. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 444–5; on slaves from Bornu to Takedda, see ibid., 441–2.
31. Leo Africanus (1956), II, 414.
32. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 104/tr. 193.
33. Zurara (1960), 216–17.
34. Ca da Mosto (1895), 48.
35. Leo Africanus (1956), I, 94; II, 424, 429.
36. ibid., I, 209.
37. Idris (1962), II, 525, 530–1.
38. Ibn 'Idhārī (1961), 56–7.
39. al-'Umarī (1927), 210; Leo Africanus (1956), I, 238.
40. Verlinden (1966); Malowist (1968), 174–6.
41. Zurara (1960), 123–4, 132, 190, 217, 248–50, 256; Ca da Mosto (1895), 39, 48; Fernandes (1938), 47, 63, 71; Fernandes (1951), 7, 19, 27, 43, 77; Pacheco Pereira (1956), 47, 53.
42. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 40, 41/tr. 72, 76.
43. al-Bakrī (1911), 177/tr. (1968), 74.
44. Leo Africanus (1956), II, 468, 471.
45. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 425.
46. al-'Umarī (1927), 66–7.
47. Leo Africanus (1956), II, 433.
48. Ca da Mosto (1895), 88, 116–17; Fernandes (1951), 7, 20–1, 37, 43, 69; Pacheco Pereira (1956), 53, 59, 61, 73.

49. Idris (1962), II, 684.
50. Leo Africanus (1956), II, 480–1; see also Fisher (1970), 68–71.
51. Ibn Sa'īd (1958), 24–5.
52. Ibn al-Faqīh (1885), 87.
53. al-Bakrī (1911), 175, 178/tr. (1968), 72, 75.
54. al-Idrīsī (1866), 6/tr. 7.
55. al-Bakrī (1911), 178/tr. (1968), 74.
56. ibid., 173/tr. 68–9.
57. Leo Africanus (1956), II, 465, 467.
58. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 180/tr. 315.
59. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 387, 406.
60. Ca da Mosto (1895), 48.
61. La Roncière (1925), I, 163.
62. Leo Africanus (1956), II, 471.
63. Fernandes (1938), 61, 63, 71, and (1951), 35, 37; Pacheco Pereira (1956), 47, 53, 65.
64. Fernandes (1951), 59. The Portuguese may have sold this Casamance cloth in Morocco, where Sudanic cloth was in demand. In the nineteenth century cloth and clothes were among the merchandise carried from Timbuktu to Morocco (Caillié, 1830, II, 365).
65. Teixeira da Mota (Manding Conference); see also Fage (1962).
66. al-Bakrī (1911), 159/tr. (1968), 53; al-Idrīsī (1966), 3/tr. 3; al-Dimashqī (1866), 268; Leo Africanus (1956), I, 115–16, II, 421.
67. La Roncière (1925), I, 156.
68. Mauny (1970), 154.
69. Mauny (1961), 368–80.
70. al-Bakrī (1911), 158/tr. (1968), 52.
71. Pacheco Pereira (1956), 39.
72. See al-'Umarī (1927), 62; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 312–13.
73. La Roncière (1925), I, 155.
74. Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1319 A.H.), II, 137; al-Maqqarī (1949), VII, 131/tr. (1840–3), I, 303; Pérès (1937), 413.
75. Renaud (1928), 51–3.
76. There is, however, yet another region of gold and kola: Jobson (1932, 184–5) tasted the kola on the Gambia: 'The Portingals will make as if they bring them into the river, by a trade they have in a great baye beyond Cacho, where they meete with a people, that brings them gold, and many of these nuts'. He may refer to Sierra Leone.
77. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 39/tr. 67.
78. al-'Umarī (1927), 63.

79. *T. al-Sūdān*, 92/tr. 152.
80. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 95, 97, 122, 162, 167/tr. 180, 182, 223–4, 288, 293.
81. Person (1968), 101–15.

CHAPTER XVI

1. Lewicki (1962), 523–5; see above, p. 136.
2. Quoted in Yāqūt (1866), IV, 329.
3. al-Bakrī (1911), 183/tr. (1968), 80.
4. Sauvaget (1950).
5. al-Bakrī (1911), 172/tr. (1968), 68.
6. Tareshnā, the Lamtūna chief, is said to have been 'a pious man of virtue' who performed the pilgrimage and led the *jihād* (al-Bakrī, 1911, 164/tr. 1968, 59).
7. Ibn Abī Zar' (1843–66), 78/tr. (1860), 170. On the rebellion of the Juddāla against Ibn Yāsīn, see above, pp. 33–4, and (with more details) Levtzion in Willis' forthcoming publication.
8. For a similar interpretation of the Mossi reaction to the pressure of the Islamic militancy of Askiyā al-Ḥājj Muḥammad, see Levtzion (1968), 164.
9. al-Bakrī (1911), 174–6/tr. (1968), 70–2.
10. For other Muslim communities under pagan rulers, see Levtzion (1968), 7 (Bono-Mansu), 21–2 (Djougou), 175–9 (Borgu), 181–7 (Ashanti).
11. It is also possible that the Almoravids imposed a new dynasty over Ghana, who claimed descent from Ḥasan ibn 'Alī. al-Idrīsī (1866), 6/tr. 7.
12. al-Zuhrī (1968) § 336, p. 182. Compare al-Bakrī's account of the Muslim town of Ghana (quoted above), as having scholars, jurists, and reciters of the Koran. For a *jihād* of Ghana, supported by the Almoravids, against Tadmekka, see above p. 45.
13. al-Bakrī (1911), 176–7/tr. (1968), 73–4.
14. ibid., 178/tr. 74–5. A thirteenth-century Ibāḍite source says that the king of Malal was converted by an Ibāḍite trader from southern Tunisia, 'Alī b. Yakhlaf al-Nafūsī. But this man visited the Sudan in 1179/80 only, or more than a hundred years after al-Bakrī (Lewicki, 1961, 7–8). For a detailed discussion of the possible role of the Ibāḍites in the spread of Islam, see Triaud (1968).
15. I Kings 18.
16. For evidence on Muslim amulets and prayers to chiefs, see Levtzion (1968), 51–4, 90–1, 108, 126, 182–7.

17. al-Bakrī (1911), 179/tr. (1968), 75; see also Levtzion (1972).
18. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 264/tr. II, 111.
19. Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, 72/tr. I, 169.
20. Ch. Monteil (1929), 349–50.
21. Meillassoux (1968), 175–9.
22. *T. al-Sūdān*, 7/tr. 13.
23. al-ʿUmarī (1927), 53. It is said that he knew Arabic (ibid., p. 76).
24. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 409–10.
25. The term for a bard (or *griot*) in Malinke is *jeli* or *dyeli*. The plural *dyulā* in this text seems to be an Arabicized adaptation. Certainly it has nothing to do with the term Dyula, meaning traders (see p. 16). Actually the *jeli* or *griots* do not appear in masks. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa may have confused the two ceremonies he had observed: a recital of the *griots* and a dance of masks.
26. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 411–14.
27. ibid., 423–4.
28. ibid., 424; ritual slaughtering is one of the first Islamic customs adopted by chiefs (see Levtzion, 1968, 101).
29. al-ʿUmarī (1927), 64.
30. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 424.
31. Hiskett (1960), 563, 569, 578.
32. al-Bakrī (1911), 176/tr. (1968), 72.
33. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 409; Ibn Khaldūn (1847), II, 459/tr. IV, 343; see also Jobson (1932), 134 on a prominent Muslim trader before a Malinke chief on the Gambia; *T. al-Fattāsh*, 11/tr. 13 on Songhay.
34. al-ʿUmarī (1927), 72; in Songhay only *shurafāʾ* and *ʿulamāʾ* could eat with the king (*T. al-Fattāsh*, 11/tr. 14).
35. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 421–3.
36. al-ʿUmarī (1927), 72–3. A Songhay king in the thirteenth century was married to two sisters. al-Saʿdī (*T. al-Sūdān*, 5/tr. 9–10) noted this deviation from the Islamic law.
37. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 388–90.
38. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met Muslim provincial governors; two of them accompanied Mansā Mūsā on pilgrimage, and one had a Muslim jurist (*faqīh*) as his secretary. (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 1922, IV, 426–7, 430, 432–3.)
39. *T. al-Sūdān*, 18/tr. 33.
40. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 266/tr. II, 115.
41. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 436.
42. ibid., 397–8, 400, 404, 419.
43. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 35/tr. 60.

44. For a more elaborated discussion of these patterns of islamization, in a wider context, see Levtzion (Boston, 1971).
45. Yves Person (1968, 131–51) has useful comments on the Dyula 'ways of Islam'.

CHAPTER XVII

1. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 179/tr. 314.
2. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 395. Claude Meillassoux (Manding Conference) has doubts about the identification of Diā with Dia'ba and Diāgha. His study of Diā suggests that Islam was not established in that town before the seventeenth century.
3. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 179–80/tr. 314–15; Labat (1728), III, 338, 371.
4. *T. al-Fattāsh*, *loc. cit.*
5. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 430–2.
6. For this date, see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asklānī (1350 A.H.), II, 405.
7. For this date, see al-Maqqarī (1855–61), 589–90.
8. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 265/tr. II, 113.
9. Leo Africanus (1956), II, 467.
10. *T. al-Sūdān*, 56/tr. 91; see also *T. al-Fattāsh*, 32/tr. 56.
11. *T. al-Sūdān*, 57/tr. 92.
12. ibid., 51/tr. 83–4. In this anecdote it is said that 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tamīmī came in the company of Mansā Mūsā on his return from pilgrimage (i.e. *c.* 1324). But elsewhere (ibid., 47/tr. 78) it is said that 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tamīmī was a contemporary of Sīdī Yaḥyā (d. 1461–2) and *al-faqīh* And-ag-Muḥammad (d. before 1468). This is more likely; a century must have elapsed since the days of Mansā Mūsā for Timbuktu to become full of learned *fuqahā'*.
13. ibid., 66, 74/tr. 107, 123.
14. ibid., 57–60/tr. 92–8.
15. ibid., pp. 47–8/tr. 78.
16. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 396; Delafosse (1924a), 526. In the translation of *T. al-Sūdān* it is hardly possible to distinguish between Kābora and Kabara, the port of Timbuktu. In the Arabic text Kābora is written KāB·R (كبر) and Kabara K·B·R (كابر). (For the latter see *T. al-Sūdān*, 66, 68, 70, etc./tr. 107, 112, 115, etc.) The identification of Kābora with Diafarabe is supported by al-Sa'dī's description of the frontiers of Jenne: 'from Tenne [near Say] on the border of the country of the Sultan of Kābora . . .' (ibid., 13/tr. 25).
17. ibid., 16/tr. 29.
18. ibid., 61/tr. 99–100.

19. ibid., 48/tr. 78.
20. ibid., 21/tr. 36–7.
21. ibid., 27/tr. 45–6.
22. ibid., 35–6/tr. 58–9. Muḥammad Aqīt had left Massina for Walata because he hated the Fulbe and did not want his descendants to marry them.
23. ibid., 28/tr. 47–8.
24. ibid., 62–3/tr. 101.
25. ibid., 65–6/tr. 105–8.
26. 'Among the blessed sheikhs of the people of Sankore was *al-faqīh* Aḥmad b. al-*faqīh* Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr b. al-*qāḍī* al-Ḥājj' (ibid., 36/tr. 59). al-Ḥājj himself settled at Binga (ibid., 27/tr. 45–6). At the time of Sonni 'Alī his descendants lived in Alfa Gungu near Timbuktu (ibid., 66/tr. 118).
27. ibid., 67/tr. 109.
28. ibid., 66/tr. 107–8.
29. ibid., 57, 67/tr. 93, 110.
30. ibid., 68/tr. 111–12.
31. For another analysis of Sonni 'Alī's persecution of the '*ulamā*', see Hunwick (1966), 300–3.
32. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 60/tr. 116.
33. *T. al-Sūdān*, 21/tr. 36.
34. ibid., 12–13/tr. 23–4.
35. ibid., 17–18/tr. 31.
36. ibid., 18/tr. 33.
37. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asklānī (1350 A.H.), II, 205; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (1272 A.H.), II, 326; al-Sakhāwī (1354 A.H.), 2–3.
38. Hunwick (1966), 307–8.
39. al-Bakrī (1911), 164/tr. (1968), 59; another chief of the Lamtūna may also have been to Mecca: 'Yannū ibn 'Umar al-Ḥājj (ibid., 167/tr. 62). This 'Umar is the father of Yaḥyā and Abū Bakr, commanders of the Almoravids.
40. al-Zuhrī (1968), § 336, p. 182. See also Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī (1925), 42.
41. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 264/tr., II, 110–11.
42. Niane (1965), 2.
43. Delafosse (1913), 298. Were these references to early royal pilgrims in Mali as fictitious as some genealogies? See Triaud (1968), 1343.
44. Trimingham (1968), 64.
45. Trimingham (1959), 107; V. Monteil (1964), 46; see also Traoré (1947); Person (1968), 81, n. 62.

46. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 264/tr. II, 111.
47. Ibn Kathīr (1932), XIV, 112; al-Maqrīzī (1936), II, 255; see also Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asklānī (1350 A.H.), IV, 383–4; al-Dāwādārī (1960), 316–17.
48. Ibn Iyās (1311 A.H.), I, 163.
49. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 33/tr. 56.
50. al-'Umarī (1927), 73.
51. For references on the role of Muslim divines in indicating 'good' or 'bad' days in the nineteenth century, see Levtzion (1965), 101 and (1968), 156; Lander (1830), 274–5.
52. On the number of followers, figures varying between 8,000 and 60,000 are given; see al-Maqrīzī in al-'Umarī (1927), 90, 92; Ibn Kathīr, *loc. cit.*; *T. al-Sūdān*, 7/tr. 13; *T. al-Fattāsh*, 34/tr. 58.
53. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 34/tr. 59.
54. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 427.
55. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 35–6/tr. 57–62; *T. al-Sūdān*, 7/tr. 13.
56. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 265/tr. 113.
57. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 37/tr. 64.
58. Ibn Khaldūn (1284 A.H.), V, 434; Ibn Kathīr (1932), XIV, 112; al-Maqrīzī (1936) II, 255; al-Maqrīzī in al-'Umarī (1927), 94; al-'Umarī (1927), 70.
59. al-'Umarī (1927), 76; but see also Ibn Kathīr (1932), *loc. cit.*; al-Maqrīzī (1936), *loc. cit.*
60. al-'Umarī (1927), 77–8; al-Maqrīzī in al-'Umarī (1927), 91; al-Maqrīzī (1936), *loc. cit.*
61. For different estimates of the amount of gold brought by Mansā Mūsā, see al-'Umarī (1927), 75; Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 265/tr. II, 113; Ibn Khaldūn (1284 A.H.), V, 434.
62. al-'Umarī (1927), 78–9; see also Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asklānī (1350 A.H.), IV, 383–4.
63. al-'Umarī (1927), 79; Ibn Kathīr (1932), XIV, 112; al-Maqrīzī (1936), II, 255.
64. al-'Umarī (1927), 78–9.
65. ibid., 75; al-Qalqashandī (1915), V, 296.
66. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 431–2; Ibn Khaldūn (1284 A.H., V, 434) says that Mansā Mūsā had died before the son of Sarāj al-Dīn claimed the debt.
67. See above pp. 78, 201.
68. *T. al-Fattāsh*, 37/tr. 63–4.
69. Gaudfroy-Demombynes (Introduction to al-'Umarī, 1927, lxi) suggests that the decorated umbrella as a royal insignia in Mali may represent an Egyptian influence.

70. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), I, 266/tr. II, 114.
71. In a recent paper, J. Hunwick (Manding Conference, b) draws attention to a visit Abū Isḥāq al-Saḥilī paid to the Maghrib during his residence in Timbuktu (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, 1319 A.H., I, 337, 349). He was received by the sultan Abu'l-Ḥasan, to whom he addressed a poem encouraging him to attack Tlemcen. This attack actually took place in May 1337. Is it not possible, Hunwick asks, that al-Saḥilī played a part in promoting the diplomatic exchanges between the sultans of Morocco and Mali?
72. A war of succession between a son and a brother of the former king confused outside observers; in this context Mansā Sulaymān is called 'son of Mansā Mūsā'. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), II, 395/tr. IV, 244; see above, pp. 66–8.
73. ibid., II, 394–5/tr. IV, 243–4.
74. ibid., I, 410, 557/tr. III, 37–8, 136–7; see Terrasse (1949), II, 58–61.
75. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1922), IV, 400.
76. ibid., 376, 444, 448.
77. Ibn Khaldūn (1847), II, 459/tr. IV, 343.

CHAPTER XVIII

1. Kimble (1964), xv–xvi.
2. Balmer (1926), 26–31.
3. Meyerowitz (1957).
4. Mauny (1954), 210–11; Fage (1957), 93–4; Goody (1959).
5. See Boahen (1967).
6. See above, p. 156; Levtzion (1968), 6–7.
7. Apter (1955), 22; Fage (1959), 83.
8. Austin (1964), 181.
9. Kimble (1964), xviii.
10. One may add also that the name Ghana accidentally resembles names of the three main ethnic groups of the Gold Coast – Ga, Guan, and Akan.
11. See above, p. 73; Morgenthau (1964), 264.
12. Morgenthau (1964), 262–4.

Bibliography

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F.	*Bulletin d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française*
B.G.A.	*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*
B.I.F.A.N.	*Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire*
B.S.O.A.S.	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
C.E.A.	*Cahiers d'Études Africaines*
E.I.	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*
J.A.H.	*Journal of African History*
J.S.A.	*Journal de la Société des Africanistes*
N.A.	*Notes Africaines*
P.A.	*Présence Africaine*
R.M.M.	*Revue du Monde Musulman*
T.H.S.G.	*Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*

A. PRIMARY SOURCES
(*in chronological order*)

Ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 871/2)
Kitāb futūḥ Miṣr wa' l-Maghrib wa-akhbārihā. The history of the conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain. Ed. Ch. C. Torrey. New Haven, 1922. (Yale Oriental Researches Series, iii.)

al-Balādhurī (d. 892/3)
Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān. Ed. M. J. de Goeje. Lugduni Batavorum, 1863–6.

al-Yaʻqūbī (wrote 872)
Kitāb al-ta'rīkh. Ed. H. Th. Houtsma. Lugduni Batavorum, 1883.

al-Yaʻqūbī (wrote 891)
Kitāb al-buldān. Ed. M. J. de Goeje. Lugduni Batavorum, 1892 (in *B.G.A.*, vii). Transl. by G. Wiet, as *Les pays,* Cairo, 1937.

Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī (wrote 902/3)
Mukhtasar kitāb al-buldān. Ed. M. J. de Goeje. Lugduni Batavorum, 1885 (in *B.G.A.*, v).

K

al-Iṣṭakhrī (first half of the tenth century)
Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik. Ed. M. J. de Goeje. Lugduni Batavorum, 1870 (in *B.G.A.*, i).

al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956)
Kitāb murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar. Transl. by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille. Paris, 1861–77.
Akhbār al-zamān, in Youssouf Kamal, III, fasc. 3.

Ibn Ḥawqal (wrote 988)
Kitāb ṣurat al-arḍ. Ed. J. H. Kramers. Lugduni Batavorum, 1938–9 (in *B.G.A.*, ii). Transl. by J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet, as *Configuration de la Terre,* Beirut and Paris, 1964.

al-Bakrī (wrote 1067/8)
Kitāb al-masālik wa' l-mamālik. Ed. M. G. de Slane. Alger, 1911. Transl. by M. G. de Slane, as *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale.* Alger, 1913. New translation of sixteen chapters, with notes and a commentary, by V. Monteil, 'Routier de l'Afrique blanche et noire du Nord-Ouest: al-Bakrī (Cordue 1068)', *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B, XXX (1968), 39–116.

al-Zuhrī (mid-twelfth century)
K. al-Ja'rafiyya. Ed. Hadj-Sadok, *Bull. d'Ét. Orientales,* XXI (1968).

al-Idrīsī (wrote 1154)
Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq. Ed. R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje. Leyde, 1866. Transl. by same authors as *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne.* Leyde, 1866.

Kitāb al-Istibṣār (twelfth century)
Kitāb al-Istibṣār fī 'ajā'ib al-amṣār, in Youssouf Kamal, III, fasc. 4.

Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī (wrote 1162)
Tuḥfat al-albāb. Pub. and transl. by G. Ferrand, *Journal Asiatique,* CCVII (1925), 1–148, 193–304.

Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233)
Kitāb al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rīkh. Ed. C. J. Tornberg. Lugduni Batavorum, 1851–76 (Vol. IX). Transl. by F. Fagnan, as 'Débuts de la dynastie almoravide', in *Revue Africaine,* XI, 175–9.

Yāqūt (wrote 1224)
Kitāb mu'jam al-buldān. Ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Leipzig, 1866.

Ibn Sa'īd (wrote 1240)
Kitāb basṭ al-'arḍ fi 'l-ṭūl wa-'l-'arḍ Ed. J. V. Gines. Tetuan, 1958.

Ibn Khallikān (d. 1282)
Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān. Cairo, 1299 A.H. Transl. by M. G. de Slane, as *Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary.* Paris, 1871.

al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283)

Kitāb āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-'ibād. Ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1848.

Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī (wrote 1306)

al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib. Fragments ed. A. H. Miranda, in 'Un fragmento inedito de Ibn Idhari sobre los Almorávides', *Hespéris-Tamuda*, II (1961), 43–111.

Mafākhir al-Barbar (written in 1312/13)

Ed. E. Lévi-Provencal in *Textes Arabes Marocaines* (1.2). Rabat, 1934.

Ibn Abī-Zar' (wrote 1326)

al-anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirṭās fī akhbār mulūk al-Maghrib wa-ta'rīkh madīnat Fās. Ed. C. J. Tornberg. Uppsala, 1843–66.

al-Dimashqī (d. 1327).

Kitāb nukhbat al-ḍahr fī 'ajā'ib al-barr wa'l-baḥr. Ed. M. A. F. Mehren. St Petersburg, 1866.

al-'Umarī (wrote 1342–9)

Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār. French transl. (*L'Afrique moins l'Egypte*) annotated by Gaudfroy-Demombynes. Paris, 1927.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (visited 1352–3)

Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓar fī gharā'ib al-amṣār wa-'ajā'ib al-asfār (Voyages). Arab text and transl. by C. Defremery and B. R. Sanguinetti. 4 vols. Paris, 1922. Transl. by M. G. de Slane, as 'Voyage dans le Soudan', in *Journal Asiatique*, 4th series I (1843), 181–240. Annotated transl. by R. Mauny, V. Monteil, A. Djenidi, S. Robert and J. Devisse, *Extraits tiré des voyages*. Dakar, 1966.

Ibn Kathīr (d. 1372)

al-bidāya wa'l-nihāya. Cairo, 1932.

al-Dāwādārī (fourteenth century)

Al-durr al-fākhir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir min kanz al-durar wa-jāmi' al-ghurar. Ed. M. R. Roemer. Cairo, 1960.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 1375)

Kitāb al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa. Cairo, 1319 A.H.

al-Ḥulal al-mawshīya (written 1381/2)

al-Ḥulal al-mawshīya fī dhikr al-akhbār al-Marrākushīya. Ed. I. S. Allouche. Rabat, 1936. Transl. by A. H. Miranda in *Colección de crônicas Arabes de la reconquista*, tomo I. Tetuan, 1952.

Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406)

Kitāb ta'rīkh al-duwal al-Islāmiya bi'l-Maghrib min Kitāb al-'Ibar. Ed. M. G. de Slane. 2 vols. Paris, 1847. Transl. by M. G. de Slane, as *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*. Paris, 1925–56.

Kitāb al-'ibar. Cairo, 1284 A.H.

Al-Muqaddima, Cairo. Transl. by F. Rosenthal, as *The Muqaddimah: an Introduction to History*. New York, 1958.

al-Qalqashandī (wrote *c.* 1411)

Kitāb ṣubḥ al-a'shā. Cairo, 1915.

al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442)

Kitāb al-mawā'iz wa'l-i'tibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār, Vol. II. Cairo, 1272 A.H.

Kitāb al-sulūk fī akhbār al-mulūk. Ed. N. M. Ziadah. Cairo, 1936.

Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asklānī (d. 1449)

Al-durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mi'ā al-thāmina. Cairo, 1350 A.H.

al-Sakhāwī (fifteenth century)

Al-ḍaw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'. Cairo, 1354 A.H.

Zurara (wrote 1453)

Chronique de Guinée. French transl. by L. Bourdon. Dakar, 1960.

Ca da Mosto (1455–7)

Relations des voyages à la côte occidentale d'Afrique. French transl. by Ch. Schefer. Paris, 1895.

Diogo Gomes (end of fifteenth century)

De la première découverte de la Guinée. Annotated transl. by Th. Monod, R. Mauny, and G. Duval. Bissau, 1959.

Fernandes, V. (1506–7)

Description de la côte d'Afrique de Ceuta au Sénégal. French transl. annotated by P. de Cenival and Th. Monod. Paris, 1938.

Fernandes, V. (1506–10)

Description de la côte occidentale d'Afrique (*Sénégal au Cap de Monte, Archipels*). French transl. annotated by Th. Monod, A. Teixeira da Mota and R. Mauny. Bissau, 1951.

Pacheco Pereira (*c.* 1506–8)

Esmeraldo du Situ orbis (*Côte occidentale d'Afrique du Sud Marocain au Gabon*). Transl. by R. Mauny. Bissau, 1956.

Ibn Iyās (d. 1524)

Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duhūr. Cairo, 1311 A.H.

Leo Africanus (wrote 1526)

Description de l'Afrique. New edn. transl. by A. Épaulard and annotated by A. Épaulard, Th. Monod, H. Lhote, and R. Mauny. 2 vols. Paris, 1956.

De Barros (wrote *c.* 1552)

Die Asia. Nurenberg, 1844.

Jobson, R. (visited 1620–1)

The Golden Trade. London, 1932.

al-Maqqarī (d. 1632)
Kitāb nafḥ al-ṭīb (*Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*). Publ. by R. Dozy, G. Dugat, L. Krehl and W. Wright. Leyden, 1855–61.
Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb. Ed. M. M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. Cairo, 1949.
The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain. Extracted from *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* by al-Maqqarī. Transl. by Pascual de Gayangos. London, 1840–3 (reprinted New York, 1964).

al-Sa'dī (wrote *c.* 1655)
Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān. Arab text and French transl. by O. Houdas. Paris, 1911.

Ibn al-Mukhtār (wrote *c.* 1665)
Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh. Arab text and French transl. by O. Houdas and M. Delafosse. Paris, 1913.

Youssouf Kamal
Monumenta Cartographica Africae et Aegypti. Cairo and Leyden, 1926–51.

B. MODERN WORKS

Adam, M. (1903) Légendes historiques du pays de Mjoro (Sahel), *Revue coloniale, 1903*, 81–98, 232–48, 354–72, 485–96, 602–20, 734–744; *1904*, 117–24, 233–48.

Apter, D. (1955) *The Gold Coast in Transition*. Princeton, N.J.

Arnaud, R. (1912) 'La singulière légende des Soninké, *Bulletin du Comité d'Afrique française*, 144.

Ashtor, E. (1971) *Les métaux precieux et la balance des payments du Proche Orient à la basse époque du moyen âge*. Paris.

Aubert, A. (1923) Légendes historiques et traditions orales recueilliés dans la Haute-Gambie, *B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F.*, VI, 384–428.

Austin, D. (1964) *Politics in Ghana 1946–1960*. London.

Balmer, W. T. (1926) *A History of the Akan Peoples of the Gold Coast*. London.

Barth, H. (1890) *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*. Minerva edition, London. For some references see 1858 edition.

Basset, R. (1909) *Mission au Sénégal*. Paris.

Bathily, I. D. (1969) Notices socio-historiques sur l'ancien royaume Soninké du Gadiaga, *B.I.F.A.N.*, XXXI, 31–105.

Beckingham, C. F. (1953) The pilgrimage and death of Sakura, king of Mali, *B.S.O.A.S.*, XV, 391–2.

Belan, A. (1946) L'or dans le cercle de Kedougou (Sénégal), *N.A.*, No. 31, 9–12.

Bell, N. (Manding Conference) The age of Mansa Musa of Mali: problems in succession and chronology, *Conference on Manding Studies*, S.O.A.S., London, 1972, unpublished.

Binger, L. (1892) *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*. 2 vols. Paris.

Bloch, M. (1933) Le problème de l'or au moyen âge, *Annales d'Histoire économiques et sociale*, V, 1–34.

Boahen, A. A. (1967) The rise of the Akan, in R. Oliver (ed.), *The Middle Age of African History*, 19–26. London.

Bou Haqq (1938) Noirs et blancs aux confins du désert, *B.C.E.H.-S.A.O.F.*, XXI, 480–8.

Boulégue, J. (1966) Contribution à la chronologie du royaume du Saloum, *B.I.F.A.N.*, Sér. B, XXVIII, 657–62.

Boulégue, J. (Manding Conference) Aux confins du monde malinké: le royaume du Kasa (Casamance), *Conference on Manding Studies*, S.O.A.S., London, 1972, unpublished.

Bovill, E. W. (1968) *The Golden Trade of the Moors*. London. 2nd ed.

Boyer, I. G. (1953) *Un peuple de l'Ouest soudanais: les Diawara*. Dakar.

Brett, M. (1969) Ifrīqiya as a market for Saharan trade from the tenth to the twelfth century A.D., *J.A.H.*, X, 347–64.

Brigaud, F. (1964) *Histoire du Sénégal*. Dakar.

Brunschwig, R. (1940–7) *La Berberie orientale sous les Hafcides des origines à la fin du XVe siècle*. 2 vols. Paris.

Caillié, R. (1830) *Journal d'un voyage à Tombouctou et à Jenné dans l'Afrique centrale pendant les années 1824–1828*. 3 vols. Paris.

el-Chennafi, M. (1970) Sur les traces d'Awdaghust: les Tagdawest et leur ancienne cité, in Robert and Devisse (1970), 97–107.

Cissé, Y. (1964) Notes sur les sociétés de chasseurs Malinké, *J.S.A.*, XXXIV, 175–226.

Cissoko, S. M. (1967) Civilisation Wolofo-Sérère, *P.A.*, No. 62, 121–145.

Cissoko, S. M. (1969). L'intelligentsia de Tombouctou aux XVe et XVIe siècles, *P.A.*, No. 72, 48–72.

Cissoko, S. M. (BIFAN 1969) La royauté (*mansaya*) chez les Mandingues occidentaux d'après leurs traditions orales, *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B, XXXI.

Cissoko, S. M. (Manding Conference) Introduction à l'histoire des Mandingues de l'Ouest: l'empire de Kabou (16e–19e siècle), *Conference on Manding Studies*, S.O.A.S., London, 1972, unpublished.

Clark, J. D. (1962) The spread of food production in sub-Saharan Africa, *J.A.H.*, III, 211–28.

Clark, J. D. (1967) A record of early agriculture and metallurgy in Africa from archaeological sources, in C. Gabel and N. R. Bennet (eds.), *Reconstructing African Cultural History*, 3–24. Boston.

Cohen, R. (1967) *The Kanuri of Bornu*. New York.

Colombani, F. M. (1931) Le Guidimaka. Étude géographique, historique et religieuse, *B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F.*, XIV, 365–432.

Cooley, W. D. (1841) *The Negroland of the Arabs*. London.

Dalché, J. G. (1962) Monnaie et economie dans l'Espagne du Nord et du Centre (8e à 13e siècle), *Hespéris-Tamuda*, III, 63–74.

Daveau, S. (1970) Itineraire de Tamadalt à Awdaghust Selon al-Bakrī, in Robert and Devisse (1970), 33–8.

Davies, O. (1967) *West Africa before the Europeans: Archaeology and Prehistory*. London.

Delafosse, M. (1912) *Haut-Sénégal-Niger (Soudan français)*. 3 vols. Paris.

Delafosse, M. (1913). Traditions historiques et légendaires du Soudan occidental traduits d'un manuscrit arabe, *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française: Renseignement coloniaux*, 293–306, 325–9, 355–368.

Delafosse, M. (1924a) Le Ghana et le Mali et l'emplacement de leurs capitales, *B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F.*, VII, 479–542.

Delafosse, M. (1924b) Les relations du Maroc avec le Soudan à travers les ages, *Hespéris*, 153–74.

Delcourt, A. A. (1952) *La France et les établissements français au Sénégal entre 1713 et 1763*. Dakar.

Desplagnes, L. (1907) *Le plateau central nigérien: Une mission archéologique et ethnographique au Soudan français*. Paris.

Desplagnes, L. (1951) Fouilles du tumulus d'El-Oualedji, *B.I.F.A.N.*, XIII, 1159–73.

Devisse, J. (1970) La question d'Audaghust, in Robert and Devisse (1970), 109–56.

Diagne, P. (1970) Contribution à l'analyse des régimes et systèmes politiques traditionnels en Afrique de l'Ouest', *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B, XXXII, 845–87.

Dieterlen, G. (1957) The Mande creation myth, *Africa*, XXVII, 124–38.

Diop, A. S. (Manding Conference) La génese de la royauté Gueloware au Siin et au Saalum, *Conference on Manding Studies*, S.O.A.S., London, 1972, unpublished.

Diop, Cheikh Anta (1960) *L'Afrique noire précoloniale*. Paris.

Diop, L. M. (1968) Métallurgie et âge du fer en Afrique, *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B, XXX, 10–38.

Dunlop, D. M. (1957) Sources of gold and silver in Islam according to Hamdānī (10th century A.D.), *Studia Islamica*, VIII, 29–49.

Fage, J. D. (1957) Ancient Ghana: a review of the evidence, *T.H.S.G.*, III, 77–98.

Fage, J. D. (1959) *Ghana: A Historical Interpretation.* Madison, Wisconsin.

Fage, J. D. (1962) Some remarks on beads and trade in Lower Guinea in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *J.A.H.*, III, 343–7.

Fage, J. D. (1964) Some thoughts on state formation in the Western Sudan before the seventeenth century, in J. Butler (ed.), *Boston University Papers in African History I*, 17–34. Boston.

Fage, J. D. (1969) *A History of West Africa.* Cambridge.

Fevez, le capitaine (1922) Itineraire de Oualata à El-Ksaib, *B.C.E.-H.S.A.O.F.*, V, 241–50.

Filipowiak, W. (1966) Expédition archéologique Polono-Guinéenne à Niani (Guinée), *Africana Bulletin*, No. 4, 116–27.

Filipowiak, W. (1970) L'expédition archéologique Polono-Guinéenne à Niani, en 1968, *Africana Bulletin*, No. 11, 107–17.

Fisher, A. G. B. and H. J. (1970) *Slavery and Muslim Society in Africa.* London.

Gaden, H. (1910) Les salines d'Aoulil, *R.M.M.*, XI, 436–43.

Gaillard, M. (1923) Niani, ancienne capitale de l'empire Mandingue, *B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F.*, VI, 620–36.

Galand, L. (1970) Les noms d'Awdagast et de Tagdawst, in Robert and Devisse (1970), 29–30.

Gautier, E. F. (1935) L'or du Soudan dans l'histoire, *Annales d'Histoire économique et sociale*, VII, 113–23.

Germain, G. (1957) Qu'est-ce le périple d'Hannon? Document, amplification littéraire ou faux intégral?, *Hespéris*, XLIV, 205–248.

Girard, J. (1966) Note sur l'histoire traditionelle de la Haute Casamance, *B.I.F.A.N.*, Sér. B, XXVIII, 540–54.

Gomila, J. and Ferry, M. P. (1966) Notes sur l'ethnographie des Bedik (Sénégal oriental), *J.S.A.*, XXXVI, 209–49.

Goody, J. (1959) Ethnohistory and the Akan of Ghana, *Africa*, XXIX, 67–81.

Goody, J. (1964) The Mande and the Akan hinterland, in J. Vansina, R. Mauny and L. V. Thomas (eds.), *The Historian in Tropical Africa*, 193–218. London.

Goody, J. (1969) Economy and feudalism in Africa, *The Economic History Review*, XXII, 393–405.

Halpern, J. (1967) Traditional economy in West Africa, *Africana Bulletin*, No. 7, 91–112.

Hazard, H. W. (1952) *The Numismatic History of Late Medieval North Africa*. New York.

Hervé, H. (1959) Niani, ex-capitale de l'empire mandingue, *N.A.*, No. 82, 51–5.

Hirschberg, H. Z. (1963) The problem of the Judaized Berbers, *J.A.H.*, IV, 313–39.

Hiskett, M. (1960) *Kitāb al-farq*: a work on the Habe kingdoms attributed to 'Uthmān dan Fodio, *B.S.O.A.S.*, XXIII, 558–79.

Hiskett, M. (1966) Materials relating to the cowry currency of the Western Sudan – II, *B.S.O.A.S.*, XXIX, 339–65.

Hopkins, A. G. (1967) Underdevelopment in the empires of the Western Sudan, *Past and Present*, No. 37, 149–56.

Houis, M. (1950) Qui sont les Soso?, *Études Guinéennes*, No. 6, 77–9.

Houis, M. (1959) Le groupe linguistique Mandé, *N.A.*, No. 82, 38–41.

Houis, M. (1961) Mouvements historiques et communautés linguistiques dans l'Ouest africain, *L'Homme*, I, 72–92.

Huard, P. (1964) Nouvelle contribution à l'étude du fer au Sahara et au Tchad, *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B, XXVI, 297–397.

Humblot, P. (1951) Episodes de la légende de Soundjata, *N.A.*, No. 52, 111–13.

Hunwick, J. O. (1966) Religion and state in the Songhay empire 1464–1591, in I. M. Lewis (ed.), *Islam in Tropical Africa*, 296–317. London.

Hunwick, J. O. (1968) Some notes on the term 'zanj' and its derivatives in a West African chronicle, in *Research Bulletin, Centre of Arabic Documentation, Ibadan*, IV, Nos. 1–2, 41–51.

Hunwick, J. O. (Manding Conference, a) The mid-fourteenth century capital of Mali, *Conference on Manding Studies*, S.O.A.S., London, 1972, unpublished.

Hunwick, J. O. (Manding Conference, b) An Andalusian in Mali: a contribution to the biography of Abū Isḥāq al-Saḥilī, *c.* 1290–1346, *Conference on Manding Studies*, S.O.A.S., London, 1972, unpublished.

Idris, H. R. (1962) *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides; Xe–XIIe siècles*. 2 vols. Paris.

Izard, M. (1970) *Introduction à l'histoire des royaumes Mossi*. 2 vols. Paris-Ouagadougou.

Jeffreys, M. D. W. (1953) The marginelle currency of Timbuctu, *B.I.F.A.N.*, XV, 143–51.

Johnson, M. (1970) The cowrie currencies of West Africa, *J.A.H.*, XI, 331–53.

Johnson, M. (Manding Conference) Manding weaving, *Conference on Manding Studies*, S.O.A.S., London, 1972, unpublished.

Kamian, B. (1958) L'Afrique occidentale pre-coloniale et le fait urbain, *P.A.*, No. 22, 76–80.

Kimble, D. (1964) *A Political History of Ghana 1850–1928*. Oxford.

Koubbel, L. (1968) Histoire de la Valée du Niger supérieur et moyen du 8e au 16e siècle: quelques reflexions sur le découpage chronologique, *Notes et Documents Voltaiques*, No. 4, 13–28.

Krueger, H. C. (1933) Genoese trade with Northwest Africa in the twelfth century, *Speculum*, VIII, 377–95.

Krueger, H. C. (1937) The wares of exchange in the Genoese-African traffic of the twelfth century, *Speculum*, XII, 57–71.

Labat, P. (1728) *Nouvelle relation de l'Afrique occidentale*. 5 vols. Paris.

La Chapelle, F. de (1930) Esquisse d'une histoire du Sahara occidental, *Hespéris*, XI, 35–95.

Laing, A. G. (1825) *Travels in the Timanee, Kooranko, and Solima Countries*. London.

Lander, R. L. (1830) *Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition*. London.

La Roncière, Ch. de (1925) *La Découverte de l'Afrique au moyen âge*. 3 vols. Cairo.

Launay, R. (Manding Conference) Les 'clans' et les 'castes' mandingues, *Conference on Manding Studies*, S.O.A.S., London, 1972, unpublished.

Law, R. C. C. (1967) The Garamantes and trans-Saharan enterprise in classical times, *J.A.H.*, VIII, 181–200.

Lessard, J. M. (1970) Sijilmassa – la ville et ses relations commerciales au XIe siècle d'après El-Bekri, *Hespéris-Tamuda*, XI, 5–36.

Levi-Provençal, E. (1950–53) *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*. 3 vols. Paris.

Levtzion, N. (1963) The thirteenth- and fourteenth-century kings of Mali, *J.A.H.*, IV, 341–53.

Levtzion, N. (1968). *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa: A Study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in the Pre-Colonial Period*. Oxford.

Levtzion, N. (*J.A.H.*, 1968) Ibn Ḥawqal, the cheque and Awdaghust, *J.A.H.*, IX, 223–33.

Levtzion, N. (*B.S.O.A.S.* 1971) A seventeenth-century chronicle by Ibn al-Mukthār: a critical study of *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, *B.S.O.A.S.*, XXXIV, 571–93.

Levtzion, N. (Boston 1971) Patterns of Islamization in West Africa, in D. F. McCall and N. R. Bennett (eds.), *Boston University Papers on African History V: Aspects of West African Islam*, 31–9. Boston.

Levtzion, N. (1972) Was royal succession in Ghana matrilineal?, *African Historical Studies*, V, 91–3.

Levtzion, N. 'Abd Allāh ibn Yāsīn and the Almoravids, in J. R. Willis (ed.), *Studies in West African Islamic History: I, The Cultivators of Islam*. London, forthcoming.

Lewicki, T. (1960) Quelques extraits inédits rélatifs aux voyages des commerçants et des missionaires Ibāḍites nord-africains au pays du Soudan occidental au moyen âge, *Folia Orientalia* (Cracovie), II, 1–27.

Lewicki, T. (1961) Pages d'histoire du commerce trans-Saharien: les commerçants et le missionaires Ibāḍits au Soudan central et occidental aux VIIIe–XIIe siècles, *Pzeglad Orientalistyczny*, 3–18.

Lewicki, T. (1962) L'état nord-africain de Tahert et ses relations avec le Soudan occidental à la fin du VIIIe et au IXe siècle, *C.E.A.*, II, 513–35.

Lewicki, T. (1965) A propos du nom de l'Oasis de Koufra chez les géographes Arabes du XIe et du XIIe siècle, *J.A.H.*, VI, 295–306.

Lewicki, T. (1965a) L'Afrique noire dans le *kitāb al-Masālik wal 'l Mamālik* d'Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī (XIeS), *Africana Bulletin*, No. 2, 9–14.

Lewicki, T. (1965b) Animal husbandry among medieval agricultural peoples of western and middle Sudan, *Acta Ethnographica Academicae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, XIV, 165–78. Budapest.

Lewis, A. (1951) *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean A.D. 500–1100*. Princeton, N.J.

Leynaud, R. and Cissé, Y. (Manding Conference) Note sur l'histoire de la Haute Vallée du Niger (Mande), *Conference on Manding Studies*, S.O.A.S., London, 1972, unpublished.

Lhote, H. (1951) Route antique du Sahara central, *Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, No. 15, 300–5.

Lhote, H. (1955) *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*. Paris.

Lhote, H. (*BIFAN* 1955) Contribution à l'histoire des Touaregs soudanais, *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B, XVII, 334–70.

Lhote, H. (1956) Contribution à l'histoire des Touaregs soudanais, *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B, XVIII, 391–407.

Lombard, M. (1947) Les bases monétaires d'une suprématie économique. L'or musulman du VIIe au XIe siècle, *Annales: Economies Société Civilisations*, II, 143–60.

McCall, D. F. (1967) The Maghrib and the Sudan: their relations in the past, *Africa Forum*, III, 75–81.

Magalhaes-Godinho, V. (1969) *L'économie de l'empire portugais aux XVe et XVIe siècles*. Paris.

Maḥmūd, H. A. (1957) *Qiyām dawlat al-Murābiṭīn*. Cairo.

Malowist, M. (1966a) Le commerce d'or et d'esclaves au Soudan occidental, *Africana Bulletin*, No. 4, 49–72.

Malowist, M. (1966b) The social and economic stability of the Western Sudan in the Middle Ages, *Past and Present*, No. 33, 3–15.

Malowist, M. (1967) Rejoinder, in ibid., No. 37, 157–62.

Malowist, M. (1968) Les fondaments de l'expansion européenne en Afrique au XVe siècle: Europe, Maghreb et Soudan occidental, *Acta Poloniae Historica*, XVIII, 156–79.

Mauny, R. (1947) Une route préhistorique à travers le Sahara occidental, *B.I.F.A.N.*, IX, 341–57.

Mauny, R. (1949) Le Judaisme, les Juifs de l'Afrique occidentale, *B.I.F.A.N.*, XI, 354–78.

Mauny, R. (1952a) Une âge du cuivre au Sahara occidental, *B.I.F.A.N.*, XIII, 168–80.

Mauny, R. (1952b) Essai sur l'histoire des métaux en Afrique occidentale, *B.I.F.A.N.*, XIV, 545–95.

Mauny, R. (1952c) Notes d'archéologie sur Tombouctou, *B.I.F.A.N.*, XIV, 899–918.

Mauny, R. (1954) The question of Ghana, *Africa*, XXIV, 200–13.

Mauny, R. (1955) Notes d'histoire et d'archéologie sur Azougui, Chinguetti et Ouadane, *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B, XVII, 142–62.

Mauny, R. (1961) *Tableau géographique de l'Ouest africain au moyen âge*. Dakar.

Mauny, R. (1968) Le périple de la mer Erythrée et le problème du commerce romain en Afrique au sud du limes, *J.S.A.*, XXXVIII, 19–34.

Mauny, R. (1970) *Les siècles obscurs del 'Afrique noire: histoire et archéologie*. Paris.

Meek, C. K. (1931) *A Sudanese Kingdom*. London.

Meillassoux, C. (1963) Histoire et institutions du *kafo* de Bamako d'aprés la tradition des Niaré, *C.E.A.*, IV, 186–227.

Meillassoux, C. (1968) Les cérémonies septennales du Kambalon de Kaaba (Mali), *J.S.A.*, XXXVIII, 173–83.

Meillassoux, C. (1970) Le commerce pre-colonial et le développement de l'esclavage à Gumbu du Sahel (Mali), *L'Homme et la société*, 147–57.

Meillassoux, C. (Manding Conference) Réexamen de l'itineraire d'Ibn Baṭṭūṭa entre Walata et Malli, *Conference on Manding Studies*, S.O.A.S., London, 1972, unpublished.

Meillassoux, C., Doucoure, L. and Simagha, D. (1967) *Légende de la disperson des Kusa*. Dakar.

Meunié, D. J. (1961) *Cités anciennes de Mauritanie*. Paris.

Meyerowitz, E. L. R. (1951) *The Sacred State of the Akan*. London.

Meyerowitz, E. L. R. (1957) The Akan and Ghana, *Man*, LVII, 83–8.

Modat, Col. (1919) Les populations primitives de l'Adrar mauritanien, *B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F.*, II, 372–92.

Modat, Col. (1921) La société Berbère mauritanienne à la fin du XIe siècle, *B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F.*, IV, 658–66.

Modat, Col. (1922) Portugais, Arabes et Français dans l'Adrar mauritanien, *B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F.*, V, 550–82.

Monod, Th. (1958) *Majabat al-Koubra: contribution à l'étude de l'"Empty Quarter" ouest africain*. Dakar.

Monteil, Ch. (1915) *Les Khassonké. Monographie d'une peuplade du Soudan français*. Paris.

Monteil, Ch. (1926) Le coton chez les noirs, *B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F.*, IX, 585–627.

Monteil, Ch. (1928) Le site de Goundiourou, *B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F.*, XI, 647–53.

Monteil, Ch. (1929) Les empires du Mali. Étude d'histoire et de sociologie soudanais, *B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F.*, XII, 291–447.

Monteil, Ch. (1929b) L'oeuvre des étrangers dans l'empire soudanais du Mali, *Revue des Études Islamiques*, III, 227–35.

Monteil, Ch. (1932) *Une cité soudanaise: Djenné, métropole du delta central du Niger*. Paris.

Monteil, Ch. (1951a) Problèmes du Soudan occidental: Juifs et Judaisés, *Hespéris*, XXXVIII, 265–98.

Monteil, Ch. (1951b) Les 'Ghana' des géographes arabes et des européens, *Hespéris*, XXXVIII, 441–52.

Monteil, Ch. (1953) La Légende du Ouagadou et l'origine des Soninkes, *Mélanges Ethnologique*, IFAN-Dakar.

Monteil, Ch. (1965) Notes sur le Tarikh es-Soudan, *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B, XXVII, 479–530.

Monteil, V. (1964) *L'Islam noir*. Paris.

Monteil, V. (1966) *Esquisses sénégalaises*. Dakar.

Montrat, M. (1958) Notice sur l'emplacement de l'ancienne capitale du Mali, *N.A.*, No. 79, 90–3.

Moraes Farias, P. F. de (1967) The Almoravids: some questions concerning the character of the movement during its period of closest contact with the Western Sudan, *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B, XXIX, 794–878.

Morgenthau, R. S. (1964) *Political Parties in French-speaking West Africa*. Oxford.

Munson, P. J. (Manding Conference) Archaeology and the prehistoric origins of the Ghana empire, *Conference on Manding Studies*, S.O.A.S., London, 1972, unpublished.

Murdock, G. P. (1959) *Africa: its People and their Culture History*. New York.

Al-Nakar, U. (1969) Takrūr the history of a name, *J.A.H.*, X, 365–74.

N'Diaye, B. (Manding Conference) Les structures politico-sociales de l'ancienne société mandingue, *Conference on Manding Studies*, S.O.A.S., London, 1972, unpublished.

Niane, D. T. (1959) Recherches sur l'empire du Mali en moyen âge, *Recherches africaines: Études guinéenes*, nouvelle série, 1959, No. 1, 35–46.

Niane, D. T. (1960) ibid., 1960, No. 1, pp. 17–36.

Niane, D. T. (NA 1960) Le problème de Soundiata, *N.A.*, No. 88, 123–7.

Niane, D. T. (1961) *Recherches africaines: Études guinéenes*, nouvelle série, 1961, No. 2, 31–51.

Niane, D. T. (1965) *Sundiata: An Epic of Old Mali*. Transl. by G. D. Pickett. London.

Niane, D. T. (1972) Koly Tenguella et le Tekrour, *Congrès International des Africanistes*. Paris: Présence Africaine, 61–76.

Norris, H. T. (1967) Ṣanhājah scholars of Timbuctoo, *B.S.O.A.S.*, XXX, 634–40.

Norris, H. T. (1971) New evidence on the life of Abdullāh b. Yāsīn and the origins of the Almoravid movement, *J.A.H.*, XII, 260–2.

Pageard, R. (1957) *Notes sur l'histoire des Bambaras de Ségou*. Clichy.

Pageard, R. (PA 1961) Soundiata Keita et la tradition orale, *P.A.*, No. 36, 51–70.

Pageard, R. (*J.S.A.*, 1961) La marche orientale du Mali (Ségou-Djenné) en 1644, d'après le Tarikh Es-Soudan, *J.S.A.*, XXXI, 73–90.

Pageard, R. (*J.S.A.*, 1961a) Note sur le peuplement du pays de Ségou, *J.S.A.*, XXXI, 83–90.

Pageard, R. (1962) Contribution critique à la chronologie historique de l'ouest Africain, *J.S.A.*, XXXII, 91–177.

Palmer, H. R. (1909) The Kano chronicle, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXXVIII, 58–98.

Palmer, H. R. (1936) *The Bornu, Sahara and Sudan*. London.

Paques, V. (1953) L'estrade royale des Niaré, *B.I.F.A.N.*, XV, 1642–54.

Paques, V. (1954) *Les Bambara*. Paris.

Pérès, H. (1937) Relation entre le Tafilelt et le Soudan à travers le Sahara, du XIIe au XIVe siècles, in *Mélanges de Géographie et d'Orientalisme offerts à F. F. Gautier*, 409–14. Tours.

Person, Y. (1958) Le moyen Niger au XVe siècle d'après les documents européens, *N.A.*, No. 78, 45–9.

Person, Y. (1961) Les Kissi et leurs statuettes de pierre, *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B, XXII, 1–59.

Person, Y. (1963) Les ancêtres de Samori, *C.E.A.*, IV, 125–56.

Person, Y. (1964) En quête d'une chronologie ivorienne, in J. Vansina, R. Mauny, and L. V. Thomas (eds.), *The Historian in Tropical Africa*, 322–38. London.

Person, Y. (1968) *Samori: une révolution Dyula*. Dakar.

Person, Y. (Manding Conference) Nyani Mansa Mamudu et la fin de l'empire du Mali, *Conference on Manding Studies*, S.O.A.S., London, 1972, unpublished.

Polanyi, K. (1966) *Dahomey and the Slave Trade: An Analysis of an Archaic Economy*. Seattle.

Renaud, H. P. J. (1928) La première mention de la noix de kola dans la matière médicale des Arabes, *Hespéris*, VII, 43–57.

Ricard, R. (1930) Les Portugais et le Sahara atlantique au XVe siècle, *Hespéris*, XI, 97–110.

Robert, D. S. (1970) Les fouilles de Tegdaoust, *J.A.H.*, 471–93.

Robert, D. S. and Devisse, J. (1970) *Tegdaoust I: recherches sur Aoudaghost*. Paris.

Rodney, W. (1970) *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545 to 1800*. Oxford.

Rouch, J. (1953) *Contribution à l'histoire des Songhay*. Dakar.

Sauvaget, J. (1950) Les épitaphes royales de Gao, *B.I.F.A.N.*, XII, 418–40.

Semonin, P. (1964) The Almoravid movement in the Western Sudan: a review of the evidence, *T.H.S.G.*, VII, 42–59.

Shaw, Th. (1965) The approach through archaeology to early West African history, in J. F. A. Ajayi and I. Espie (eds.), *A Thousand Years of West African History*, 23–38. Ibadan.

Shelton, A. S. (1968) The problem of griot interpretation and the actual causes of war in Sundjata, *P.A.*, No. 66, 145–52.

Sidibé, M. (1959a) Les gens de caste ou nyamakala au Soudan francais, *N.A.*, No. 81, 13–17.

Sidibé, M. (1959b) Soundiata Keita, héros historique et légendaire, empereur du Manding, *N.A.*, No. 82, 41–51.

Sidibé, B. K. (Manding Conference) The story of Kaabu, *Conference on Manding Studies*, S.O.A.S., London, 1972, unpublished.

Silla, O. (1968) Villes historiques de l'Afrique Saharo-Soudanaise, *Revue française d'Études politiques africaines*, No. 29, 25–37.

Smith, P. (1965) Les Diakhanké: histoire d'une dispersion, *Cahiers du Centre de Recherches anthropologiques*, No. 4 in *Bull. et Mém. de la Soc. d'Anth. de Paris*, t. 8, XIe série, 231–62.

Soh, Siré Abbas (1913) *Chroniques des Fouta sénégalais*. Transl. by M. Delafosse with the collaboration of H. Gaden. Paris.

Tautain, L. (1895) Légendes et traditions des Soninké relatives à l'empire de Ghanata, *Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive*, 472–80.

Tauxier, L. (1942) *Histoire des Bambara*. Paris.

Teixeira da Mota, A. (Manding Conference) The Mande trade in Costa de Mina according to Portuguese documents until the mid-sixteenth century, *Conference on Manding Studies*, S.O.A.S., London, 1972, unpublished.

Terrasse, H. (1949) *Histoire du Maroc*. 2 vols. Casablanca.

Terrasse, H. (1951) Le rôle des Almoravides dans l'histoire de l'occident, *Mélanges Louis Halphen*. Paris.

Thomassey, P. (1951) Note sur la géographie et l'habitat de la région de Koumbi Saleh, *B.I.F.A.N.*, XIII, 476–86.

Thomassey, P. and Mauny, R. (1951) Campagne de fouilles â Koumbi Saleh, *B.I.F.A.N.*, XIII, 438–62.

Thomassey, P. and Mauny, R. (1956) Campagne de fouilles de 1950 à Koumbi Saleh (Ghana?), *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B, XVIII, 117–40.

Traoré, D. (1947) Makanta Djigui, fondateur de la magie soudanaise, *N.A.*, No. 35, 23–7.

Triaud, J. L. (1968) Quelques remarques sur l'islamisation du Mali, des origines à 1300, *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér B, XXX, 1329–52.

Trimingham, J. S. (1959) *Islam in West Africa*. London.

Trimingham, J. S. (1962) *A History of Islam in West Africa*. London.

Trimingham, J. S. (1968) *The Influence of Islam upon Africa*. London.

Tymowski, M. (1967) Le Niger, voie de communication des grand états du Soudan occidental jusqu' à la fin du XVIe siècle, *Africana Bulletin*, No. 6, 73–95.

Tymowski, M. (1971) La pêche à l'époque du moyen âge dans la boucle du Niger, *Africana Bulletin*, No. 12, 7–26.

Urvoy, Y. (1949) *Histoire de l'empire du Bornou*. Dakar.

Verlinden, Ch. (1966) Esclavage noir en France méridionale et courants de traite en Afrique, *Annales du Midi*, LXXVIII, 335–43.

Vidal, J. (1923a) Au sujet de l'emplacement du Mali, *B.C.E.H.S.A.-O.F.*, VI, 251–68.

Vidal, J. (1923b) La mystère de Ghana, *B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F.*, VI, 512–24.

Vidal, J. (1923c) Un problème historique africain: le véritable emplacement de Mali, *B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F.*, VI, 606–19.

Vidal, J. (1924) La légende officielle de Soundjata, *B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F.*, VII, 317–28.

Watson, A. M. (1967) Back to gold and silver, *The Economic History Review*, XX, 1–34.

Welmers, W. E. (1958) The Mande languages, *Georgetown University Monograph Series*, No. 11, 9–24.

Wilks, I. (1961) *The Northern Factor in Ashanti History*. Legon.

Willett, F. (1971) A survey of recent results in the radiocarbon chronology of Western and Northern Africa, *J.A.H.*, XII, 339–70.

Williams, D. (1969) African iron and the classical world, in L. A. Thompson and J. Ferguson (eds.), *Africa in Classical Antiquity*, 62–80. Ibadan.

Zemp, H. (1966) La légende des griots Malinkés, *C.E.A.*, VI, 611–42.

C. Recent Publications

Ashtor, E. (1976) *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages*. London.

Bakchine-Dumont, S. (1975–6) *Les juifs du Touat (14e et 15e siècle)*. Mémoire de maitrise. Université de Paris 8.

Bathily, A. (1975) A discussion of the traditions of Wagadu with some reference to ancient Ghana: including a review of oral accounts, Arabic sources and archaeological evidence, *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B, XXXVII, 1–94.

Bedaux, R.M.A. (1972) Telleen, Reconnaissance archéologique d'une culture de l'ouest africain au moyen âge: recherches architectoniques, *J.S.A.*, XLII, 103–185.

Bomba, V. (1977) Traditions about Ndiadiane Ndiaye, the first Bourba Djolof. Early Djolof, the southern Almoravids and neighbouring peoples, *B.I.F.A.N.*, XXXIX, 1–35.

Boulégue, J. (1968) *La Sénégambie du milieu du 15e siècle au début du 17e siècle*, Thèse pour le doctorat. Université de Paris I.

Bucaille, R. (1975) Takaddā, pays du cuivre, *B.I.F.A.N.*, XXVII, 719–778.

Bucaille, R. (1976) Une probable monnaie sahēlienne de la période des grands empires: les fils de métal cuivreux, *N.A.*, No. 151, 74–77.

Camp, G. (1974) *Les civilisations préhistoriques de l'Afrique du Nord et du Sahara.* Paris.

Chaussinaud-Nogaret, G. (1970) L'or, le poivre et l'economie mondiale, *Annales*, XXV, 1591–1596.

Cissoko, S.M. (1975) *Tombouctou et l'empire Songhay.* Dakar.

Cuoq, J. (1975) *Recueil des sources arabes concernant l'Afrique occidentale du 8e au 16e siècle (Bilād al-Sūdān).* Paris.

Curtin, P. D. (1973) The lure of Bambuk gold, *J.A.H.*, XIV, 623–32.

Devisse, J. (1972) Routes de commerce et échanges en Afrique occidentale en relation avec la Méditerrané. Un essai sur le commerce africain médiéval du 11e au 16e siècle, *Revue d'Histoire Economique et Sociale*, L, 42–73, 357–397.

Devisse, J. (1974) Un enquete à developper: le problème de la propriété des mines en Afrique de l'ouest du 8e 16e siècles, *Bull. de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, XLIV, 201–19.

Diabaté, M. M. *Essai critique sur l'épopée Mandingue*, Thèse pour le Doctorat de 3eme cycle. Université de Paris I, Sorbonne.

Elisha, Ch. (1975–6) *Armées et guerres dans l'Ouest Africain médiéval*, Thèse pour le Doctorat de 3eme cycle. Paris I.

Filipowiak, W. (1970) Les recherches archéologiques polonoguinéennes a Niani en 1968, *Nadbitka*, XIV, 575–648.

Fisher, H. J. (1978) Leo Africanus and the Songhay Conquest of Hausaland, *I.J.A.H.S.*, XI, 86–112.

Galloway, W. F. *A History of Wuli from the 13th to the 19th Century*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University.

Herbert, E. W. (1973) Aspects of the use of copper in pre-colonial West Africa, *J.A.H.*, XIV, 179–194.

Hodgkin, T. (1974) Diplomacy and diplomats in the Western Sudan, in K. Ingham (ed.) *Foreign Relations of African States*, 3–24. London.

Hopkins, A. G. (1973) *An Economic History of West Africa.* London.

Hopkins, J. F. P. and Levtzion, N. (forthcoming) *Medieval Arabic Sources on West Africa; an annotated translation.* Cambridge.

Hunter, T. C. (1976) The Jabe ta'rīkhs: their significance in West African Islam, *I.J.A.H.S.*, IX, 435–57.

Hunter, T. C. (1977) *The Development of an Islamic tradition of learning among the Jahenke of West Africa.* Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Chicago University.

Hunwick, J. O. (1974) *Al-Maghili's Replies to the questions of Askiya*

al-hājj Muhammed, ed. and trans. with an Introduction on the history of Islam in the Niger Bend to 1500. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London.
Innes, G. (1974) *Sunjata: Three Mandinka Versions.* London.
Innes, G. (1976) *Kaabu and Fuladu: Historical Narratives of the Gambian Mandinka.* London.
Iroko, F. (1974) *Gao des origines à 1591.* Thèse pour le Doctorat de 3eme cycle. Paris I.
Jacques-Meunié, D. (1975) *Le Maroc Saharien des origines à 1670: Vie politique, économique et sociale.* 2 vols. Thèse pour le Doctorat d'État, Paris I.
Johnson, J. W. (1974) Une bibliographie sur le sujet de l'épopée de Soundjata et des oeuvres connexes, *Études Maliennes,* XI, 90–7.
Kaba, L. (1977) Background to the change in West African economic history: Songhay, 1492–1750, *J.A.S.*, IV, 344–56.
Kayo, B. (1973) *Les relations entre l'Afrique nigérienne et l'Ifriqiya du 8eme au 16eme siècles. Bilan historique et perspective archéologique.* Thèse pour le Doctorat de 3eme cycle. Universitéde Paris 8eme (Vincennes).
Kodjo, N. G. (1971) *Ishaq II et la fin de l'empire Songai (1588–93).* Thèse pour le Doctorat de 3e cycle. Paris I.
Kodjo, N. G. (1976) Contribution a l'étude des tribus dites serviles du Songai, *B.I.F.A.N.* Sér. B., XXXVIII, 790–812.
Konyate, N. (1970) *Recherches sur la Tradition orale au Mali (pays Manding).* Algers.
Kubbel, L. E. (1968) On the history of social relations in the West Sudan in the 8th to the 16th centuries, in *Africa in Soviet Studies,* 109–26.
Lamb, V. (1975) *West African Weaving.* London.
Lange, D. (1977) *Le Dīwān des sultans du (Kānem)-Bornū: chronologie et histoirie d'un royaume africain (de la fin du 10e siècle jusqu'à 1808).* Wiesbaden.
Lawless, R. I. (1974) Tlemcen, capital city of the 'Abd al-Wādids: a study of the functions of a medieval Islamic city, *The Islamic Quarterly,* XVIII, 14–20.
Lawless, R. I. and Blake, G. H., *(1976) Tlemcen: Continuity and Change in an Algerian Islamic Town.* London.
Levtzion, N. (1977) The Western Maghrib and the Sudan c. 1050–1591, in R. Oliver (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Africa,* vol. III, 331–462. Cambridge.
Levtzion, N. (1978) The Sahara and the Sudan from the Arab conquest of the Maghrib to the rise of the Almoravids, in J. D.

Fage (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. II, 637–84. Cambridge.

Levtzion, N. (J.S.S. forthcoming) The twelfth century anonymous *Kitāb al-Istibsār*: a history of a text, *Journal of Semitic Studies.*

Levtzion, N. (CEA, forthcoming) Islam in West African politics: accommodation and tension between the *'ulamā'* and the political authorities with special reference to the Sankore of Timbuktu, *C.E.A.*

Levtzion, N. (forthcoming) Ancient Ghana: a reassessment of some Arabic Sources, in *Hommage à Raymond Mauny.* Paris.

Lewicki, T. (1970) Les origines de l'Islam dans les tribus berbères du Sahara occidental: Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr et 'ubayd Allāh ibn al-Habhāb, *S.I.*, XXXII, 203–14.

Lewicki, T. (1971a) Un état soudanais médiéval inconnu: le royaume de Zāfūn(u), *C.E.A.*, XI, 501–25.

Lewicki, T. (1971b) The Ibadites in Arabia and Africa, *Journal of World History*, XIII, 51–130.

Lewicki, T. and Johnson, M. (1973) *West African Food in the Middle Ages*. London.

Lewicki, T. (1976) *Etudes Maghrebines et Soudanaises*. Warsaw.

Lhote, H. (1972) Recherches sur Takedda: ville décrite par Ibn Battouta et situé en Air, *B.I.F.A.N.*, XXXIV, 429–70.

Lombard, M. (1972) *Espaces et réseaux du haut moyen age.* Paris and the Hague.

Lombard, M. (1974) *Les métaux dans l'ancien monde du 5e au 11e siècle.* Paris and the Hague.

Ly, M. (1972) Quelques remarques sur le Tarikh el-Fettach, *B.I.F.A.N.,* sér. B., XXXIV, 471–493.

Ly, M. (1975) A propos de la continuité des dynasties des Za et des Soni dans l'empire Songhay, *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B., XXXVII, 315–7.

Ly, M. (1976) L'empire du Mali a-t-il survécu jusqu'à la fin du 16e siècle?, *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B., XXXVIII, 234–56.

Ly, M. (1977) *L'Empire du Mali.* Dakar.

Malowist, M. (1970) Quelques observations sur le commerce de l'or dans le systeme occidental du moyen âge, *Annales*, XXV, 1630–37.

Messier, R. A. (1972) *Muslim exploitation of West African gold during the period of the Fatimid Caliphate,* Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan.

Messier, R. A. (1974) The Almoravids: West African gold and the currency of the Mediterranean basin, *J.E.S.H.O.*, XVII, 31–47.

Miquel, A. (1967, 1975) *La géographie humaine du monde musulman.* Paris. vol. 1 (1967), vol. 2 (1975).
Misbach, H. L. (1970) Genoese commerce and the alleged flow of gold to the East, *Revue Internationale d'Histoire de la Banque (Geneve),* 1154–1253.
Moares Farias, P. F. de (1974a) Du nouveau sur les stèles de Gao: les épitaphes du prince Yāmā Kūrī et du roi F.n.dā (13e siècle), *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B., XXXVI, 511–24.
Moares Farias, P. F. de (1974b) Silent trade: myth and historical evidence, *History in Africa,* I, 9–24.
Moares Farias, P. F. de (1974c) Great states revisited; review article of *Ancient Ghana and Mali, J.A.H.,* XV, 479–488.
Mota, Teixeira da, A. (1969) Un document nouveau pour l'histoire des Peuls au Sénégal pendant les 15e et 16e siècles, *Bull. Culte de Guinée Port.*, XXIV, No. 96, 781–860.
Munson, P. J. (1971) *The Tichitt tradition: a late prehistoric occupation of the southwestern Sahara,* Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Illinois.
al-Naqar, U. (1972) *The Pilgrimage Tradition in West Africa: an historical study with special reference to the nineteenth century.* Khartoum.
N'Diaye, A. (1973) *Assoka ou les derniers jours de Koumbi.* Dakar.
Ndiaye, B. (1970) *Les Castes au Mali.* Bamako.
Niane, D. T. (1974) Histoire et tradition historique du Manding, *Présence Africaine,* No. 89, 58–74.
Norris, H. T. (1972) *Saharan Myth and Saga.* Oxford.
Olivier de Sardan, J. P. (1975) Captifs rureaux et esclaves imperiaux du Songhay in C. Meillasoux (ed.), *L'Esclavage en Afrique précoloniale,* 99–134. Paris.
Perinbam, B. M. (1972) Trade and society in the Western Sahara and the Western Sudan: an overview, *B.I.F.A.N.*, sér. B., XXXIV, 778–801.
Pollet, E. and Winter, G. (1972) *La Société Soninké (Dyahunu, Mali).* Bruxelles.
Quinn, C. A. (1972) *Mandingo kingdoms of the Senegambia: traditionalism, Islam and European expansion.* London.
Robert, D. (1972) Douze années de recherches archéologiques en Republique Islamique de Mauritanie, *Annales de la Faculté* des lettres et Sciences Humaines, Université de Dakar, II, 195–233.
Rosenberger, B. (1970a) Tāmdult, cité minière et caravanière pré-Saharienne (9e–14e siècles), *Hespéris-Tamuda,* XI, 103–40.

Rosenberger, B. (1970b) Les vielles exploitations minières et les centres métallurgiques du Maroc: essai de carte historique *Revue de géographie du Maroc*, No. 17–18, 71–102.

Rotter, G. (1967) *Die Stellung des Negers in der islamisch-arabischen Gesellschaft bis zum XVI Jahrhundert.* Bonn.

Sanneh, L. O. (1974) *The history of the Jahanke people of Senegambia: a study of a clerical tradition in West African Islam,* Ph.D. Dissertation, the University of London.

Sanneh, L. O. (1976) The origins of clericalism in West African Islam, *J.A.H.*, XVII, 49–72.

SCOA, Fondation SCOA (1975a) *L'Empire du Mali:* un recit de Wa Kamissoko de Krina; enregistré, transcrit, traduit et annoté par Youssouf Cissé. Paris.

SCOA, Fondation SCOA (1975b) *Actes du premier colloque international de Bamako (projet Boucle du Niger): Histoire et tradition orale: L'Empire du Mali.* Paris.

SCOA, Fondation SCOA (1977) *Actes du deuxième colloque international de Bamako (Projet Boucle du Niger): Histoire et tradition orale: L'Empire du Mali, du Ghana, et du Songhay.* Paris.

Stepniewska, B. (1970) *La Propagation de L'Islam au Soudan occidental entre les XIIe et XVIe siècles,* Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Warsaw. Summary in *Africana Bulletin,* XIII, 1970, 112–4.

Stepniewska, B. (1971) Portée sociale de l'Islam au Soudan occidental, aux 14e–16e siècles, *Africana Bulletin,* XIV, 35–58.

Stewart, C. C. (1976) Southern Sahara Scholarship and the *Bilād al-Sūdān, J.A.H.*, XVII, 73–94.

Sundström, L., (1974) *The exchange economy of pre-colonial Africa.* London.

Swanson, J. T. (1975) The myth of the trans-Saharan trade during the Roman era, *I.J.A.H.S.*, VIII, 582–600.

Toureaux, G. (1971–2), *La carte de l'Afrique tropicale et saharienne au moyen âge selon les cartes européennes antérieures au 14eme siècle.* Memoire de maitrise, Univ. de Paris I.

Triaud, J. L. (1973) *Islam et Sociétés soudanaisses au moyen âge; étude historique.* Paris-Ouagadougou.

Tymowski, M., (1970), Les domaines des princes Songhay. Comparison avec la grande propriété foncière en Europe au début de l'époque féodole, *Annales E.S.C.*, XXV, 1637–58.

Tymowski, M. (1974a) *Le développement et la régression chez les peuples de la boucle du Niger à l'époque précoloniale.* Warsaw.

Tymowski, M. (1974b) La ville et la compagne au Soudan occidental

du 14e au 16e siècle (problèmes des rapports économiques), *Acta Poloniae Historica,* XXIX, 51–79.
Vanacker, C. (1972) *Géographie économique de l'Afrique de Nord selon les auteurs arabes du 11e siècle* Mémoire de maîtrise, Paris.
Vanacker, C. (1973) Géographie économique de l'Afrique du nord selon les auteurs arabes du 9e au milieu du 12e siècle, *Annales E.S.C.*, XXVIII, 659–80.
Vogt, J. (1975) Notes on the Portuguese cloth trade in West Africa, 1480–1540, *I.J.A.H.S,* VIII, 623–51.
Willis, J. R., Review article of *Ancient Ghana and Mali, I.J.A.H.S.*, VIII, 175–181.

D. A Topical Survey of Recent Publications

1. *Collections and analysis of oral traditions:* Bathily (1975), Bomba (1977), Diabate (dissertation), Innes (1974 and 1976), J. W. Johnson (1974), Konyate (1970), Niane (1974), SCOA (1975a, 1975b, 1977; in particular the recital of the griot Wa Kamissoko).
2. *Collections and analysis of Arabic sources:* Bathily (1975), Cuoq (1975), Hopkins and Levtzion, Hunter (1977), Hunwick (1974), Lange (1977), Levtzion (two forthcoming articles), Lewicki (1970, 1971a), Lewicki and Johnson (1973), Ly (1972), Farias (1974b), Norris (1972).
3. *Archaeological studies:* Bedaux (1972), Camp (1974), Filipowiak (1970), Kayo (1973), Munson (1971), Robert (1972).
4. *Islam in the Western Sudan:* Hunter (1976, 1977), Hunwick (1974), Levtzion (in C.E.A.), Lewicki (1970, 1971b), al-Naqar (1972), Sanneh (1974 and 1976), Stepniewska (1970 and 1971), Stewart (1976), Triaud (1973).
5. *Socio-economic aspects of the Sudanic states:* Devisse (1974), Kodjo (1976), Kubbel (1968), B. Ndiaye (1970), Olivier de Sardan (1975), Tymowski (1970, 1974a, 1974b).
6. *Trade:* Ashtor (1976), Bucaille (1975 and 1976), Chaussinard-Nogaret (1970), Curtin (1973), Devisse (1972 and 1974), Herbert (1973), Hopkins (1973), Kaba (1977), Lewicki and Johnson (1973), Lombard (1972 and 1974), Malowist (1970), Messier (1972 and 1974), Misbach (1970), Farias (1974b), Perinbam (1972), Rosenberger (1970a and 1970b), Sundstrom (1974), Swanson (1975), Vanacker (1972 and 1973), Vogt (1975).
7. *The Maghrib, the Dahara and the Sudan:* Devisse (1972), Kayo (1973), Jacques-Meunié (1975), Lawless (1974), Levtzion (1977 and 1978), Rotter (1967), Toureaux (1971–2).

8. *Studies on Songhay:* Cissoko (1975), Fisher (1978), Hunwick (1974), Iroko (1974), Kodjo (1971 and 1976), Ly (1975), Farias (1974a), Olivier de Sardan (1975), Tymowski (1970).
9. *Studies on the Senegambia (mainly Portuguese sources):* Boulègue (1968), Curtin (1973), Galloway (Ph.D. dissertation), Ly (1976), Teixeira da Mota (1969), Quinn (1972), Sanneh (1974), Vogt (1975).

Index

'Abbāsids, 3, 127–8
'Abdallāh al-Balbalī (*imām* of Timbuktu), 202, 206
'Abdallāh ibn Yāsīn, *see* Ibn Yāsīn
'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥabīb (governor of Ifrīqiya), 126, 143
Abū Bakr (son of Sundjata's daughter), 64–5, 71–2, 110
Abū Bakr (Sundjata's brother), 65–6, 70–2, 110
Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar (commander of the Almoravids), 7, 30, 32, 35, 38–46, 176
Abu 'l-Ḥasan (sultan of Morocco), 214–16, 254 n. 71
Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī (of Qayrawān), 33, 208
Adrar (of Mauritania), 5, 7, 29, 34, 43, 125, 143, 150
Adrar-des-Iforas, 5, 6, 77, 125
Agades, 85, 87
Aghlabids (rulers of Ifrīqiya), 127, 145
Aghmāt, 35–6, 38–9, 129, 141–3, 226 n. 60
agriculture: development of, 11–14; production, 23–4, 112, 116–120, 160; trade in – products, 117, 122, 160, 180
Aḥmad Bābā (scholar of Timbuktu), 204
Aḥmad al-Mansūr, Mawlay (sultan of Morocco), 135, 181
Air, 4, 77–8, 151
Akan: forest and goldfields, 116, 132, 134, 155–6, 218; states, 4, 156, 168, 218–19
Ākillu (chief of the Tuareg), 30, 81, 204
Algeria, 27, 35, 136
'Alī Kolon (founder of the Sonni dynasty), 75–6, 80
Allakoi Mūsā Djigui (pre-Sundjata king), 55, 190, 209
Almohads, 129, 141
Almoravids, 4, 7, 22, 25, 28, *29–46*, 48, 51, 79, 111, 129, 131, 140–1, 144, 146, 184–7, 208; *see also Mulaththamūn*
Alukan (province of Ghana), 39
Ām (province of Ghana), 15
And-ag-Muḥammad, Abū'Abdallāh (scholar of Timbuktu), 204
And-ag-Muḥammad, al-Mukhtār (scholar of Timbuktu), 205
Andalusia, *see* Spain
Aqīt (family of scholars of Timbuktu), 203–6
Arabic inscriptions, 24, 41
Arabic sources, 3, 7, 14, 20–1, 30, 47, 51, 54, 61–3, 66, 73–4, 105, 120, 153, 191–2
Arabs: in N. Africa and the Sahara, 78–9, 126, 136, 148–51, 176, 216; in the Sudan, 62, 146, 164, 180, 202, 213
archaeology, 11–13, 20, 23–6, 61, 145, 147, 160
Arguin, 134, 150, 176, 181
Ashanti, 122, 167
Askiyā Dāwūd, 89, 90, 117, 158, 176
Askiyā al-Ḥājj Muḥammad, 78, 83, 85–9, 91, 98, 191, 206, 208
Askiyā Isḥāq, 89
Askiyā Isḥāq II, 91
Askiyā Ismā'īl, 87–9
Askiyā Muḥammad Benkan, 87–8

Askiyā Mūsā, 88
Awdaghust, 3, 7, *28–32*, 34, 37, *44–5*, 77–8, 136–7, 140, 143, 145–148, 158, 160–1, 164, 174, 181, 224 n. 5, 224 n. 14
Awghām (province of Ghana), 28
Awkār, 23, 144
Awlīl (salt mine), 29, 44, 171
Azer (a Soninke dialect), 6, 13, 28
Azukkī, 43

Badibu (kingdom on the Gambia), 97
Bagdad, 3, 127
Bāghana (province in the Sahel), 19, 20
Bāghana-Fāri (governor of Bāghana), 85–6
Baghayogho (a patronymic, scholars of Timbuktu), 204
al-Bakam (the people of Sāma), 27
al-Bakrī, 7–8, 14, 22–8, 30–2, 45–6, 48–9, 53–4, 56, 64, 105, 107–8, 110–11, 120–2, 137, 142, 144, 146, 155, 164, 171–2, 174, 179, 183, 187–9, 195, 227 n. 25
Balla Fasseke (Sundjata's *griot*), 113–14
Bamako, 50, 87
Bambara, 25, 50, 61, 88, 91, 99–101, 116-17, 121, 220, 235 n. 35
Bambuk (goldfields), 28, 44, 59, 98–9, 153, 155–6, 168–9, 172, 187
Bani river, 27, 82–3, 85, 88–9
Barca, 176–7
Barīsa (perhaps the same as Yaresnā), 44, 53–4, 155, 175, 226 n. 12
Barmandana (first Muslim king of Mali), 56, 190, 208
Barrakunda falls, 94, 96
Batimansa (kingdom on the Gambia), 95
Baybars (sultan of Egypt), 64, 209
Beledugu, 51, 59, 87
Benin, 14, 175
Be'o, 156, 167–8
Berbers: in the Maghrib, 136, 140–1; in the Sahara, 6–7, 9, 13, 29, 79, 149, 151; in the Saharan trade, 124, 126, 146, 160–1, 164; on the border of the Sudan, 27, 46, 51–2, 64, 78, 98, 146–7, 160–1, 164
Berte (patronymic, Muslim clerics), 61, 190–1
Bida, the snake, 17–18, 47–8, 50, 155
Bilāl (the Prophet's companion; ancestor of the Keita), 55
Binduku (province of Mali), 83, 85, 88, 90–2, 100–1
Bīṭu (perhaps the same as Be'o), 157, 181, 207, 245 n. 23
blacksmiths, 58, 112, 114, 118
Bonnel de Mezières, 23, 25
Bono-Mansu (the earliest Akan state), 156, 218
Bornu, 4, 77, 121, 174–6, 178
Boulègue, J., 97–8
Bozo (fishermen on the Niger), 116, 159
Būdā (an oasis in Tuat), 148–9
Bure (goldfields), 18, 53, 57, 100, 116, 154–6, 187

Ca da Mosto, 94, 149–51, 154, 171, 173, 176–7
Cairo, 107–8, 114, 116, 152, 196, 208–13
camels, 6, 7, 9, 124, 126, 173
Carthage, 5, 124–6
Casamance river, 95–6, 168, 180
castes (*nyamakala*), 113–14, 118–119, 238 n. 22
Catalan, 132, 177
Ceuta, 131, 133
Cissé, Youssouf, 57–8
cloth(es), 22, 109, 114, 119–20, 131, 133–4, 141, 152, 169, 177, *179–180*, 248 n. 64
copper, 13, 77, 115, 120, 141, *180*
Cordova, 22, 129, 177
cowries, 120–2

Cresques, Abraham, 149
currency, 41, 120–2, 126–7, 128–9, 131, 173, 174

Dankaran-Tuma (Sundjata's brother and predecessor), 58–9
Dar'a, 37–8, 157, 172, 176
Dar'a, Wādī, 29, 36, 79, 126, 143–4, 148–9, 174
Debo, Lake, 27, 83–4
Dei, Bendetto (an Italian traveller), 133, 180
Delafosse, M., 4, 19, 23, 56, 203
Denianke (a ruling dynasty of Futa Toro), 98
Dhar Tichitt-Walata, 12, 28, 125
Diā, the first Songhay dynasty, 27, 75–6
Diā, a town in Massina, 48–9, 159, 164–5, 168, 191, 201, 203
Dia'ba (perhaps Diā), 200–1
Diafarabe, 83, 203
Diāfūqu (perhaps Diāfūnu), 26, 48
Diāfūnu, 16, 41, *47–8*, 81, 227 n. 31, 231 n. 33
Diāgha (perhaps Diā), 165, 201, 203
Diakhanke, 16, 59, 135, *168–70*
Diākha-sur-Bafing, 16, 98, 168–9, 234 n. 4
Dialan or Diala, 86–7, 233 n. 11
Diāra, 47–8, 50, 81, 98, 110, 233 n. 11
Diāwara (the ruling dynasty in Diāra), 48, 81–2, 86–7, 109, 177
Dinga (ancestor of the Soninke), *16–17*, 48–9, 168
Djarīd, 130, 136–7
Djāṭa (a prince of Mali), 67–8
Djolof, 44, 81, 95–8, 178
Do (an early Malinke chiefdom), 28, 53–5, 57, 155, 188
Dughā (the linguist), 67, 113–14, 193
al-Dukkālī, Abū 'l-'Abbās (white *qāḍī* in Mali), 163
al-Dukkālī, Sheikh Sa'īd (al-'Umarī's informant), 61, 74, 116
Dyula, 16, 56, 101, 132, 134–5, 159, 167–8, 170, 175, 199, 208, 218

Egypt: gold in, 127–8, 130, 133, 152, 212; influence on the Sudan, 11, 26, 107–8; trade with the Sudan, 22, 61, 151–2, 179, 213; visits to, 63–6, 152, 196, 208–13
Egyptians, in the Sudan, 157, 162, 213
Elmina, 134–5, 166–7, 175, 180
El-Oualadji (burial mounds on the Niger), 26, 49

Fadaku or Faraku (chiefdom on the Middle Niger), 92, 100
Faga-Laye (Mansā Mūsā's father), 65, 71
Faran-Sara (military commander of the North in Mali), 92
Farisangul (kingdom south of the Gambia), 94–5
Fāṭimids, 78, 127–31, 136, 140
al-Fazārī, 3, 127
Fernandes, J., 94, 176–7
Fernandes, V., 26, 95, 107, 150, 154, 156, 163, 165, 167, 171–4, 178
Fes, 35, 129, 141–2, 150, 157, 176, 178, 201–2, 206, 208, 214, 216
Fezzan, 124, 157, 202
Figuig, 5, 125

Gaillard, H., 60, 62
Galam, 26, 86–7
Gambia river: Europeans on, 94–6, 99, 134; Malinke states on, 26, 73–4, 95–7, 101; trade, 102, 116, 134–5, 168
Gangara (in the southern Sahara), 5, 125
Gao: capital of Songhay, 87, 91, 176; a commercial centre, 10, 27, 120–1, 146, 180; an early kingdom, 3, 15, 22, 107; and Islam,

184, 190, 197; ruled by Mali, 69, 73, 75–8, 80, 158, 211; and trade across the Sahara, 41, 136, 151–2, 183
Genoa, 130–3, 177
Ghadames, 78, 124–5, 157, 211
Ghana, ancient capital of, 22–6, 46–7; *see also* Kumbi, Koumbi-Saleh
Ghana, modern republic of, 25, 161, 218–19
Ghāt, 5, 125, 151
Ghiyārū, 28, 137, 155, 164, 175, 187
gold: control by Sudanese kingdoms, 115–16; as currency, 120; in North Africa, Egypt and Europe, 42, *124–35*, 141–3, 212, 214, 239 n. 2; sources and production, 17–18, 27–8, 41, 53, 95, 98, 115–16, 137, 152–6, 181, 187, 248 n. 76; trade, 9–10, 134, 146, 150, 157, 164–5, 168–9, 171, 173, 174, 177
Gold Coast, 102, 134, 153, 166–8, 218–19
Gomes, Diogo, 94, 168
Gonja, 102, 167
Goumbou, 17, 20, 49
Goundam, 5, 125
griot (bard), 49, 113, 194, 250 n. 25
Guinea coast, 134–5
Guinea, republic of, 51, 57, 101, 167
gum, 180–1
Gundiuru, 28, 201

Ḥafṣids, 129–30, 216
ḥajj (pilgrimage), 33, 55–6, 64–6, 71, 75, 76, 78, 80, 116, 186, 190–191, 201, 208–14
al-Ḥājj, *al-faqīh* (scholar of Timbuktu), 203–5, 232 n. 44, 252 n. 26
Ḥamadi Amina (a Fulbe chief in Massina), 92–3, 235 n. 10
Hausa, 78, 121, 161, 166
Herodotus, 5, 125
Hilāl, Banū-, 41–2, 129
Hodh, 6, 23, 85
Hoggar, 5, 125
horses, 5–6, 13–14, 18, 125, 134, 169, *177–8*
Hunayn (port of Tlemcen), 142, 150
hunters, *56–8*, 229 n. 16

Ibāḍīs (a sect of the Khārijiyya), 31, 45, 130, 136–7, 161, 183, 249 n. 14
Ibn Abī Zarʿ, 31–2, 38, 41
Ibn Amīr Ḥājib (Mūsā's official host in Cairo), 108, 196
Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 20, 50, 61–2, 64, 66–7, 74, 77–9, 86, 105, 107–8, 111, 113, 121–2, 143–5, 147, 151–2, 154, 161–3, 165, 172–3, 176, 178, 192, 194–5, 197–8, 201, 203, 216, 229 n. 14
Ibn al-Faqīh, 151, 179
Ibn Ḥawqal, 22, 28–31, 128, 136, 140, 143, 146, 151, 224 n. 5
Ibn Khaldūn, 31–2, 38, 45, 51, 56, 60–1, 63–5, 67–8, 70–2, 75, 77–9, 105, 148, 151, 190, 192, 209–10, 214–16
Ibn Saʿīd, 172, 179
Ibn Tāshfīn, Yūsuf (the Almoravid ruler in the Maghrib), 32, 35, 38–41, 43, 176
Ibn Yāsīn, ʿAbdallāh (the Almoravids' leader), 32–8, 41, 44, 184–5, 225 n. 25
Idjil, 150, 172
al-Idrīsī, 4, 7, 43–6, 53–4, 137, 142, 146, 151, 155, 164, 171, 174, 179, 227 n. 25
Ifrān, Banū (rulers in the Maghrib), 35, 38
Ifrīqiya, 31, 41, 52, 61, 65, 126–7, 129–30, 137, 143, 145, 163, 176, 178, 216
Ināri Kunāte (Mansā Mūsā's wife), 109, 211

iron: introduction of, 13–14, 222 n. 21; trade in, 117

Islam: and cloth, 119–20, 179; conversion to, 44, 45, 47, 51, 52, 53, 183–7, 188–90, 207; in Gao, 183–4, 190; in Ghana, 22–3, 45, 47, 51–2, 161, 185–7; in Jenne, 159–60, 197, 207–8; in Mali, 53, 56, 66, 111, 114, 188–96, 198–9, 208–14, 220, 249 n. 14; in Takrūr, 44, 183–5; in Timbuktu, 201–7; and trade, 10, 124, 146–7, 161, 164, 166–70, 174, 182, 187, 200

Italy, 130–3, 142, 150

Ivory Coast, 101, 134, 167

Jazūla, 29, 33, 36, 162, 202

Jenne, 16, 82–5, 87, 91–3, 98–100, 120, 156–7, 159–60, 164–5, 167, 173, 179, 197–8, 203, 207–8, 251 n. 16

Jews, 4, 19, 132, 140, 142, 149, 174, 213

João II, D. (king of Portugal), 98, 134

Jobson, R., 99, 169

Jūdār Pāsha (commander of the Moroccan expedition), 91, 93

Juddāla, 29, 32–5, 38, 44, 171, 185, 208

justice, dispensement of, 111, 113–114, 163, 197

Kābora (perhaps Diafarabe on the Niger), 203, 251 n. 16

Kabu, 95–6, 99, 168

kafu (chiefdom, in Malinke), 55, 102, 106

Kala (a province of Mali), 83, 85, 88, 90–2, 100–1, 234 n. 29

Kāla (name of the Middle Niger), 60

Kala-Shā'a (governor of Kala under the Songhay), 92–3, 234

Kamara (a patronymic), 55, 57

Kanem, 3, 8, 10, 107, 120, 174, 227 n. 28

Kangaba (also Ka-ba, on the Upper Niger), 60–1, 72, 190

Kaniaga, 47, 51, 75, 93

Kasa (a kingdom on the Casamance river), 96, 109

Kaya-Magha (title of the rulers of the ancient Soninke kingdom, according to the *Ta'rīkhs*), *18–21*, 47, 49, 55, 177

Keita (patronymic of the ruling dynasty of Mali), 21, 55–8, 60–1, 72, 74, 99, 102, 106, 110, 190, 235 n. 15, 237 n. 29

Khalīfa (king of Mali), 64–5, 71–2, 76

Khārijiyya, 37, 126–8, 136, 140; *see also* Ibāḍīs

khaṭīb (preacher), 162, 192–3, 197–8, 207

Kingui, 16, 48, 81–2, 86, 98, 177

Kiri (an early Malinke chiefdom), 54–5, 57

Kita, 59, 100

kola nuts, 143; 156, 166, *180–2*, 248 n. 76

Koli Tengella (founder of the Denianke dynasty in Futa Toro), 98

Konate (a patronymic), 55, 57

Koran, 183, 188–9, 195–6

Koumbi-Saleh (perhaps the site of the capital of Ghana), 8, 20, *23–5*, 47, 145, 158, 160; *see also* Kumbi

Krina, 59, 60

Kumbi (the name of the capital of the Soninke kingdom in some traditions), *17–18*, 20, 50

Kurmina-Fāri (title of the governor of the Western provinces of Songhay), 85–6, 89, 98

Kusa (a section of the Soninke people), 47, 49

al-Kuwayk, Sarāj al-Dīn (an Egyptian merchant), 201, 212–13

Lahilatul Kalabi (a pre-Sundjata king of Mali), 55–6, 209
Lamlam (a name for 'primitive' peoples), *53–4*, 175, 179, 181, 228 n. 3
Lamṭa, 29, 33, 36
Lamtūna, 7, *29–35*, 39, 41, 43, 45–6, 79, 144, 186, 208
Laqqūt ibn Yūsuf (the Zanāta ruler of Aghmāt), 38–9
Latal Kalabi (a pre-Sundjata king), 55, 228 n. 6
Leo Africanus, 87, 151, 157, 160, 166, 171, 172, 176, 178, 180, 201
Lhote, H., 6, 77
Libyans, 4, 6, 11, 13

Maghan (a Fulbe chief of Massina), 86, 283 n. 10
Maghrāwa (Zanāta rulers of the Maghrib), 35, 37, 140
Maghrib: Arab conquest of, 9–10, 52; Almoravids' conquest of, 35–42; gold to, 120, 124–35, 171, 174; slaves in, 176–7; trade with, 22, 150, 182; traders from, 23, 61, 65, 160–4, 183, 187, 191, 195, 197, 199; *see also* Morocco
Malal (an early Malinke kingdom), 28, *53–4*, 155, 179, 188–9
Malfante, A., 81, 133, 149, 151, 153–4, 160, 181
Mali, ancient capital of, *see* Niani
Mali, modern republic of, 219–20
Malinke: agriculture, 116–17; chiefdoms, 21, 51, 53–5, 58–60, 66, 100, 155–6; country, 18, 54–55, 59–60, 73, 83, 90, 99, 220, 229 n. 18; expansion, 3, 48, 73–4, 95–7, 101–2, 167–8; social structure and customs, 26, 105–6, 109–10; trade and Islam, 165, 167–8, 189–91, 199
al-Mālik al-Nāṣir ibn Qalā'ūn (sultan of Egypt), 65, 209
Mande-speaking peoples: 13, 16; traders, 101, 132, 156, 165, 167–168; warriors, 102, 167
Mandimansa (title of the king of Mali in Portuguese sources), 95–6, 107
Manding/Mandinga/Mandinka (other names of the Malinke), 54, 62, 95, 134–5, 165
Mansā Maghā (alias Muḥammad, son of Mansā Mūsā), 66–8, 71, 215
Mansā Maghā II (king of Mali), 69, 71
Mansā Maḥmūd (king of Mali), 92–3, 98–9; *see also* Niani Mansā Mamudu
Mansā Kanda (son of Nyani Mansā Mamudu), 99
Mansā Kuru (son of Nyani Mansā Mamudu), 99–100
Mansā Muḥammad (son of Mansā Qū), 65, 71–2
Mansā Mūsā (king of Mali), 65–71, 75–6, 78, 80, 82, 107–12, 114, 116, 149, 152–3, 163, 191–2, 195–198, 201, 208–15
Mansā Qū, 65, 71–2
Mansā Sulaymān (king of Mali), 66–8, 70–1, 97, 109–11, 113, 163, 192, 198, 214–16
Mansā Ulī (king of Mali), 64–5, 70–2, 75–6, 209
Ma'qil, Banū-(Arab nomads), 79, 148
al-Maqqarī (family of merchants), 142–3, 161–2, 181, 231 n. 4, 241 n. 22, 245 n. 43
al-Maqqarī, 'Abd al-Wāḥid (resident in the capital of Mali), 162
Majorca, 132, 149, 177
Mārī-Djāṭa the Great (alias Sundjata), 63–5, 70–2
Mārī-Djāṭa II (king of Mali), 67–71, 78, 216
Mārī-Djāṭa, *wazīr*, 69–71, 78
Marīn, Banū- (sultans of Morocco), 142, 214–17

Marka (Bambara-speaking traders, perhaps of Soninke origin), 16, 50, 88, 100, 167
Marrākush, 30, 41, 129, 141, 150, 162
Marseille, 131–2, 177
Māssa, 131, 150
Maṣmūda, 37–9, 141, 225 n. 36
Massina, 16, 18, 27, 50, 84, 86, 92–93, 97, 100, 168, 203, 233 n. 10, 235 n. 10
Massūfa, 29, 34–5, 38, 41, 46, 79, 86, 143, 145, 147, 161, 163, 172, 196, 201
al-Mas'ūdī, 22, 174
Mauny, R., 23–5, 155–6, 172
Mauritania, 7, 13, 23, 29, 97, 174, 181
Mecca, 33, 55, 75, 190–1, 208–213
Meillassoux, C., 121
Mema (a kingdom in the Sahel), 27, 46, 49, 50, 58–9, 74–5, 81–4, 86, 112, 163, 191, 210, 228 n. 41
migration: of populations, 6–8, 13, 16–18, 21, 46, 49–51, 55, 86, 94–102; of scholars, 200–6; of traders, 147, 158–60, 163–4, 166–70
Monod, T., 121, 180
Monteil, C., 21, 49, 54
Moors/Moorish, 6, 8, 49, 94, 125, 174, 177
Morocco: conquest of the Sudan by, 91–3, 99–100; diplomatic relations with, 66, 107, 214–17; *see also* Maghrib
mosques, 23–4, 158, 185, 192, 195, 197, 201–6, 213
Mossi, 80, 83–4, 232 n. 44, 249 n. 8
Mossi-Dagomba states, 4, 167
Mu'ammar Abū 'Abdallāh ibn Khadīja al-Kūmī (a Fāṭimid missionary), 78, 213
Mulaththamūn (the Almoravids), 29, 79, 141
Munson, P. J., 12–13
Nafūsa, Jabal, 126, 136, 137
Naghmārtah, Banū (Sudanese traders in gold), 164, 187
Namadi Kani (a pre-Sundjata king in Mali), 56–8
Nare Maghan (father of Sundjata), 55, 58, 113, 229 n. 19
Ndyadyan Ndyay (first *brak* of Walo), 44, 97, 226 n. 8
Nema, 6, 17, 20
Niakhate (the first ruling dynasty of Diāra), 48, 81
Niane, D. T., 58–60, 62, 230 n. 2
Niani (perhaps the site of the capital of Mali), *60–2*, 72, 156, 173, 229 n. 24, 230 n. 32. On the capital of Mali *see also* 89, 162, 191, 197, 199, 234 n. 4
Niani Mansā Mamudu (last king of Mali, according to traditions), 63, 99–101; *see also* Mansā Maḥmūd
Niger: 80, 82, 84–5, 87, 92, 156, 159–60, 173, 211, 219, 227 n. 14; bend, 11, 27, 78–81, 158, 164; Middle, 3, 27, 83–4, 89, 100, 132, 134; Upper, 16, 55, 57, 73, 191; Valley, 94, 99
Nioro, 16, 49
Nyamakhan (son of Niani Mansā Mamudu), 99–100
Nyamina, 61, 83

oral traditions, 4, 7, 16–21, 23, 26–7, 43, 47, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55–6, 58, 59, 61–3, 65–6, 74, 113, 190, 209, 222 n. 1, 228 n. 6, 230 n. 2

paganism, 17, 25, 26, 47, 51, 53, 56–7, 59, 100, 106–7, 161, 183, 185–6, 187, 190, 191, 193–5, 198, 207, 209
Person, Y., 63, 99, 167
Pharusii (early nomads of the Sahara), 125–6
pilgrimage, *see ḥajj*
Portuguese, 74, 94–8, 101, 125, 133–4, 150, 166–9, 175–8, 180–1

qāḍī (judge), 18, 77, 162–3, 192–3, 196–8, 201–8
Qanbā (king of Mali, son of Mansā Sulaymān), 67
Qamnūriya (in the Sahara), 7
Qāsā (queen of Mali), 67–8, 109, 111
Qayrawān, 33, 36, 39, 136, 216

Ra's al-Mā', 27–8, 85
Rio Grande, 95, 97
rock paintings, 5–6, 9, 12–13, 124–5
Rome/Roman, 6, 124–6

al-Sa'dī, 4, 19–20, 55, 75, 80, 82–3, 91, 99, 156–7, 159, 207; *see also Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān*
Sa'dīds (a Moroccan dynasty), 135, 150
Saghanogho (a patronymic), 190
Sahara: desiccation of, 5, 6–8, 11; expansion of Sudanic kingdoms into, 28, 77–9, 81; historical background, 5–11, 14, 184; trade, 9–10, 31, 36, 41, 73, 79, 124–54, 161, 171–6, 171–6, 178, 180, 191
Sahel, 4, 7, 9–10, 16, 23, 46, 48, 51, 53, 73–5, 81, 83, 94, 97–8, 106, 156, 160, 172–3
al-Saḥilī, Abū Isḥāq (architect), 201, 213, 231 n. 24, 254 n. 71
Sākūra (king of Mali, a usurper), 65, 69–72, 75–6, 110, 113, 209
Salé, 35, 161
salt, 9, 22, 28, 44, 95, 115, 120, 144, 150, 156, 168, *171–3*, 238 n. 3
Sāma (on the Niger, near Segu), 15, 27, 88, 90, 179
Ṣandiki (king of Mali, a usurper), 69, 71, 110, 113
Ṣanhāja, 6–9, *28–37*, 39, 41, 43–6, 79, 81, 126, 130, 144, 150, 157, 161, 176, 184–5, 202, 204, 206, 208, 214, 224 n. 14
Sankaran (a province in Mali), 57
Sankarani river, 55, 57–8, 60–2
Sankore (mosque in Timbuktu), 158, 204–6, 252 n. 26
Sanqara-Zūma' (military commander of the South in Mali), 88, 92
Sanqare (a Fulbe tribe), 84
Sansanding, 83, 92
Sāqiyat al-Ḥamrā', 79, 125
Sarakulle (the Soninke), 16, 62
scholars, *see 'ulamā'*
Segu, 16, 27, 50, 83, 88, 90, 100, 121
Senegal: Lower, 27, 44, 73, 81, 97–8, 187, 201; Upper, 3, 28, 53–4, 58, 87, 89
Senegambia, 96, 102
Serer, 10, 95
'servile tribes', *see zanj*
sharī'a (Islamic law), 34, *196–7* 208
shea butter (karite), 180–1
shurafā' (descendants of the Prophet), 4, 119, 213
Sibi (an early Malinke chiefdom), 55, 57, 60
Sibiridugu (a province in Mali), 83, 87
Sicily, 41, 176–7
Sierra Leone, 101, 248 n. 76
Sijilmāsa, 22, 29, 34–8, 43, 45, 77, 126, 128–9, 136, 140–4, 148–9, 172, 174, 176, 197, 225 n. 37, 242 n. 46
Sillā, 27, 54, 120, 171, 175, 184
silver, 126, 131–2, 134, 142, 177
Sine-Salum, 99, 178
Sisse (a patronymic): Muslim clerics, 190; rulers of Wagadu, 17, 74
slave trade: 119, 124, 126, 134, 137, 169, *174–8*
slaves: as a labour force, 39, 117–118, 172; raids for, 3, 54; in the royal courts, 49, 65, 112–13, 118, 148, 152

Songhay, 3–4, 10, 27, 50, 73, 75–91, 105, 109–10, 112, 116, 118, 135, 150, 158, 172, 191, 206–7, 231 n. 44, 233 n. 1
Soninke: ancient kingdom, *16–21*, 26, 47; in confrontation with the nomads, 10, 28, 53; dispersion, 3, 16, 18, 21, 50, 53, 88, 100, 167–8; in the Sahara, 6, 13, 43; social structure and customs, 26, 110, 116; successor states, *43–52*, 75, 81; trade and Islam, 48, 147, 158–9, 161, 187, 201; *see also* Sarakulle, Wa'kore
Sonni (or Sī, the second Songhay dynasty), 75–6
Sonni 'Alī (the Songhay king), 50, 81–5, 89, 191, 202, 204–6
Sonni Silmān Dāma (a king of Songhay), 50, 84
Sorko (fishermen on the Niger), 82, 84–5, 116
Soso (the kingdom and its people), 25, 48, *51–3*, 58–9, 63–4, 73, 75, 106, 147, 161, 191, 218 n. 51, 229 n. 19, 242 n. 46
Spain, 22, 35–6, 40–1, 45, 127–30, 140, 177, 181, 201
state-building, 3–4, 8–15, 17, 19, 29, 47–51, 53–60, 94–8, 100–2, 106, 120–3
Ṣufriyya (a sect of the Khārijiyya), 136, 140
Sumanguru Kante (king of Soso), 51, 58–9, 74, 191
Sundjata, 50–1, 55, 58–61, 63–66, 73–4, 81, 101, 106, 110, 113, 190–1, 199, 229 n. 16, 230 n. 1; *see also* Mārī-Djāṭā the Great
al-Sūs (al-Aqṣā), 33, 38–9, 79, 120, 141, 148, 157
Suware, al-Ḥājj (ancestor of the Diakhanke), 16, 168

Ta'ba (a town on the Bani river), 88–9
Tabalbalat (an oasis in Tuat), 149, 202, 206
Tadlā, 35, 38
Tadmekka (Es-Souk), 3, 5, 27, 45, 69, 77–8, 125, 136–7, 146, 151, 164, 174
Tafilelt, 157, 197
Tagant, 6, 23, 29, 43, 144
Taghāza (salt mine), 79, 143–4, 148–9, 157, 172–3, 175, 211
Tahert, 27, 128, 136–7, 142, 183
Takedda, 77–8, 120, 151, 175–6, 205, 216
Takrūr: an early kingdom on the Senegal, 4, 10, 27, 44, 54, 171, 175, 179, 183–5, 226 n. 12; name for the Western Sudan, 208, 210
al-Tamīmī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 202, 205–6, 251 n. 12
al-Tamīmī, Ḥabīb ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (*qāḍī* of Timbuktu), 202, 205–6
Tareshnā (chief of the Lamtūna), 7, 32, 43, 208, 249 n. 6
Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh, 4, 18–21, 47, 49, 56, 60, 73, 75–6, 80, 82, 98, 105, 107, 109, 118–19, 201, 233 n. 1
Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān, 4, 19, 21, 73, 75, 98, 105, 201; *see also* al-Sa'dī
Tasarahla (an oasis on the route from Taghāza to Walata), 144–5
Tassili-des-Ajjers, 5, 125
Tatental (salt mine), 144, 172
taxation/tribute, 115, 116, 117, 118, 123, 150
Tegdaoust (perhaps the site of Awdaghust), 145–7, 160
Tendirma (capital of the western provinces of Songhay), 85, 88
Tichitt, 6, 150, 173, 202
Timbuktu, 18–21, 30, 49, 73, 75, 79–84, 86, 88, 91–3, 117, 120, 122, 133, 135, 147, 149, 156–60, 164, 168, 173, 178–80, 198, 201–8, 211, 213, 232 n. 44
Ti-n-Yarūtān/Ti-n-Barūtān (chief of the Ṣanhāja), 28–30, 32

Tiramakhan Traore (Sundjata's lieutenant, conquerer of the Gambia), 95
Tīraqqā, 27, 158, 164–5
Tlemcen, 142–3, 162, 254 n. 71
trade, *see under* individual products, towns, etc.
trade, 'silent', 120, 125, 153–4
trade routes, 5, 22, 29, 31, 41–2, 44, 62, 79, 97–8, 101–2, 124–5, 132, 134, *136–52*, 157, 163, 166, 168–9
traditional religion, *see* paganism
traditions, *see* oral traditions
transportation, 5–6, 9–10, 82, 156–157, 158–9, 165, 169, 171–3, 175, 176, 180
Traore (patronymic), 55, 57, 95, 235 n. 15
Trimingham, J. S., 209
Tripoli, 5, 124, 131, 136, 174, 176
Tuaregs, 6, 30, 77, 81–2, 84, 97, 157–8, 172, 202–6, 231 n. 44
Tuat, 151, 153, 157, 181, 202
Tunisia, 130, 136–7, 141, 149, 176, 180, 216
tunka (title of a king in Soninke), 223 n. 8, 228 n. 39
Tunkara (patronymic of the rulers of Mema), 49–50, 74
Ture (patronymic), 61, 168, 190

'*ulama*', (Muslim scholars), 84, 119, 147, 159–60, 169, 190, 192, 199, *200–8*, 210, 213, 220, 230 n. 2
'Umar Kamdiagu (brother of Askiyā Muḥammad), 86–7, 98
al-'Umarī, 60–1, 74, 76, 78, 105, 107–8, 111, 121, 151, 194, 210, 212
Umayyads: in Ifrīqiya, 144; in Spain, 35, 37, 126, 128–9, 140

Venice, 122, 130–1, 133, 176–7
Vidal, J., 60, 62
Volta basin, 16, 83

Wadan, 134, 150, 173, 176
Wagadu (the ancient Soninke kingdom), *16–18*, 20–1, 25–6, 47–51, 57, 74–5, 85, 100, 110, 155, 157–8, 168, 177
al-Waḥāt (the oases west of Egypt), 151
Wajāj ibn Zalū (Ibn Yāsīn's teacher), 33–4, 36–7, 225 n. 25, *225* n. 36, *225* n. 37
Wa'kore (Soninke), 4, 18–19
Walata, 5–6, 25, 47, 74, 79–81, 84–5, 88, 111, 117, 143, 145, *147–50*, 152, *157–8*, *161–4*, 173, 179, 191, 196, 201, 203–6, 211, 231 n. 4, 231 n. 24
Wangara (Mande-speaking traders), 19, 56, 132, 137, 154–6, *164–7*, 169–70, 173–5
Waran, 43, 144
Wār-Dyabe (first Muslim king of Takrūr), 44, 184
warfare, 14, 17, 39, 56–9, 79, 85, 89–90, 92–3, 109, 111–12
Wargala, 77–9, 130, 136–7, 174, 176
Wātī (king of Mali), 64, 71–2
Wolof, 10, 94, 96
Wuli (a Malinke kingdom on the Gambia), 96–7, 99

Yaḥyā, Sīdī (scholar in Timbuktu), 202–3
Yaḥyā ibn Ibrāhīm (chief of the Juddāla), 32–3, 208
Yaḥyā ibn 'Umar (commander of the Almoravids), 32, 34, 38, 43–4, 46
al-Ya'qūbī, 3, 15, 146
Yāqūt, 41, 43, 48
Yaresnā (perhaps the same as Barīsa, on the Upper Senegal), 53, 155, 164, 187–8; *see also* Barīsa
Yarse (traders of Mande origin among the Mossi), 16, 167

Yemen, 127
Yerelinkon (son of Sundjata), 72

Zaghāwa (nomads of the central Sahara), 7–8
Zanāta, 30–1, 35–8, 128–9, 137, 140, 146, 161, 224 n. 14
zànj ('servile tribes'), 118, 238 n. 20
Zawīla, 120, 136, 174
Zaynab (wife of Ibn Tāshfīn), 39–40
Zīrids (rulers of Ifrīqiya), 129, 176
al-Zuhrī, 14, 45