

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

29 Kasım 2016

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN OKUMAN

INTRODUCTION TO PART ONE

This section provides a general overview of Islam in Ghana and Burkina Faso during the precolonial and colonial periods, highlighting comparable and divergent patterns of its development. I explore at some length French and British colonial policies toward Islam in West Africa more broadly, and in Ghana and Burkina Faso more specifically. I place the discussion in the larger context of regional colonial policies, in an attempt to identify the policies pursued by European colonizers toward Muslims in colonies they considered "Islamized," in contrast to those considered less so. I argue that European colonial rule inadvertently facilitated the expansion of the Muslim populations, especially in areas that the colonialists had perhaps accurately defined as less "Islamic," if by this they meant the Muslim population was smaller in comparison to the population of the Sahel region.

03 Mart 2019

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

CHAPTER ONE

ISLAM PRIOR TO THE COLONIAL PERIOD

What role did Islam play in the private and public spheres of the various autonomous societies that formed Ghana and Burkina Faso after independence from European colonialism? To what extent were Islamic norms and practices adhered to in these societies just before the colonial era? The present chapter offers some responses to these questions in order to provide the reader with a general picture of the Muslim cultural, political, and intellectual landscapes prior to European colonialism. I discuss these societies as part of a broader network of ethnic groups in the basin of the Volta River. Some of these ethnic groups share a distant ancestral lineage that is still reflected in their cultural and linguistic affinities. This is the case of the Morrè-Dagbani group of languages that stretches from Dagomba in the northern part of modern Ghana to Mossi in Burkina Faso. Within this vast territory are several other ethnic groups that do not claim this broader regional genealogy. These groups include the people of Gonja, but also the Gurinshi, Lobi, and Dagati. Further south, stretching from the forest zone to the coast, is another large linguistic family, the principle one being the Akan group of languages in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. Interposed within this large linguistic group are other ethnic groups such as the Ga-Adangbe and several others that I will not mention in this chapter because of the limited influence of Islam there.

The discussion that follows focuses primarily on the vast Volta Basin, where the presence of Islam goes as far back as the fifteenth century, or earlier, though its impact varied over time and space, as explained below. I also include the Akan territories in this discussion; like the Volta Basin, the people of this area had been in contact with Muslim merchants for centuries, though Akans did not embrace Islam in large numbers. Viewed in the context of a contiguous regional linguistic family and in terms of kinship ties, we are able to present a clearer image of the different patterns of Islamization experienced in these societies over time and the factors that explain similarities and differences within these patterns. Admittedly, such a macro approach may sacrifice some specific local historical contingencies. Fortunately, there are abundant micro historical

53-70

Ousman Murzik Kobo, *Unveiling Modernity in Twentieth-Century West African Islamic Reforms*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2018. **ISAM DN. 271487.**

Wahhabilik (210185)
Burkina Faso (021117)

INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO

In Part II I examine the local origins of Wahhabi-inclined movements in Ghana and Burkina Faso before the rise of Arab oil wealth in the 1960s, arguing that Wahhabism arose out of local religious debate over the validity of Sufi rituals. With reference to Burkina Faso, I examine the city of Ouagadougou, where Wahhabism began with the arrival of local scholars who had been repatriated from Saudi Arabia in 1963, after living there several years. Many of these pioneering preachers of Wahhabism had earlier connections with the dominant Hamawiyya-Tijaniyya of Rahmatoulaye, and on their return, they disassociated themselves from the Tijaniyya, which they declared unorthodox. In Ghana, I trace the early development of Wahhabi-inclined reforms to two cultural entrepreneurs, Hajj Yussif Afa Ajura in the north and Sheikh Adam Appiedu in Kumasi. I examine how the teachings of a specific variant of the Tijaniyya initiation, *tarbiya*, introduced into Ghana (then the Gold Coast) by the renowned Sheikh Ibrahim Niasse of Kaolack (Senegal), provoked a doctrinal contest that laid the foundation for the development of Wahhabi-inclined discourse. I discuss the ways opposition to the *tarbiya* facilitated the rise of Hajj Yussif Afa Ajura of Tamale (then capital of Northern Ghana). Afa Ajura combined a critique of this variant of the Tijaniyya with cultural reform. I then analyze the contributions of another important leader, Sheikh Adam Appiedu of Kumasi.

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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CHAPTER THREE

FROM THE STUDENTS OF THE SHEIKH TO THE FOLLOWERS OF THE PROPHET: GENESIS OF WAHHABISM IN BURKINA FASO

This chapter examines the early transplantation of ideas associated with Wahhabism in Burkina Faso, beginning with a discussion of its early mutation among the Mossi, the largest ethnic group in Burkina Faso, immediately after the colony's independence from France. I argue that although some ideas associated with Wahhabism spread to Burkina Faso through Malian and Senegalese itinerant scholars, merchants, and madrasa entrepreneurs, it remained confined to non-Mossi territories until the end of the colonial period. Further, its diffusion among the Mossi began when a few of the Mossi scholars who had gone to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage and acquire additional training in the Islamic sciences returned to preach ideas of religious purity often identified with Wahhabism. These scholars had some connections to the established Hamawiyya-Tijaniyya of Rahmatoulaye, but embraced Wahhabism while in Mecca, and returned to challenge the doctrinal validity of the Hamawiyya. Arguing that they were no longer students of Sheikh Boubacar Sawadogo, but rather the direct followers of the Prophet Muhammad, these Meccan returnees combined their anti-Tijaniyya polemics with a broader social and cultural reform that reflected the need to reform local social and cultural practices along the lines of Saudi Islamic orthodoxy.

Early Implantation of Wahhabism: The Malian and Senegalese Influence

In his seminal work on the Wahhabi movement in Francophone West Africa, Lansiné Kaba notes that the movement spread to Burkina-Faso through the activities of the Subbanu Association that had begun in Mali (then French Sudan).¹ The activities of the Subbanu Association clearly suggest the influence of Muslim religious and political activism in the Arab world, directed against the established Muslim leadership and the

¹ Kaba, *The Wahhabiyya*, especially chapter 5; also Triand, "Le mouvement réformiste."

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Burkina Faso

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Burkina Faso
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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
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THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF ISLAM IN THE SUDAN

There have been many attempts to estimate the numbers of Mohammedans throughout the world, but few have made a special study of Africa. This continent presented a difficult problem before 1900, because of the lack of a framework of boundaries and the absence for large areas of information of any kind. Travellers, who necessarily went from town to town under the protection of native "kings", got an exaggerated view of the problem, and their reports led to unreliable estimates. When actual attempts at counting the numbers were made, tremendous difficulty appeared in deciding whether communities or even individuals were Moslems.¹

Since 1920, the colonial and national boundaries have been fairly well fixed. The principal alterations have been —

a) A small withdrawal of the northern frontier of Northern Nigeria to give the French a moderately fertile strip along which to reach Lake Chad.

b) The annexation by France of 3,000 square miles of Northeastern Liberia in 1907.

c) A number of awkward readjustments with reference to the allocation of the "Military Territories" and the creation of Niger Colony, which are difficult to allow for in estimates.

d) The division of Haut Sénégal-Niger into Soudan Française and Haut-Volta after the War.

e) The abolition of Haut-Volta and its mergence with French Sudan, Niger Colony Ivory Coast and French Guinea in 1932—a change which has scarcely been noted in the outside world as yet.

- Gambia
- Sierra Leone
- Fildisi Sahilli
- Gine
- Liberya
- Senegal
- Burkina Faso
- Benin

Makale esudan² posetindele.

¹ See, for example the remarks of the Director of the 1921 census in Northern Nigeria in "Northern Tribes of Nigeria", by C. K. Meek. Vol. II., p. 172. Oxford, 1925.

Frédéric Lejeal

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KARTHALA sur Internet : <http://www.karthala.com>

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Le Burkina Faso

Préface de François Gaulme

Couverture : Scène de marché au Burkina Faso
(photo : Raymond Rajaonarivelo).

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Burkina Faso (021117) Dyula

Ethnic group of Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Mali, Ghana, and Guinea-Bissau; also known as Jula, Diula, Wangara, and Kangah.

The term Dyula is a MANDE word meaning "itinerant trader" that refers both to the ethnic group and to the occupation for which they are best known. Little is known about the Dyula before the thirteenth century, when they emerged as the main trading class of the ancient MALI EMPIRE. Their Mande language suggests that they originated in the empire's heartland along the upper NIGER RIVER. The Dyula traveled throughout West Africa and traded GOLD, kola nuts (a natural stimulant), salt, and cloth. They played an important role in organizing the production of cloth and, according to some historians, spurred increased production of cloth and other trade goods during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Along with trade goods, the Dyula also helped disseminate the advanced culture of the western SAHEL, including Islam, the dominant religion of the Dyula, as well as Arabic and Sudanic architecture.

Over the centuries most Dyula settled in large market towns, where they had greater trade opportunities. Frequently, this required them to live among other ethnic groups, such as the SENUFO, the MOSSI, and the ABRON, and to accept a second-class "stranger" status among the

larger group. Over time Dyula groups became a permanent addition to the surrounding communities, although Dyula traders retained a distinct sense of identity and history through trade connections with other Dyula. During the sixteenth century, however, one group of Dyula traders living among the Senufo along the border of present-day CÔTE D'IVOIRE founded their own kingdom—KONG—that prospered until the late nineteenth century as a hub for trade routes radiating south into the forest and north into the Sahel.

Today, most Dyula still work in commerce, and many still produce textiles for trade. In many regions they continued to dominate long-distance trade in the 1990s. Many of them practice some form of subsistence farming. The Dyula are also known as Islamic scholars. Among some related groups, such as the BAMBARA, it is common for Islamic converts to refer to themselves as Dyula. Most Dyula children attend Koranic schools, and Dyula often view state-sponsored secular education with distrust. Though reliable numbers are difficult to come by, some 300,000 people consider themselves Dyula, though many more speak the language.

See also ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY IN AFRICA: AN INTERPRETATION.

ELIZABETH HEATH

seems reasonable to view such texts as useful artifacts nonetheless. Even if popular fiction does not tell us precisely what was being thought about and discussed in the 1960s, the texts are at least suggestive of new trends. Such cultural protests, unlike some other forms of resistance, presented little immediate threat to the state. In the decade that followed, however, African bitterness would be unmasked and the Black Consciousness Movement would demonstrate the potential power carried by these ideas.

See also COETZEE, J. M.; GORDIMER, NADINE;
LITERATURE, FRENCH-LANGUAGE, IN AFRICA;
LITERATURE, PORTUGUESE-LANGUAGE, IN AFRICA.

BRENDAN D. WORKS

Loango

Kikongo-speaking kingdom located on the coast of present-day Congo Republic.

The kingdom of Loango is not mentioned in early descriptions of the coast, and was probably founded only in the early to mid-sixteenth century. Its early traditions mention its origin at Nzari in the older kingdom of Kakongo at the mouth of the Congo River. Kakongo was itself a nominal vassal of the kingdom of Kongo. Kongo traditions of the 1580s relate the kingdom to Kongo but say that by that time the two were allies without any subordination. The first Loango ruler united the surrounding territories by conquest and appointed his own immediate kin to rule over them. The constitution created at the time called for his successor to be drawn from one of these provinces, and for the other members of his family to rotate from one province to another.

In the early seventeenth century the kingdom expanded eastward and fought a number of wars against Nsiko, the powerful kingdom in the area around the Malebo Pool near present-day Kinshasa. Its capital city of Mbanza Loango, or Bwali, was one of the largest in sub-Saharan Africa; Dutch visitors said it was even larger than Amsterdam. In addition to Loango's military extension, its subjects began a process of long voyages into the interior. Initially these trips took them to the forested interior for ivory and logwood, but also to the copper producing districts beyond the coastal mountains. Vili, as the people of Loango were known, became renowned traders, and by the middle of the seventeenth century, they were visiting as far to the south as Matamba. They traded these commodities with Europeans as well as their own cloth, and after the middle of the century, increasingly traded in slaves. Some of the slaves were acquired in Loango's own hinterland, or through its own wars, but many more were purchased in Kongo or lands south of Kongo, enslaved in the many wars of that region.

From as early as 1584, Loango rulers asked for missionaries to convert them to Christianity, and at times Portuguese merchants taught Christianity informally. Despite this, no Loango king converted until the middle of the seventeenth century; in 1663 the king converted, taking the name Afonso. The baptism split the royal court, and although Afonso suppressed one rebellion, he was killed and overthrown by another a few years later. His Christian son fled to Ngoyo, where he was eventually elected as king. Although another Christian king was ruling in 1665, in later years the Christian party seems to have disappeared.

By the 1760s Loango's government had become excessively bureaucratic under the king, who appointed officials and dismissed them at will from a body of nobles of royal descent (but who were not his own children), a pattern that continued into the nineteenth century. One of the officials, the Mwene Buku, who had the right to choose the next king when the last one died, promoted long interregna—the king who died in 1766 was not buried until 1773, when his successor was finally named. During this time the kingdom continued under the rule of the officials of the predecessor, who were the electors of the next king. By the late eighteenth century, the Loango kingdom had begun to fragment, and the king's authority waned. The abolition of the slave trade in the early nineteenth century and the opening of the interior by European merchants broke the Loango trade monopoly by the late 1880s.

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04 Ekim 2015

JOHN THORNTON

Burkina Faso (021117)
Lobi

Ethnic group living in Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, and Ghana.

The Lobi speak a Voltaic language (Lobiri) and live between the Black Volta (Mouhoun) and White Volta Rivers. Ethnographic accounts trace the Lobi's original homeland to GHANA, where pressuring from the neighboring Mamprusi, Dogamba, and Gonjas peoples forced them to migrate in the late eighteenth century. Over the next 200 years the Lobi moved slowly north, periodically settling among and assimilating with groups such as the Lorhon, Téuessué, and Touna. En route, they avoided the conquests of both the MANDINKA ruler Samory TOURÉ and the KONG kingdom. In the late nineteenth century the Lobi temporarily settled in northern CÔTE D'IVOIRE. Residing in self-governing matrilineal villages, they lived from hunting and periodic raids on neighboring groups. Although

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LEIF LORENTZON

Konaré, Alpha Oumar

1946–

Third president of Mali.

The winner of MALI's first multiparty elections, Alpha Oumar Konaré assumed the presidency in 1992. The son of a schoolteacher, Konaré was born in the Kayes region of MALI. He received a Ph.D. in history from the University of Warsaw (Poland) in 1975. His dissertation explored the history of agriculture in the upper NIGER Basin under the MALI EMPIRE from the thirteenth through the seventeenth centuries. After graduation he returned to Mali to teach history, and soon took a position as head of the historic and ethnographic heritage division of the ministry of culture in the government of MOUSSA TRAORÉ. In 1979 Konaré was appointed minister of youth, arts, and culture, but he resigned a year later after a dispute with the president. He returned to academia at that time.

Konaré became an advocate for democratization. In 1983 he founded a cultural cooperative called Jamana, which published an independent newspaper and political books such as his *Le Concept du Pouvoir en Afrique*. These publications, which Traoré's regime begrudgingly tolerated, reached a nationwide audience. In 1990, as popular unrest mounted, Konaré and his associates petitioned Traoré for democratic and multiparty elections, and formed a pro-democracy party—the Alliance pour la Démocratie au Mali (ADEMA). ADEMA won instant support among student and labor groups; its actions were instrumental in the overthrow of Traoré. In the political reforms that followed, Konaré became the president of ADEMA, as well as its candidate in the 1992 national presidential elections. Konaré won the election by a landslide and assumed the presidency.

Despite his initial popularity, Konaré faced numerous challenges. The majority of these stemmed from the country's weak economy and the austerity measures demanded by international donors. These austerity measures have harmed large sectors of the Malian population, and like Traoré, Konaré faced protests for imposing the measures. Spending cuts also hit Mali's military, and disgruntled soldiers launched several failed coup attempts against Konaré's government.

In addition to economic protests, Konaré drew continual criticism from opposition groups who accused his government of thwarting the democratic process and called for boycotts of elections. Despite these accusations,

independent observers attested to the fairness of the most recent elections. Konaré won reelection as president in 1997. Five years later he stepped down at the end of his second term. In 2003 he was elected chair of the African Union, a newly formed multinational body that replaced the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (AU). While serving at this post, Konaré resided in ETHIOPIA, where the AU is headquartered. In 2007 he announced that he would not seek reelection and stepped down a year later.

See also NIGER RIVER; POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA; and STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT IN AFRICA.

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Burkina Faso (021117) ELIZABETH HEATH
Kong

Precolonial Dyula kingdom spanning the region that is presently northern Côte d'Ivoire and southern Burkina Faso.

The kingdom of Kong originated as a small trading settlement in the eleventh or twelfth century C.E. It eventually became the center of a kingdom whose influence reached as far as DJENNÉ in present-day MALI. It reached its pinnacle in the eighteenth century. Warfare between the Malinke empire builder Samory Touré and the French destroyed the city and its kingdom at the end of the nineteenth century.

Kong emerged as a trading center when MANDE merchants began trading in the territory of the surrounding SENUFO people. In the late fifteenth century a wave of DYULA traders moved to the area and brought with them their trading skills and connections. Kong became an increasingly important market for the exchange of northern desert goods such as salt and cloth and southern forest exports such as kola nuts, gold, and slaves. As Kong grew prosperous from trade, its early rulers—a group called the Tarawéré, apparently combining both Dyula and Senufo traditions—extended their authority over the surrounding region.

In 1710 a Dyula warrior named Seku Wattara invaded the area and easily conquered the city of Kong with his cavalry. He established himself as ruler and under his power Kong rose from a small city-state to an important regional power. During the thirty-five years of his reign Wattara unified the city-state with surrounding conquered regions, including the region centered on BOBO-DIOULASSO. He imposed Dyula as the official language and Islam as the state religion. Wattara strove to increase his share of regional trade. Toward this end he put slaves to work in the manufacture of cloth. Wattara also used slave labor to

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A. J. DE VOOGT

Burkina Faso (021117)

Bobo

Ethnic group living predominantly in southern Burkina Faso.

The Bobo were among the earliest settlers of the semiarid savanna region of southwestern BURKINA FASO (formerly Upper Volta). Similarities between the Bobo language and MANDE languages spoken in southern MALI provide linguistic support for the Bobo's oral traditions, which claim that their ancestors migrated from "Mande country," probably between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries C.E. These ancestors are believed to have first founded a village called Timima, on the plateau east of the Houet River. Other early migrants to the area settled alongside the river, on the site now occupied by the city of BOBO-DIOULASSO. Their descendants established settlements to the north, east, and west of this site.

In the past the Bobo referred to themselves as the *sansan*, or "the cultivating people." Merchant caravans traveled through Bobo country from at least the sixteenth century onward, but the Bobo themselves participated in the long-distance commerce only peripherally, primarily as suppliers of food for the caravans. The Bobo rejected as well the merchants' Islamic teachings, and instead organized their rituals of ancestor worship around village shrines.

The precolonial political organization of the Bobo was also largely village based. Village elders presided over matters of marriage and inheritance, both of which were (and to a certain extent still are) shaped by the Bobo's dual descent kinship system. Rights to land, in other words, are traditionally passed patrilineally (from father to son) while moveable forms of property, such as cattle or cooking pots, were passed matrilineally (from maternal uncle to son, or mother to daughter).

The lack of a centralized state made the Bobo vulnerable to slave raids and conquest in the eighteenth century, especially after the rise of the Dioula KONG empire in the northern part of modern-day CÔTE D'IVOIRE. Many Bobo communities defended themselves by moving closer together; the large size, dense settlement, and fortified housing of many older Bobo villages are architectural legacies of the slave era.

When the French began their conquest of the southern Volta region in the late nineteenth century, they assumed the Bobo peasants were the subjects of the resident Dioula traders. During the early years of COLONIAL RULE, however, unrest in Bobo country demonstrated the peasants' lack of respect for the Dioula "chiefs" appointed to collect

taxes and recruit labor. This period also saw rapid cultural changes: the Catholic mission in Bobo-Dioulasso found many converts in Bobo villages just outside the city, while members of the Zara clan, who had already distinguished themselves by their participation in trade and warfare, converted to Islam. After forced labor was abolished in 1946, many Bobo villagers applied their farming skills to commercial crops such as cotton, maize, and vegetables.

Today most rural Bobo continue to earn their livelihoods from farming, often combined with seasonal migrant labor, small-scale trade, or, in the case of women, millet beer-brewing. Many Bobo villages are themselves home to MOSSI migrants from drought-prone provinces to the north. Like most other ethnic groups in Burkina Faso, the Bobo are not an organized force in national politics, but they do play an important role in the municipal government, business, and church communities of Bobo-Dioulasso. Though population estimates vary widely, it is commonly believed that more than 100,000 people consider themselves Bobo.

See also CHRISTIANITY: MISSIONARIES IN AFRICA; ISLAM AND TRADITION: AN INTERPRETATION; KINSHIP AND DESCENT IN AFRICA; SLAVERY IN AFRICA.

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SUSANNE FREIDBERG

Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso

Second largest city in Burkina Faso.

The city of Bobo-Dioulasso is located in one of the greener areas of BURKINA FASO, and has long benefited from the fertility of the surrounding countryside. According to the legends of the BOBO people, their ancestors migrated from present-day Mali sometime between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries C.E. and became the first inhabitants of what Bobo folk songs call "the plateau of abundance" in the southern Volta region. Over the following centuries, long-distance traders settled among the Bobo peasants on this plateau and established a community known as Sya on the banks of the Houet River. Located at the crossroads of trans-Saharan and east-west trade routes, Sya was a lively market town by the time European colonization began in the late nineteenth century. French troops, facing fierce resistance from Sya's Zara warriors, conquered the town in 1895. They renamed it Bobo-Dioulasso (in Dioula, "house of the Bobo and the Dioula") and proceeded to build an administrative post and military camp.

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(present-day HARARE). According to a 2005 United Nations report, the population of Bulawayo was 676,000.

Bulawayo is laid out on a grid pattern, retaining many of the buildings and wide streets of the colonial era. It has a range of light and heavy industries. Bulawayo is the commercial and transportation hub of southern and western ZIMBABWE, with road and rail links to South Africa, BOTSWANA, and ZAMBIA (via VICTORIA FALLS). The cultural and political center of the Ndebele people, Bulawayo boasts a railway museum, a natural history museum, the Rhodes Matopes National Park, and the Khami Ruins. The city hosts the annual Zimbabwe International Trade Fair.

Recent drought conditions in Bulawayo have diminished water supplies, which has put a strain on public services. Plans are underway to build a water pipeline from the ZAMBEZI RIVER. The city has also worked to improve water delivery services and boost water conservation.

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ERIC YOUNG

Bulu

Ethnic group of Cameroon.

The Bulu primarily inhabit southern CAMEROON. They speak a BANTU language and belong to the larger BETI cultural and linguistic group. Some 660,000 people consider themselves Bulu, although more than 800,000 speak the language.

See also BANTU: DISPERSION AND SETTLEMENT; ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY IN AFRICA: AN INTERPRETATION; LANGUAGES, AFRICAN: AN OVERVIEW.

Bunu

Ethnic group of Nigeria.

The Bunu, also known as the Kabba, primarily inhabit central NIGERIA, where the NIGER and Benue rivers meet. They speak YORUBA, a Niger-Congo language, and are closely related to other Yoruba peoples. Approximately 200,000 people consider themselves Bunu.

Bura

Ethnic group of Nigeria.

The Bura, also known as Pabir and Babur, primarily inhabit the Borno State of northeastern NIGERIA. They speak an Afro-Asiatic language belonging to the Chadic group. Approximately 250,000 people consider themselves Bura.

See also ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY IN AFRICA: AN INTERPRETATION; LANGUAGES, AFRICAN: AN OVERVIEW.

Burkina Faso (021117)

Landlocked West African country bordered by Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Benin, Togo, and Ghana.

In 1984 the leaders of Upper Volta changed the name of this former French colony to Burkina Faso, a term combining two of the country's many languages, and meaning "land of upright people." As one of the world's poorest nations, Burkina Faso counts people among its most important resources. Remittances from migrant laborers working in the more affluent CÔTE D'IVOIRE sustain the households of many of the approximately thirteen million citizens in Burkina Faso, 82 percent of whom live in rural areas. This tradition of southward migration became firmly established during the colonial era, when France incorporated the Volta region into its West African empire in order to turn the drought-prone but relatively populous Mossi plateau into a labor reserve. Because the French colonial administration invested little in developing Upper Volta itself, de jure independence in 1960 heralded a new era of de facto dependence on foreign donors, especially France. Steady infusions of aid, however, failed to prevent either the onset of two famines or the overthrow of six governments.

In 1983, flight commander Thomas SANKARA came to power promising an end to both neocolonialism and rural suffering. Although the Burkinabè revolution was cut short by Sankara's assassination in 1987, it did initiate improvements in rural literacy, health, and food security, as well as women's rights. The current regime of Blaise COMPAORÉ has deregulated the economy, mended relations with the West, and pledged a commitment (viewed skeptically by many Burkinabè) to democracy. Burkina Faso is still extremely poor, but it enjoys a reputation for religious and ethnic tolerance, as well as for its rich performing arts traditions.

EARLY HISTORY

Apart from Stone Age axes found in northern Burkina Faso, archaeology provides few clues about the region's first human inhabitants. The ancestors of the LOBI and BOBO peoples were among the earliest agriculturists, settling the savanna west of the Mouhoun (or Black Volta) River perhaps around 1100 C.E. While these lineage-based societies never developed centralized polities, migrants from the DAGOMBA region (in present-day GHANA) founded the MOSSI dynasties on the more arid plateau to the north. The most powerful Mossi kingdom, Ouagadougou, was founded in the late fifteenth century. Nineteen smaller but fairly autonomous Mossi states ruled

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RUDOLF VESELÝ

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Communauté Musulmane du Burkina Faso (021117)

The **Communauté Musulmane du Burkina Faso**—CMBF, founded in 1962 and initially named Communauté Musulmane de Haute-Volta, until the country's name Haute-Volta (Upper Volta) was changed to Burkina Faso on 4 August 1984—was the first national Islamic association in Burkina Faso. The founders wanted to create a national organisation to achieve Muslim solidarity. During its first congress, in December 1962, the association adopted an apolitical and reformist stance, referring in article 4 of its statutes to the first Companions of the Prophet and opposing all forms of religious excess. After the first congress, two groups emerged: the “traditionalists,” who wanted to keep Mogho Naba's (r. 1957–1982) *imām* (the *imām* of the king of the Mossi, an ethnic group of central Burkina Faso), as the grand *imām* of the country; and the “reformists,” who demanded respect for the founding statutes. With the return of pilgrims from Mecca in 1963–4, tensions rose between the CMBF and the “Wahhabis,” who were opposed to the traditional and religious authorities and had more influence on the younger

generation. Violent clashes occurred in April 1973, when members of the Communauté attacked the “Wahhabi” mosque at Zongoetin, a neighborhood in Ouagadougou, in response to continual sermons by Meccan preachers declaring the rest of the Muslim community infidels. Clashes reached the city of Bobo-Dioulasso (in western Burkina Faso) and some villages. This situation led to the recognition of the “Wahhabi” tendency by the state in December 1973, with the creation of the Mouvement Sunnite, despite the disapproval of the CMBF.

The CMBF remained the privileged interlocutor of the State under the presidency of Sangoulé Lamizana (r. 1966–80), who strengthened diplomatic relations between Upper Volta and the Arab-Muslim world. The Communauté obtained financial support for the construction of mosques and *madrasas* in the country and for providing scholarships for *madrasa* students to study abroad (in Arabia, Algeria, and Morocco). The significant increase in financial and material aid from Islamic countries, however, stimulated personal ambitions and conflicts within the association during the late 1970s and the 1980s. The association became weaker because the revolutionary regime, under the presidency of Thomas Sankara (r. 1984–7), intervened in its internal affairs and accentuated divisions within the CMBF.

During the 1990s, members of the CMBF and of the Mouvement Sunnite struggled for the control of mosques and the urban space; this led to some clashes, especially in Ouagadougou. During an internal crisis in the 2000s, Oumarou Kanazoé (d. 2011), the main leader of the CMBF, was elected president of the Communauté in October 2004 and again in February 2010. The association has remained a privileged partner of the state;

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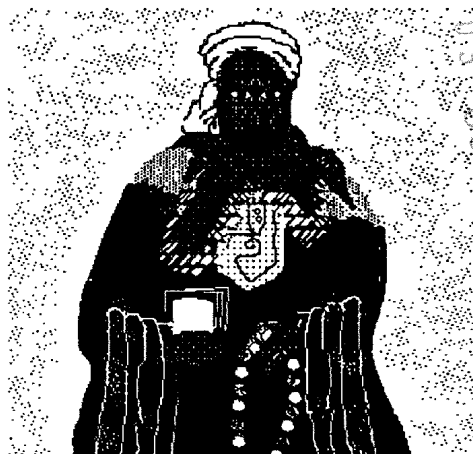
BURKINA

LES CONFLITS AU SEIN DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ MUSULMANE DU BURKINA : 1962-1986

par Assimi Kouanda

Jusqu'à la fin du XIXe siècle et au début du XXe siècle, les musulmans constituaient une minorité au Burkina Faso. On les retrouvait implantés, le long des grands axes routiers, à côté des centres politiques et dans quelques localités au nord et à l'ouest du pays.

Pendant la période coloniale, l'islam enregistre de véritables progrès. En dehors des groupes traditionnellement reconnus comme islamisés (Dyula, Hausa, Peuls, Yarse), on observe beaucoup de conversions parmi les Moose et les autres groupes ethniques du Burkina. Les raisons de cette expansion sont nombreuses. Les spécialistes évoquent habituellement l'ambiguïté de la politique coloniale française à l'égard des musulmans. Ils insistent également sur la présence ancienne de l'islam sur le sol ouest-africain, son universalisme et l'action lente mais efficace des marchands et des marabouts



MADU YATIMANDIAN
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BURKINA FASO

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Burkina Faso: between feeble state and total state, the swing continues

RENÉ OTAYEK

Since the *coup d'état* of 25 November 1980 that brought an end to the civilian regime of the Third Republic led by General Sangoulé Lamizana, Upper Volta (rebaptised Burkina Faso in August 1984) has gone into an infernal spiral of political instability. In a little more than seven years, no less than four takeovers by force have resulted in the replacement of the ruling team.¹ The latest misadventure to date is the fall and death of Captain Sankara and the replacement of the Conseil National de la Révolution (CNR), over which he had presided since his seizure of power on 4 August 1983, by a Front Populaire headed by Captain Blaise Compaoré, once the intimate friend of Thomas Sankara and his second in command within the CNR.

At the time of writing, if the underlying causes of this change are in essentials known,² it is still premature to draw conclusions as to the future political orientation of Burkina. But the relative ease with which the regime of Thomas Sankara was toppled, as well as the timidity of the popular reactions which followed his death, are bound to raise disturbing questions about the extent of institutionalisation of a government drawing its legitimacy from its revolutionary character and its proclaimed will to give voice to the people. How could this apparently solidly entrenched regime be swept away so easily, despite its methodical strategy of investing in the state apparatus and a territorial layout system allegedly without flaw, which had put into place a rigorous mechanism of social and political control? To answer this question requires a thorough reflection on the type of relationship that the CNR state maintained over four years with Burkinabè society, and on the project personified by Captain Sankara.

The state in Africa today is in crisis. Numerous works underscore the major pathological symptoms of this situation: political and institutional instability, ethnic and regional tensions, economic difficulties, financial bankruptcy, catastrophic public management, corruption, and more or less accentuated political authoritarianism. Pluralist democracy is the exception, not the rule. Along with a few other rare countries, the former Upper Volta until 1980 (and save for two interludes to which we will return) was conspicuous by its relatively democratic political system. On the strictly

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importance attributed to this role enhanced the image of wisdom which the *shaikhs* were acquiring.

Having been the saint of the oppressed, the brotherhood *shaikh* appeared to lose his importance after independence. The development of nationalism and political parties seemed to indicate that political institutionalization signalled the end of his historical mission. If this is true, it follows that religious charisma had occurred mainly because of the significance of the racial question in socio-political conditions. But there are signs that the brotherhoods still exist and the shrines continue to be visited. There are still situations of dependence or alienation which can be analysed in terms similar to those employed in the past. The state power is often excessively rigid and obsessed with national unity. If its legitimacy were ever at risk, it might be tempted to incorporate the *umma* into a state-controlled, bureaucratic organization. Were this to happen, a new generation of *walis* might well emerge, although they would be unlikely to be as well-behaved as those of the '*belle époque*'.

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Muslim Charisma in Burkina Faso

RENÉ OTAYEK

It is not easy to discuss Upper Volta, now Burkina Faso,¹ in a collective work about Islamic charisma, since the phenomenon appears at first sight to be locally nonexistent. Marginal study may be intellectually justified from a scientific point of view; but it may prove rather frustrating. Hence it is tempting to distort reality so as to adapt it at all costs to a prefabricated analytical pattern. However pertinent this pattern may be—and the notion of Muslim charisma is pertinent when the process of Islamization in sub-Saharan Africa is being analysed—it is inappropriate here, or at any rate incapable of reflecting the singularity and complexity of a situation where Islam has such peculiar features.

From this point of view, researchers in Burkinabe Islam must be permanently on guard against two types of attitude which, although contradictory, stem from the same distortion of reality. They both relate to the conditions of Islam's expansion in Burkina, which is a fairly recent phenomenon. These conditions, with which we shall deal, have given rise to a form of Islam which could not be assimilated to any other model, though certain of its characteristics can be found elsewhere south of the Sahara (in southern Ivory Coast and some parts of East Africa).

In view of our initial observation it may be tempting to consider Burkinabe Islam as a kind of Islam of a 'secondary zone'. Indeed colonial Islamic literature has long considered Burkina, especially Mossi, a 'bastion' against Islam. The progress of Burkina's Islamization has been systematically underestimated or quite simply ignored. This misguided attitude is largely due to the ideological presuppositions of the colonial administration, and has led to a series of works which

¹ For the sake of convenience the name Burkina Faso will be used throughout this text, though for all events before 4 August 1984 'the Republic of Upper Volta' would strictly have been correct.

BURKINA FASO

L'ISLAM CONFRÉRIQUE AU BURKINA FASO
LA TIDJANIYYA HAMAWIYYA AU MOOGO CENTRAL

Boukary Savadogo*



Les divers écrits qui ont traité de la Tidjaniyya hamawiyya ou hamallisme¹ et les sources orales reconnaissent essentiellement deux principaux foyers de diffusion en Haute-Volta (actuel Burkina Faso). Le premier foyer est celui de Ramatoulaye fondé en 1920² par Aboubakar Maïga³ et le second est celui de Djibo installé par Abdoulaye Doukouré en 1932. Géographiquement ces deux centres hamallistes sont situés dans la partie septentrionale de la Haute-Volta, le Yatenga et le Jelgooji.

L'apparition et la diffusion de la Hamawiyya en Haute-Volta correspondent, sur le plan politique, à la domination coloniale française. Au niveau religieux, dans une situation de quasi-acceptation du fait colonial par de nombreux chefs religieux, la Hamawiyya est sous surveillance de l'administration.

Les réactions vigoureuses des différentes forces en présence sur la scène socio-politique⁴ ne freinent pas l'expansion de la Hamawiyya dans le reste de la Haute-Volta notamment Ouagadougou au Moogo central.

Le Moogo central représente un enjeu important. C'est le siège du pouvoir traditionnel et résidence du moog-naaba⁵ et le centre politique du pouvoir colonial⁶. Occupant une position quelque peu centrale dans la colonie, Ouagadougou pourrait devenir un tremplin d'expansion. Selon un axe nord-sud, la *tarîqa hamawiyya* va atteindre le Moogo central.

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1. C'est une branche de la Tidjaniyya qui se rattache à la personne de Shaykh Hamahoullah qui en fut le principal animateur. Le terme hamallisme est un néologisme forgé par l'administration coloniale française pour désigner le mouvement. Les fidèles sont les hamallistes. Pour des raisons de commodité, nous utiliserons cet adjectif bien que de nombreux fidèles ne s'y reconnaissent pas et utilisent des termes dans leur langue pour se désigner.

2. La famille de Aboubakar Maïga retient 1917 comme année de fondation. 1920, retenue par Hamidou Diallo et Assimi Kouanda, semble la plus plausible.

3. Il est aussi connu dans les archives coloniales sous le nom de Raguimia Sawadogo. Ce changement de nom est une démarche de reniement de son origine animiste.

4. En plus de l'administration coloniale, il y a aussi les chefs traditionnels, les *nanamsé* et les musulmans « orthodoxes ».

5. Il s'agit du roi du Moogo central.

6. Ouagadougou fut la capitale et la résidence des différents gouverneurs de la colonie.

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L'ÉTAT DE LA RECHERCHE SUR L'ISLAM AU BURKINA

par Assimi Kouanda

Actuellement au Burkina Faso, les populations des grandes villes telles que Ouagadougou, Ouahigouya, Bobo-Dioulasso sont dans leur grande majorité islamisées (1). Les édifices religieux, principalement les mosquées sont en nombre important (2). Même si le taux de leur fréquentation est très variable selon les moments de la journée, les périodes de l'année et les conjonctures socio-politiques, ces mosquées constituent les signes, les symboles extérieurs d'une islamisation qui, bien que récente, a pris surtout des proportions importantes depuis la seconde moitié de notre siècle.

Jusqu'à une époque très récente, ce phénomène ne semble pourtant pas avoir retenu particulièrement l'attention des chercheurs, et n'a donc pas été l'objet d'études scientifiques dignes de ce nom. L'historiographie en la matière est maigre. Plusieurs raisons, sur lesquelles je reviendrai par la suite permettent d'expliquer cette situation.

Il est par conséquent relativement aisé de faire le point de la recherche sur l'islam au Burkina. Celle-ci est aujourd'hui à l'état embryonnaire. La littérature écrite sur l'islam dans notre pays est peu abondante comparativement à celle consacrée par exemple aux croyances ancestrales et au christianisme. L'origine de cette situation est à chercher dans les caractérisations des *tarikhs* (3), les récits des voyageurs européens du XIX^e siècle, et les descriptions des ethnologues et des administrateurs de la période coloniale.

1. UN DOMAINE LONGTEMPS NÉGLIGÉ

Lorsqu'on considère l'ensemble des travaux scientifiques effectués sur les différents groupes ethniques installés au Burkina, on constate que toutes les ethnies n'ont pas fait l'objet d'étude. D'autre part, on remarque que la faveur des chercheurs est allée principalement à celles qui ont fondé des royaumes au cours de leur évolution historique. Les sociétés dites sans Etats n'ont certes pas été délaissées (4). Dans les deux cas, les études se sont efforcées de montrer l'enracinement des populations dans leurs croyances ancestrales (animisme).

Parmi les royaumes les plus connus dans l'histoire du Burkina, ceux fondés par les Moose au XV^e siècle arrivent en tête. L'image laissée par les auteurs des *tarikhs* soudanais sur l'attachement des Moose à leur religion traditionnelle a dissuadé, puis influencé pendant longtemps les études sur l'islam au Moogo. Les deux *tarikhs* présentent en effet les Moose comme réfractaires à l'islam, et opérant même des raids contre des cités islamisées (Tombouctou et Walata). Ainsi par exemple, l'auteur du *Tarikh es-Soudan* rapporte qu'à l'invitation de l'Askia Mohamed Ier (1493-1528) au roi des Moose à se convertir à l'islam, celui-ci après consultation de ses ancêtres répond négativement : "Jamais je n'accepterais pour vous pareille chose" (5). Il ajouta à l'envoyé de l'Askia : "Retourne vers ton maître et annonce-lui que entre lui et nous, il ne saurait y avoir que luttes et combats" (6).

Le Sultan du Sonrhay entreprit alors un *jihad* contre les Moose. Il échoua dans sa tentative de conversion du Moogo. Le *Tarikh el Fettach* quant à lui, insiste sur "l'idolâtrie" des Moose et signale l'emplacement de certains de leurs autels (7).

Cette image, diffusée abondamment après la première édition des *tarikhs* en 1913-1914, était déjà présente dans les relations de voyage de certains explorateurs de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle. Barth dans son ouvrage *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 1849-1855*, qualifiait les Moose de "successful champion of paganism". Il en est de même de Crozat et de Binger qui, tout en remarquant la présence "ancienne" de quelques étrangers musulmans au Moogo, insistent sur la fidélité des Moose à l'animisme. Les ethnologues et les administrateurs coloniaux, malgré leurs "enquêtes de terrain" n'ont pas modifié profondément ces images. Ils les ont

LE PÈLERINAGE DES VOLTAÏQUES/BURKINABE AUX LIEUX SAINTS DE L'ISLAM, PASSÉ-PRÉSENT

Orientation générale de thèse

Juliette Van Duc

L'information qui a servi de base à notre thèse a été obtenue au moyen de nombreux entretiens avec des Voltaïques/Burkinabe, entretiens poursuivis pendant dix ans (1973-1983) à propos du pèlerinage de La Mecque. Le travail sur le terrain a été complété par des recherches entreprises dans les archives coloniales et nationales.

Le pèlerinage a été à la fois une conséquence logique de l'islamisation et un élément de propagation de l'islam. C'est l'argument principal de la thèse. Il s'appuie sur une étude sommaire de la propagation de la religion musulmane dans les régions qui ont formé la Haute-Volta/Burkina Faso. La courte histoire du pèlerinage dans ces régions touchées assez tardivement par la religion d'Allah présente un intérêt certain car, elle nous montre la fin d'une période durant laquelle, prendre le chemin de La Mecque était une aventure pénible et dangereuse ; puis on voit se dessiner une évolution par suite de l'introduction des moyens modernes de transport jusqu'à l'adoption de la voie aérienne. Le pèlerinage est un phénomène observé dans toutes les religions. Cette manifestation collective exige une marche longue et difficile vers un lieu où s'est manifestée une divinité. La liturgie comprend des ablutions, salutations, processions, prières, libations, sacrifices et des rites spécifiques en rapport avec les attributs du dieu ou bien, avec des épisodes de sa vie ainsi que le rappel des prodiges qu'il a accomplis en faveur des hommes. Ces caractéristiques se retrouvent dans le pèlerinage musulman ; le prophète Mohammad en a fixé les rites en 632. Depuis lors, chaque année, des hommes venus du monde entier se rendent en Arabie pour s'acquitter de leurs obligations à la « maison d'Allah ». La pratique du pèlerinage à La Mecque est connue au Burkina Faso comme dans les autres pays musulmans, bien que la participation soit faible dans cet État. Quelques données statistiques

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W

wakala

Urban building combining the functions of khan, warehouse and market.

waqf

A charitable endowment often intended for the upkeep of a religious building, educational establishment or hospital.

Wasit

Capital of Iraq during the Umayyad period.

Wasit lies south-east of the modern town of Kut in southern Iraq. It was founded in 701 CE by al-Hajjaj, governor of Iraq, as a garrison town to replace Kufa and Basra which had been demilitarized after a revolt against the Umayyads. In 874 another Friday mosque was built by the Turkish general Musa ibn Bugha in the eastern part of the city. The devastation wrought by the Mongols in the thirteenth century and by Timur in the fourteenth hastened the decline of a city that was no longer on the main trade routes due to a change in the course of the Tigris.

The first mosque on the site was built by al-Hajjaj in 703; measuring 100 m per side, it was located next to the governor's residence. Iraqi excavations revealed two superimposed mosques, the earlier of which had no mihrab. This confirms the early date of the mosque, as the first concave mihrab was introduced by al-Walid in 707–9 in the mosque of Medina.

There are also the remains of a thirteenth-century madrassa on the site, consisting of a monumental portal flanked by twin minarets with fluted brick decoration.

West Africa

Region of Africa comprising the modern states of Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon, Burkina Faso, Guinea and Ghana.

Known to medieval geographers as the Sudan, this area extends from the Sahara desert in the north to the mouth of the Niger river in the south, and from Atlantic in the west to Lake Chad in the east. The region was subject to the influence of Islam from the eighth or ninth century onwards and by the nineteenth century large areas were Islamicized.

West Africa can be divided into four main zones, the Sahara, the Sahel, the Savannah and the rain forests. The largest zone is the Sahara desert which extends from the Atlas mountains in Morocco and Algeria to the Senegal river. Until recent times the vast dunes and extreme temperatures of this desert have formed an impenetrable barrier to all except the nomadic tribes which inhabit the area. South of the desert is band of semi-arid country known as the Sahel (Arabic for 'coast') where there is an intermittent vegetation of scrub and occasional small trees. Below this is the Savannah region characterized by a rich growth of grass and plentiful seasonal rainfall. Further south near the coast, especially in Nigeria, Benin, Togo and Ghana, are the dense rain-forests. In recent times the area of the Sahara and the Sahel have been increasing at the expense of the Savannah, probably due to human activity. The best example of this phenomenon is the area occupied by the empire of Ghana which in medieval times was rich grassland and is now desert.

History

The means by which Islam penetrated into West Africa was via the trade routes from North Africa. The main goods involved in the trade included gold, slaves, ivory and gum from West Africa and manufactured goods from the Mediterranean area. This trade was a continuation of pre-Islamic Roman and Byzantine trade routes and was in the hands of the Berber tribes of the Sahara. Already by the end of the seventh century there are accounts of Muslim traders from North Africa and Egypt in the markets of the Sudan. By the end of the eighth

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28. République Arabe Syrienne	27th APRIL 1961
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33. République de Guinée	10th SEPTEMBER 1974
34. République de Guinée-Bissau	13th SEPTEMBER 1993
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38. République du Cameroun	19 JUNE 1961
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41. République Arabe Libyenne Socialiste et Populaire	
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43. République du Mali	20th JUNE 1960
44. Malaisie	
45. République Arabe d'Egypte	23th JULY 1952
46. Royaume du Maroc	2th MARCH 1956
47. République Islamique de Mauritanie	28th NOVEMBER 1960
48. République du Mozambique	25th JUNE 1975
49. République du Niger	3th AUGUST 1960
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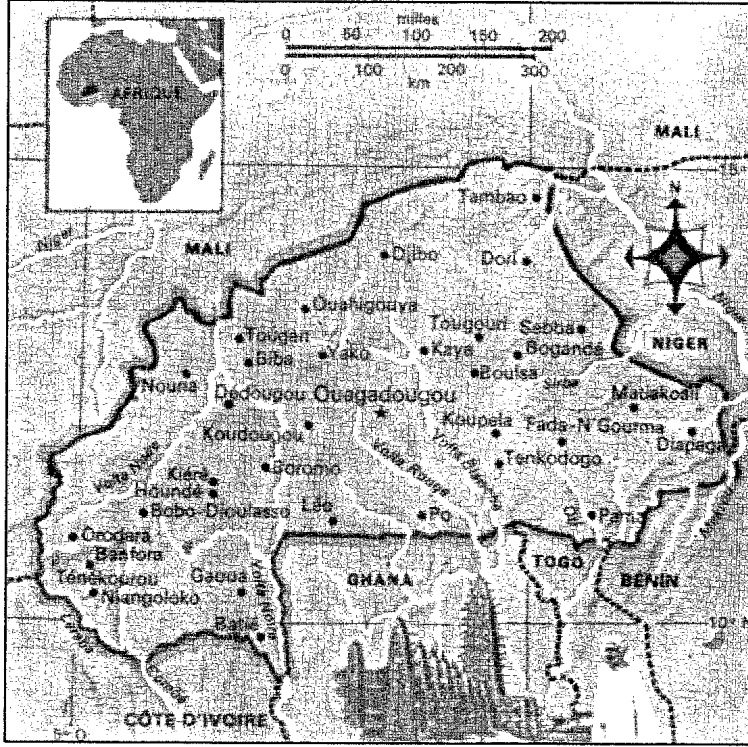
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٣٢٧



بور كينا فاسو

بطاقة تعريف

التابع لبوركينا فاسو من أزواد، أو بلاد الطوارق).

الاديان: الديانات الإحيائية (٥٢٪ من مجموع السكان)، الاسلام (٣٥٪)، والمسيحية (١٣٪).

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هو يوسف أويديرايوغو. تقسم البلاد إلى ٣٠ مقاطعة و ٣٠ دائرة.

الاحزاب السياسية: منظمة الديمقراطية الشعبية/حركة العمل التي تأسست في ١٥

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- 1768 FILIPPI-WILHELM, L.
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Upper Volta: ten years of state
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ISLAM IN AFRICA

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300 Mervyn Hiskett

states that at the present time the Fulani "minimise criticism by limiting the distribution of these political tracts by the Shehu" (p. 175). This is surely unfounded, as perusal of the NORLA book lists will show; moreover, the texts are readily to be obtained from the market booksellers all over the Northern Region, and where scarcities occur of particular works, this is to be attributed to the perishable nature of the materials on which they were written and not to any deliberate policy of withholding. There may of course be a reluctance to show works which are venerated for religious reasons to outside enquirers, but this is a different matter.

58. Mary Smith, *Baba of Karo*, 2d impression, London, 1964, p. 131.
59. For example, Wakar mujaddadi Shehu ta tabban hakikan, *Wakokin Hausa*, pp. 26-32.
60. "The Influence of Islam on a Sudanese Religion," *Monographs of the American Ethnological Society*, Vol. 10, 1949.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
62. Hiskett, "An Islamic Tradition of Reform," p. 580. It is not entirely clear whether the term was originally Al-Maghili's or the Shehu's own.
63. "Song of Bagauda," III, where the significance of the song is discussed.
64. A18/33.
65. An unpublished manuscript in my possession entitled *Wakar gargadi ga mutane su daina bin malaman dibbu*.
66. Clearly this view rests largely on interpretation, and I have noted M. G. Smith's statement "To these Muslim Hausa, however, such conditions demonstrated the illegitimate character of Fulani rule, with its hypocritical claims to represent Islam. . . ." ("Historical and cultural conditions," p. 181). His view appears to me correct only in so far as it applies to the deposed Habe aristocracy. As far as the mass of the Hausa *talakawa* are concerned, they have demonstrated a large measure of acceptance of the Islamic hierarchy imposed by the jihad.

- Burkina Faso

Nehemia Levtzion

18

Coastal West Africa*

EARLY MOSLEMS IN THE VOLTA BASIN

By the fifteenth century the trade routes from Timbuktu and Jenne on the Niger had been extended southward to the gold-bearing and kola-producing areas in the fringes of the forest.¹ These trade routes from the Sahil crossed the Sudanese and Guinea savannas to reach the forest. In the Guinea savanna of Upper Volta, northeast Ivory Coast, northern Ghana and northern Togo lives a group of tribes which are classified by linguists as speaking Voltaic languages.² Many of these peoples live in stateless societies (Lobi, Talense, and others). This segmentary political system had been typical to the whole region until the beginning of the fifteenth century. At about that period the states of Dagomba, Mamprusi, and Mossi were founded by invaders from the northeast, probably from the vicinity of Hausaland.³

The security of trade routes has always been better guaranteed through organized states. It is therefore likely that an early trade route passed from Jenne through Mossi, Mamprusi and Dagomba. The trade was carried by Moslem traders of Mande origin known as Dyula. The Dyula are called Yarse by the Mossi and the Dagomba, and Wangara by the Hausa. The term Wangara is now used throughout Ghana to denote Moslems of Mande origin, whether Dyula, Ligby, Dafing, Marka, or any other group. The early batch of Yarse, Mande traders, came to settle in Mossi during the reign of the fifth king of Mossi, Kundumie,⁴ at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. They adopted the language

* This chapter preceded the writing of a comprehensive work which covers the same aspects with more details and documentation; see N. Levtzion, *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa: A Study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in the Pre-Colonial Period*, Oxford, 1968.

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“Uqbah bin Nafi” stopped by the furious waves of the Atlantic, on the West Coast of Morocco”

ISLAM IN AFRICA

by
PROFESSOR MAHMUD BRELVI

Foreword by
PROFESSOR M. M. SHARIF

Introduction by
DR. ISHTIAQ HUSAIN QURESHI

Türkiye Divanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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Islam in Africa

transformed the original French Community, based on common institutions, into a contractual association, which made it possible for a State to become independent without thereby leaving the French Community.

Following the signature with the French Republic on 11 July 1960 of agreements providing for the unconditional international sovereignty of the four member States of the “Council of the Entente,” the Republic of the Niger proclaimed its independence on 3 August 1960. Niger was admitted to the United Nations on 20 September 1960. The suffrage is universal. French is the official language. There is the presidential system of government; Hamani Diori is both the President and the Prime Minister. On 29 May 1959, the Republic of the Niger joined with the Republics of the Ivory Coast, the Upper Volta and Dahomey in organising the “Council of the Entente”, which meets twice annually and is presided over in turn by each of the Heads of State of the four countries. The President serves for one year. Felix Houphouët-Boigny, President of the Ivory Coast, served as the Chairman in 1959. He was succeeded in 1960 by President Hamani Diori of Niger. On 11 June 1959, the four members of the “Council of the Entente” entered into a customs union agreement with the neighbouring Republics of Senegal, Mali and Mauritania. Niger also signed a convention of co-operation with the “Common Organisation for the Saharan Regions” (O.C.R.S.) for mineral exploitation, on 12 May 1959. Besides Hamani Diori’s “P.P.N.” the ruling party, the Opposition “African Regroupment Party” (P.R.A.) is led by Jibo Bakary.

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MADE YAYINLANDIKTAN
SONRA GÖLEN DOKÜMAN

Barkna Baso

(44)

The Republic of the Upper Volta

THE Upper Volta covers an area of about 10,000 sq. miles in the heart of West Africa—500 miles from the Gulf of Guinea at Abidjan, more than 1,000 miles from the Atlantic Ocean at Dakar. Its neighbours to the south are the Republics of the Ivory Coast, Togo and Dahomey; to the east, the Republic of the Niger; to the north and west, the Republic of Mali.

This inland republic is a land of intriguing contrasts—between the picturesque charm of wooded hills and the harsh lineaments of the desert; between park-like savanna, where cattle graze, and the fertility of lowland rice paddies; between the parched, brown desiccation of late May, when the whole land waits for rain, and the steaming dampness of summer and fall, when a trickle of river swells to become a chain of lakes.

The Upper Volta is a vast wedge-shaped plateau varying in altitude from 650 to 1,000 ft. and consisting, for the most part, of crystalline rocks interspersed with igneous intrusions. On it the main rivers—the Leraba, the Comoe, the Black, White and Red Volta, and the Oti—flow toward the Gulf of Guinea. In the east, the Garoual, Sirba and Tapoa rivers drain into the Niger. None of the rivers is navigable.

The climate of the Upper Volta is markedly seasonal—cool and dry in the winter months (November–March), hot and dry from March to May, and hot and wet the remainder of the year. Rainfall decreases steadily inland, from about forty inches in the south to less than ten inches in the extreme north and north-east, where a hot wind from the desert, the *Harmattan*, adds to the aridity of the region.

Approximately 3½ million (1962 estimate) people, including 2½ million Muslims (i.e. 71%), live in the Upper Volta. Most of the inhabitants are concentrated in the centre and south of the country. The eastern, northern and western fringes of the republic are sparsely populated. The Voltaics are overwhelmingly a rural people. The chief urban centres are: Ouagadougou, the capital, seat of a Christian arch-diocese, and residence of the Moro Naba, emperor of the Mossi; Bobo-Dioulasso, chief city of the district of

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WESTERN AFRICA, 1870-1886

It has seemed advisable to survey at one go the whole zone of coastal acculturation from the Senegal to Mount Cameroun at the outset of the first imperialist advance. This advance merely confirmed the already high degree of acculturation. The penetration of world market forces popularized European products and ruined the local artisans. The response of the Africans was often very positive, as is shown by the rapid development of the groundnut and palm-oil industries in areas that were still politically independent. Acculturation had already advanced far in Senegal, and especially in the area of anglophone culture, where the first generation of African intellectuals originated. Their influence could already be seen in the rise of the modern nationalism of the Grebo, the Fante and the Egba. In these three examples the modern demand for political independence was fused with the traditional aim of keeping control over one's own destiny. In the circumstances of the time this was not enough to prevent the establishment of the colonial era.

FROM THE UPPER NIGER TO THE UPPER VOLTA

Before tackling the Sudanic zone, which at that time was still intact and orientated towards the Sahara, we should first examine the intermediate zone, which from the upper Niger to the Volta basin was already subjected to strong influences from the coastal zone which were to bring about great upheavals. From the upper Niger to the Bandama, the land of the southern Malinke was plunged in 1870 into the whirlpool of the Dyula revolution, which was to give rise to the empire of Samory. In this long-inhabited region, the Malinke had spread as far as the rain forest, where the trading minority group of the Dyula went in search of kola along the borders of the 'barbarous' Misi, Toma, Kpelle (Guerze), Dan or Guro peoples. The political unit was the small territorial chiefdom (*kafu* or *nyamaana*). Above these, since the eighteenth century, there had been only military hegemonies on a rather small scale and of an ephemeral nature. However this was not a homogeneous area. To the south it fronted the rain forest, which was impenetrable, except to a slight degree in the centre, from Konyan to Monrovia by way of Loma territory. In this cul-de-sac, local trade was linked to the transport of kola towards the valley of the Niger. On the other hand, beyond the upper Niger to the

FROM THE UPPER NIGER TO THE UPPER VOLTA

west, by way of Futa Jalon or Solimana, the Rivers Coast was close at hand, and the Dyula took part energetically in the international trade which, since the abolition of the slave trade, was concerned with gold from Bure and with ivory and cattle. They could be found all along the coast from Boke to Freetown (Kempu) and Monrovia (Dukoro).

Since about 1830 this stable system had been shaken by the refusal of the Dyula, who were traders and Muslims, to accept the place originally assigned to them. This was due to the increased trade with the coast, which made it possible for their numbers to grow and which made them indispensable as traders in arms and cloth. Another factor was the influence of the Fulani revolutions (Futa Jalon, Masina, al-Hājj 'Umar) which had awakened their Muslim consciousness. Large areas were successively laid waste in the upper Toron and Konyan by Mori-Ule Sisse from 1835 onwards, in the lower Toron by the Berete from 1840, and in Nafana (Odiene, in the Ivory Coast), where in 1845 Vakaba Ture founded Kabadugu (Kabasara). Far to the west these were the examples of Fodi Drami in Sankaran around 1870, and of Mori Sulemani about 1875 among the Kisi. In the east, also in 1875, there was Hedi Mori of Mankoro (Ivory Coast). Animistic society was too divided to be able to resist the aggression of a Muslim minority, open to the outside influences and possessing a wealth of guns and military and military experience. Therefore it accepted reformation when a man was found who was sufficiently acculturated to be effective, but still close enough to traditional society not to have to destroy it. This was the case with the sons of Mori-Ule and with the Berete, to a lesser extent with Vakaba also, but above all it was the case with Samory. He was born about 1830 in lower Konyan (Beyla, Guinea) in a sedentarised Dyula family which had partially abandoned Islam. He was at first an itinerant trader, and then a soldier with the Sisse and the Berete, before putting himself at the disposal of his 'uncles', the Kamara animists, in 1860-1. After helping the Sisse to defeat the Berete, then fleeing from the former to the Loma, he established himself at Sanankoro on the upper Milo from 1867 to 1870.

Samory returned to the Islam of his ancestors, but without passion, and built up a private army owing personal loyalty to himself. It was made up of levies from Konyan, as well as

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(1868-70) and President Joseph Jenkins Roberts (1848-56 and 1872-8). After him the chapter of Liberian exploration was closed until the twentieth century.

It was at this time that the half-caste element which had brought progress to the colony and expressed itself through the Republican party was definitively ousted from power by the Negroes, who were poorer and supported the True Whig Party. The first Whig President, Ed. James Roye, was however, the richest merchant in the country. Anxious to build a railway line, he floated a loan on the London stock market and was accused of corruption. He was further accused of dictatorial tendencies for having his term of office extended from two to four years, and was deposed and assassinated. The founding father, Roberts, a very light coloured half-caste, restored order. Nevertheless, with Anthony W. Gardiner (1878-83), who resigned following the arbitrary British action on the frontier, and his successor, Hilary R. Johnson, the Whigs ensured the continuation of Negro supremacy.

The Afro-Americans suffered considerably in the 1875 depression and withdrew into themselves in fear in the face of the native population, whom they considered to be barbarians. In 1875 Roberts came into conflict with the Protestant churchmen, whom he accused of giving too much education to the Africans. From 1873 onwards he clashed with the nationalistic opposition of the acculturated native Africans of Maryland (Harper to Cape Palmas) who proclaimed the Grebo Reunited Kingdom, invoking a precedent from 1834. These Christians complained that they had been deprived of their lands and their brokerage rights by the Liberian colonists. They inflicted a crushing defeat on the Liberian militia, and it needed the direct intervention of the USS *Albatross* in 1876 to bring them under the control of the government. Grebo nationalism, which was to produce the prophet Harris, continued to take to arms until 1915.

The treaties of 1886 and 1892 with the British, and 1895 with France, would confirm the Liberian boundaries with Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast, but recognise Monrovia rights over the hinterland as far as Konyan. These rights were ceded to French Guinea in 1911. But the hinterland was not to be occupied until the twentieth century. We cannot here trace the 'Brownian Movement' of the clan groupings which can be discerned at the

FROM THE BANDAMA TO THE VOLTA

end of the nineteenth century. The Kran (Gere) and the Gio (Dan) continued their advances towards the sea from what is now Ivory Coast territory. Near Monrovia the Gola kept their hold on the Malinke enclaves of Kondo and Boporo. However after 1883 Samory was extending his power into Loma territory (Toma) in the north, and his traders visited Monrovia. This military threat was soon to become stronger at the expense of the Gola who looked to the government for support.

At this time the southern coast of Liberia and the western part of the present Ivory Coast were inhabited by the 'Krumen' who went on board ships as deck crew to do the heavy work on merchant shipping during their stay in the tropics. They learned to adapt to steam navigation and were to be found from Freetown to the Congo. Up to the Bandama, Kru-speaking clans had little to do with maritime trade, since the Noyo of Sassandra were insisting on their right to the brokerage on their rivers. Some clans removed up river as far as Soubre. However, in the interior, nearer to the savanna, this inward-looking clan society witnessed the birth of markets. The trade in kola for the Malinke of Seguella was taken over by the Zebouo women from the Daloa region, whose social status was thereby enhanced. Thus this old trade from hand to hand was linked to the long-established Sudanese network.

FROM THE BANDAMA TO THE VOLTA

To the east of the Bandama, the Akan peoples had a tradition of close connections with the outside world, which made them very different from their Kru neighbours. On the Bandama estuary and further to the east, between the lagoon and the sea, two related peoples, the Avikam and the Alagya (Alladians), had set themselves up as brokers for the palm-oil producers of the interior. They maintained regular links with the Liverpool ships that travelled along the coast. A considerable proportion of the population spoke English, and it was at this time that their great men constructed the multi-storied houses, the ruins of which still amaze the visitor. Their monopoly of the middleman trade had been strengthened by the French withdrawal: since 1871 Chief Aby of Grand Jack had been arresting on the lagoon the steamers from Bassam which were attempting to buy their oil directly from the Ajukru.

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Réformes de l'enseignement et syndicalisme en Afrique francophone

Une perspective historique à partir d'exemples de cas du Sénégal et de la Haute-Volta

L'idée de cette contribution est issue d'une discussion incidente au cours d'une des réunions de l'Atelier de recherche sur l'éducation au Burkina Faso (AREB) qui eut lieu au mois de mai 1999. Il ressortait, dans les propos de plusieurs intervenants, une image essentiellement négative du syndicalisme enseignant en Afrique noire, vu comme une force d'inertie face aux évolutions nécessaires des systèmes d'enseignement. Par ailleurs, dans mes travaux de terrain en vue de l'élaboration d'une thèse, j'avais pu recueillir les récits de militants syndicaux relatant leur engagement dans des luttes revendicatives. Ces fréquentations croisées de spécialistes de l'éducation et de syndicalistes enseignants, permettent d'éprouver la difficulté d'échapper à la double impasse sur le plan de l'analyse sociologique, du registre de la « dénonciation » d'un côté, et de celui de la « connivence » de l'autre (Geay, 1997). Pour être encore plus explicite, après avoir pu mesurer les non-dits de la geste syndicale, souvent non dénuée d'une certaine langue de bois, capable de dissimuler les véritables ressorts de ces mobilisations enseignantes, on ne peut pour autant, en tant que sociologue, se résigner à accepter comme autant d'évidences indiscutables, les propos sur le « corporatisme » du syndicalisme enseignant, seulement attaché à la défense d'une condition de « privilégiés », surtout lorsqu'un tel discours est distillé par des experts ou consultants dont les revenus sont sans commune mesure avec la rémunération statutaire la plus élevée des universitaires africains !

Cette tournure biaisée du débat sur l'évolution du système d'enseignement n'est pas l'apanage du continent africain. À bien des égards, la polémique franco-française qui a opposé ces dernières années les « pédagogues » et les défenseurs des contenus disciplinaires présente des aspects caricaturaux comparables. Mais laissons là ce parallèle !

Si l'on en revient à la question des relations entre les projets de réforme de l'enseignement et les mouvements enseignants africains, la référence à une histoire contemporaine multidimensionnelle est inévitable. Sans remonter à l'étude de l'enseignement colonial, nous essayerons de montrer que la genèse de ces projets de réforme s'est opérée dans le contexte de la décolonisation, en réaction à cet héritage colonial contesté. Puis, que les thématiques de réforme ont été reprises par les

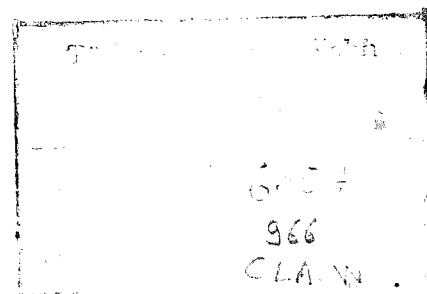
West Africa and Islam

A Study of Religious
Development from the
8th to the 20th Century

by Peter B. Clarke



Edward Arnold



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felt that the harassment, detention and exiling of Muslim leaders like Ahmadu Bamba was an all too obvious indication of the administration's hostility to Islam.

Tolerance has been the chief characteristic of Muslim-Christian relations in Senegal. Since independence there has been considerable dialogue between the two faiths. Muslim and Christian youth in Dakar, despite the hostile attack on Islam by Bishop Léfèbvre, former Roman Catholic Bishop of Dakar, have worked together to establish socialism. In 1963 the African Society for Culture (SAC), composed of Muslims and Christians, requested the Catholic Church, the largest Christian church in Senegal, to consider ways and means of initiating dialogue between Muslims and Christians in Africa. The bishops were later to recommend, among other things, that the Society study the Vatican Council II declaration on "Non-Christian Religions" of October 1965, and the 1969 "Guide for a Dialogue between Muslims and Christians".

With regard to Islam in Senegal, therefore, continuity persists amid change and development. The leaders of the brotherhoods are still very influential and receive loyal support from their disciples. The marabouts, like Shaikh Badji, continue to expand the frontiers of Islam in Senegal, while its links with the rest of the Muslim world have been strengthened through the pilgrimage, economic aid and scholarship. There are among Senegalese Muslims some reformers, like Muhammad b. Sa'id Bá of Medina-Gonasse near Tambacounda, who want to see a pure Islamic society without any Western accretions.¹⁵ There are other reformers who seek a fusion of the best elements in the Islamic and Western traditions. There are, finally, those who, like Shaikh Badji, are prepared to absorb aspects of all cultures and traditions.

Islam in Senegal, therefore, has since independence continued to spread, gaining ground among the Diola in particular. The reaction of some of the Diola converts to Islam is worth mentioning here for it resembles in certain respects that of, for example, the first converts to Islam from among the rulers of the Mossi in Upper Volta in the 18th century. Like the Mossi rulers of that period many Diola family heads today who become Muslims do not oblige either their wives or sons to follow their path. Moreover, with regard to their sons they encourage them to wait until they have attained a mature age before making a decision as to whether or not they should become Muslims. Consequently, there are Diola villages in the Casamance region of Senegal, and in the Gambia, where although the adult male population is almost entirely Muslim the women and the children have remained Traditional Religionists.¹⁶

Muslims in Senegal have not only continued to spread Islam during the independence era but have become more and better organised and are beginning to provide for young Muslims an Islamic education of high quality on a much wider scale than in the past. Finally, since independence the increasing numbers of Senegalese students studying in Muslim countries, the twinning of Senegalese towns with towns in other Muslim countries (for example St Louis in northern Senegal is twinned with Fez in Morocco) the growing number of Senegalese Muslims who make the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the economic aid given by the oil-producing Muslim world to Senegal have

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contributed towards the fostering of stronger ties between Muslims in Senegal and the wider Muslim world, something the colonial administration strove to prevent.

Upper Volta.

Muslims in Upper Volta believe, and some of their Christian compatriots agree with them, that for most of the colonial era Islam was shackled. According to Deniel, Christians in Upper Volta recognise that during the colonial era "Muslims were not free" and that if in a village "you were to say that you were a Muslim, a chief would not listen to you". The Muslim opinion is that "before (during the colonial era), we were captives, we practised our religion in secret".¹⁷

From the 1950s when the colonial regime became somewhat more liberal, and even more so since independence, Muslims in Upper Volta have felt freer to organise themselves into a community. I mentioned previously the establishment of the Muslim Community of Wagadugu in 1958–60, and that by 1962 this organisation had grown to become the Muslim Community of Upper Volta. The inspiration behind the formation of this Community was, according to its leaders, "fidelity to the Qur'an, and the necessity to assemble for Friday prayer and to proclaim Muslim unity and brotherhood". There was also the desire to organise and unite Muslims to enable them to contribute to national unity and development.¹⁸

Since 1962 the Community has been involved in intense activity to spread Islam and build up the Muslim Community. In 1964, at the General Assembly, 500 delegates represented some 55,000 members, 83 regional branch committees and 176 sub-committees. In addition there were 771 mosques and 11 Qur'anic schools associated with the Community, and in two years it had been responsible for almost 11,000 converts to Islam.¹⁹

In an attempt to involve the young more in the service of Islam the first Cultural Committee of Muslim Youth was held in Wagadugu in 1972. The youth were requested to participate in the dissemination of Arabic, with the aim of making it the language of culture in Upper Volta. The Community also has a programme to instruct Muslims about Islamic regulations and ritual for, among other things, marriage and funeral ceremonies. Moreover, there have been campaigns to promote "worthy and authentic" radio programmes, to prevent Muslims using the pilgrimage to Mecca for material gain, against the exploitation of the people by the marabouts, and to raise the standard of education in the Qur'anic schools, which is generally regarded as being very low.²⁰

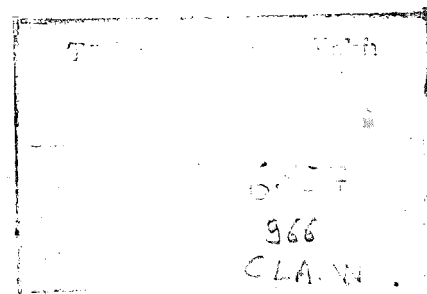
Some Muslims, however, feel that the Muslim Community of Upper Volta is too introspective and that its activities are of little value in terms of the country's overall economic and social development. What are regarded as the Community's limited and essentially other worldly concerns have in fact created a reaction among some Muslims who have now set out to demonstrate to non-Muslims that Islam is concerned with the development of the

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Assembly, the election went in favour of Senghor in a country that was at the time over 80 per cent Muslim.

Upper Volta.

Islam made considerable progress in terms of organisation and expansion in Upper Volta during the colonial era, and in particular from the 1930s. There were relatively few Muslims, as we have seen, in Upper Volta in 1900. The highest number of about 30,000 out of a population of c. 400,000 lived in the province of Ouahigouya. There were also an estimated 7,000 Muslims out of a total of 300,000 inhabitants in Wagadugu province. By 1941 in the town of Wagadugu itself there were 27 Muslim schools, and in the rest of the province some 259 such schools. The total Muslim population of the province had risen to around 30,000. By the same year the Muslim population in Ouahigouya province was put at 80,000.¹

The decade 1950–60 appears to have been a time of very rapid growth. Muslims made up 32 per cent of the population of Wagadugu town by 1956. The growth rate was not as rapid, however, in the rural areas of the province where two-thirds of the population were at this time non-Muslim. By 1959 it was estimated that there were c. 800,000 Muslims in Upper Volta, that is about 20 per cent of the total population.²

The Muslim traders, the Yarsé (known elsewhere as Dyula or Marka or Wangara) were responsible for much of this development.

Clozel, the Lieutenant-Governor of the colony of Upper-Senegal-Niger to which Upper Volta was attached for a time, commented in 1908 that whereas the Mossi tended to resist militant Islam seeing it as a threat to their way of life and culture, they entertained no such fear of the Yarse. The latter simply brought salt or kola to the village, said his prayers, talked to the people and moved on. Eventually he might return and was allowed to open a school or build a mosque, and the inhabitants of a village knew that his presence among them would bring the benefits of trade and commerce. As Clozel stated, each time a Yarse visited a village and then went away he left behind a little more of his religion.³

In addition to the Yarse the Muslim brotherhoods, in particular the Qadiriyya and the Tijaniyya orders, were active in Upper Volta during the colonial period. Both of these brotherhoods established branches in Wagadugu in the 1920s. There were also an estimated 68,000 followers of Shaikh Hamallah in Upper Volta, and this seems an appropriate place given the size of its following in Upper Volta to discuss the response of the Hamalliyya to colonial rule.

Shaikh Hamallah was the leader of the Hamalliyya from 1909. He was exiled on several occasions by the colonial administration and died in exile in France in 1942. The banishment of Shaikh Hamallah does not necessarily mean that he himself was striving to engineer the downfall of the colonial regime. In fact the decision to exile Shaikh Hamallah probably tells one more about the elements of irrational fear, suspicion and intuition in French policy towards Islam than about Shaikh Hamallah's attitude towards the colonial regime. It may also indicate something about how doctrinal issues and

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competition between Muslim brotherhoods played a part in preventing the emergence of a unified Muslim response to colonialism. It seems clear, for example, that Shaikh Hamallah was on occasion accused by Muslim opponents of hostility towards the colonial regime.⁴

Shaikh Hamallah and his followers were members of a branch of the Tijaniyya known as the Tijaniyya of the "Eleven Beads". The Tijani rosary has one hundred beads divided into groups of 12, 18, 20, 20, 18 and 12. Many Tijanis end their prayers by reciting twelve times the Prayer of Perfection (Jawharat al-Kamal). Shaikh Hamallah and his followers insisted that the founder of the Tijaniyya, Ahmad al-Tijani, instructed that this prayer be recited eleven and not twelve times, hence the name the Tijani of the "Eleven Beads".

The Tijani of the "Eleven Beads" attracted disciples not only in Upper Volta but also in Mauritania, Senegal, Mali, Niger, Guinea (Conakry) and the Ivory Coast. By the 1930s there were an estimated 68,000 Hamallists in Upper Volta alone, as I have already mentioned. These disciples were on several occasions involved in military confrontations with other Muslims, but whether the causes of such confrontation were always religious or whether they were directed against colonialism it is difficult to say. Moreover, it is not clear whether the Hamallists were entirely to blame for the conflicts, such as that which occurred in the province of Assaba, part of the former French Sudan, in August 1940. In this violent clash an estimated 400 people were killed and Shaikh Hamallah was held responsible by the colonial authorities and deported. According to one assessment, however, there is no conclusive evidence to show that this confrontation was directed against or intended to undermine French authority.⁵

Shaikh Hamallah was obviously regarded by the French as a threat to their authority. He was also seen by some Muslims as a destructive force and a heretic. In addition to accepting teaching concerning the Prayer of Perfection, something he learnt from the Mauretanian shaikh, Sharif al-Akhdar, founder of the Tijaniyya of the "Eleven Beads", Shaikh Hamallah while in exile in the Ivory Coast also abridged the Muslim prayer ritual. The reason for doing this is interesting. Shaikh Hamallah regarded himself while in exile in the Ivory Coast as being in a "pagan" land, and to indicate that he had no intention, if it was left to him, of staying there, he chose to adopt the abridged prayer ritual used normally by Muslims while on a journey.

Other ritual and doctrinal innovations were introduced too, many of them after the Shaikh's death. The Shahada, or confession of faith, was changed by some of his disciples to include "And our Shaikh Hamallah". One devout follower of Shaikh Hamallah was Musa Aminu, known as the Mahdi of Wani, who was initiated into the Tijaniyya of the "Eleven Beads" in 1940. Musa Aminu regarded Shaikh Hamallah as the precursor of the Mahdi and saw himself as the Mahdi. Claiming to be commanded in a vision by Prophet Muhammad to rout the "infidels", Musa Aminu settled in Bourem above Gao on the Niger and launched his holy war in March 1949. Nine people were killed in the course of the fighting including a French official, and Musa Aminu, disfigured in the encounter, himself died on 27 March 1949.

Neither Shaikh Hamallah himself nor all of his followers were aggressively

منذ عام ١٩٧٠، استغلت حين أقال رئيس الوزراء محمد مزالي ثم رشيد صفار وجاء بزين العابدين بن علي، وقد وُضع بورقيبة قيد

الإقامة الجبرية المنزلية في ضاحية قريبة من تونس العاصمة حتى ١٩٨٨/١٠/٢٤، حين سُمح له بالانتقال إلى المنستير مسقط رأسه،

حيث توفي عن عمر يناهز السادسة والتسعين عاماً.

عادل عبد السلام

الموضوعات ذات الصلة:
تونس.

■ بوركهارت (يوهان -) (١٧٨٤ - ١٨١٧)

يوهان لودفيغ بوركهارت Johann Ludwig Burckhart من الرواد المستشرقين الأوروبيين في العصر الحديث، ولد بمدينة لوزان السويسرية. وبعد أن أنهى تحصيله العلمي الأساسي درس في بلاده مبادئ اللغة العربية والاستشراق والدين الإسلامي بخاصة، ثم سافر إلى إنكلترا عام ١٨٠٦ لتابعة دراسته في جامعة كامبردج بلندن.

بعد ثلاث سنوات، وبدعم من الجمعية الإنكليزية لتشجيع استكشاف داخل إفريقيا، تمكن بوركهارت من تحقيق حلمه في زيارة بعض بلدان المشرق العربي ومصر، لتعميق معارفه باللغة العربية، والتعرف عن كثب إلى الحياة التقليدية في المجتمعات الإسلامية وسبر أغوارها، اعتنق الدين الإسلامي، ولقب نفسه

بالشيخ إبراهيم، فانفتحت أمامه إثر ذلك كافة الأبواب التي كانت موصدة أمام أقرانه من المستشرقين الأوروبيين، ولقي ترحيب وعطف السكان المحليين، أينما حلّ وارتحل في بلاد المشرق العربي ومصر.

أقام بوركهارت في سورية، ثم زار الأردن في طريق رحلته إلى القاهرة، فتعرف إلى مدينة البتراء الأثرية في منطقة وادي موسى بالأردن في عام ١٨١٢، وتعدده المصادر الأوروبية المكتشف الأول لهذه الحاضرة النبطية الفريدة في العالم.

بدأ بوركهارت رحلاته الاستكشافية انطلاقاً من القاهرة، فزار المناطق الصحراوية جنوبي مصر وليبية، مقتفياً طريق القوافل عبر واحة فزان، لكن عقبات جمة أرغمته على تغيير

خطة رحلته، فعاد مضطراً إلى انتهاج الطريق النهرية عبر نهر النيل، مما مكّنه من التعرف إلى معبد أبي سنبل في صعيد مصر.

أخيراً، يمم بوركهارت شطر شبه الجزيرة العربية قاصداً زيارة مدينة مكة المكرمة لأداء مناسك الحج. ما لبث أن عاد ثانية إلى مدينة القاهرة، ليعاود الكرة في رحلة لاجتياز الصحراء، لكن المنية واغته في مدينة القاهرة، وهو ما يزال في ريعان الشباب، ولم يتمكن من تحقيق بقية أحلامه.

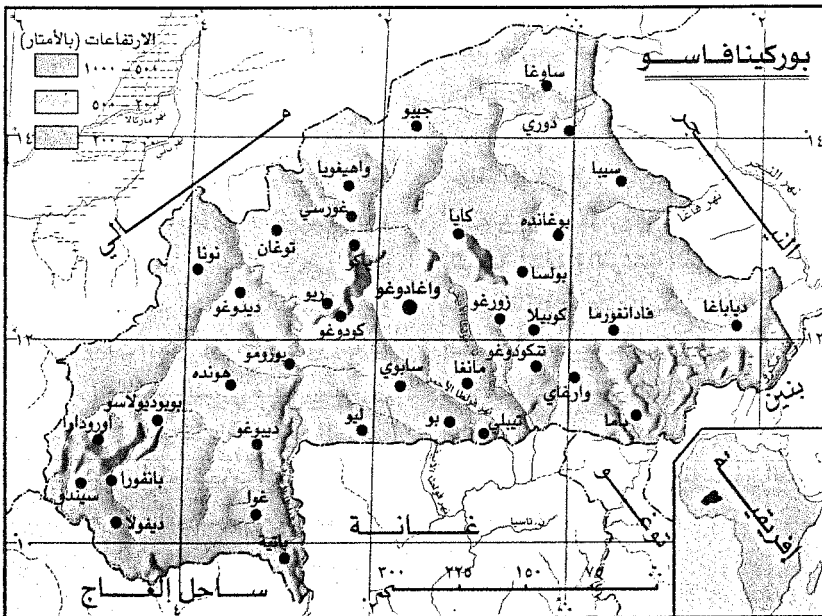
صدرت لبوركهارت عدة مؤلفات بعد وفاته، تضمنت نتائج أسفاره إلى بلاد النوبة (عام ١٨١٩)، وإلى سورية والبلاد المقدسة (عام ١٨٢٢)، وإلى شبه الجزيرة العربية (عام ١٨٢٩).

محمد قنبر

■ بوركينا فاسو

كانت بوركينا فاسو Burkina Faso تدعى فولته العليا حتى عام ١٩٨٤، وهي دولة إفريقية قارية حبيسة (لاسواحل لها) تبعد عن أقرب ساحل إليها، وهو ساحل المحيط الأطلسي، نحو ٥٠٠ كم. تشبه طبيعتها الجغرافية طبيعة الدولتين الإفريقيتين الحبيستين المجاورتين لها في إفريقية الغربية، مالي والنيجر. كانت بوركينا فاسو مستعمرة عاصمتها واغادوغو Ouagadougou من مستعمرات إفريقية الغربية الفرنسية، أما اليوم فهي دولة مستقلة ذات نظام حكم رئاسي جمهوري. وتعني بوركينا فاسو «بلد الرجال الأشراف».

تقع بوركينا فاسو، في الجزء الغربي من القارة الإفريقية، بين دائرتي العرض ٩ درجات و ٣٠ دقيقة و ١٥ درجة شمالاً، وخطي الطول



است و هر چه به سوی جنوب نزدیک تر شویم، به سبب حاصل خیز بودن مناطق و زمینهای کشاورزی افزایش می یابد. ۸۰٪ جمعیت بورکینافاسو را روستائینان تشکیل می دهند (رضایی، ۷۰).

شهر اصلی و پایتخت آن که مرکز تجارتی - صنعتی کشور نیز به شمار می رود، اوآگادوگو^۱ است. این شهر با ۹۹۶'۵۰۰ تن جمعیت (۱۳۸۳ ش/م ۲۰۰۴) بزرگ ترین و پرجمعیت ترین شهر بورکینافاسو است. شهر بوبو - دیولاسو^۵ با ۳۲۰'۷۰۰ تن جمعیت (در ۲۰۰۴ م) دومین شهر بزرگ و مرکز کشاورزی کشور است (مراد، ۵۹۰-۵۹۱؛ «فرهنگ»).

اقتصاد بورکینافاسو بر پایه کشاورزی و دامداری استوار است و با توجه به آنکه، فقط یک سوم اراضی این کشور قابل کشاورزی است، اما این بخش بیش از ۴۰٪ تولید ناخالص داخلی و بیش از ۵۰٪ درآمدهای ارزی کشور را به خود اختصاص داده است. ۹۰٪ جمعیت بورکینافاسو از طریق کشاورزی امرار معاش می کنند و ۶۰٪ اشتغال مربوط به این بخش است. پنبه و بادام زمینی مهم ترین محصولات کشاورزی را تشکیل می دهند و در تولید پنبه در میان کشورهای غرب آفریقا پس از ساحل عاج و مالی در رده سوم قرار دارد (رضایی، ۵۵ - ۵۶؛ هاجکینسن، 214).

دامداری پس از کشاورزی اصلی ترین فعالیت اقتصادی مردم بورکینافاسو به شمار می آید و با وجود مشکلات عدیده از قبیل کمبود آب و چراگاه، عدم سازمان دهی، کمبود دارو و عدم رعایت بهداشت، سهمی ۲۴ درصدی در درآمدهای ارزی این کشور دارد (رضایی، ۵۷). از دیگر منابع اقتصادی بورکینافاسو، بخش معدن است که ۵٪ از تولید ناخالص ملی را به خود اختصاص داده است، اما با توجه به معادن غنی این کشور، به سبب ضعف اقتصادی و نداشتن کادر تخصصی و کمبود راههای ارتباطی و کمبود انرژی، بهره برداری از آن با مشکلاتی روبه روست (همو، ۵۸-۵۹). نقره، نیکل، طلا، فسفات و سنگ آهک مهم ترین منابع معدنی بورکینافاسو هستند (همانجا).

جمعیت این کشور متشکل از گروههای قومی متعددی است و بر پایه آمارهای موجود، بیش از ۶۰ گروه در بورکینافاسو در کنار یکدیگر با آرامش زندگی می کنند (رضایی، ۹). قوم غالب از لحاظ شمار که قدرت سیاسی را نیز در دست دارد، قوم موسی است که ۴۰٪ جمعیت را شامل می شود و در بخشهای غربی کشور به سر می برند. گورماها و گورنسیها از گروههای وابسته به قوم موسی هستند که به ترتیب در شرق و در جنوب غربی کشور زندگی می کنند. اقوام «مانده»^۶ که شامل تیرههای قومی ساراگوله، مارکا، سنوفو، دیولا و ساموست، در نواحی غربی بورکینافاسو ساکنند. در بخشهای غربی و لتای سیاه اقوام سیاه پوست بوبوها و لویها - که فاقد سازمان دهی سیاسی اند - زندگی می کنند. در نواحی جنوبی بوسانسه ها و یایساها به سر می برند. سونگایی، طوارق، بِلّا و پلها از دیگر اقوام ساکن در بورکینافاسو هستند (کوک، ۲۴۷؛

در دوره سلطه فرانسویها بر چاد، بورکو در منطقه نظامی موسوم به «بورکو - اندی - تیستی» قرار داشت (ناختیگال، I/423). با آنکه چاد در ۱۳۳۹ ش/م ۱۹۶۰ استقلال یافت، اما فرانسویها تا ۱۹۶۴ م از تخلیه این منطقه نظامی خودداری کردند («آفریقا...»، 294).

امروزه از لحاظ تقسیمات کشوری چاد، استان «بورکو - اندی - تیستی» با ۶۰۰'۳۵۰ کم ۲ مساحت بزرگ ترین استان این کشور به شمار می رود. تراکم جمعیت در آن بسیار اندک است و در ۱۳۸۳ ش/م ۲۰۰۴ جمعیت استان «بورکو - اندی - تیستی» حدود ۸۵'۱۰۰ تن برآورد شده است («فرهنگ...»).

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پرویز امین

بورکینافاسو (ولتای علیای پیشین)، کشوری در غرب آفریقا. این کشور با ۲۷۴'۲۰۰ کم ۲ مساحت، میان ۹° و ۲۰° تا ۱۵° و ۱۰° عرض شمالی و ۵° و ۳۰° طول غربی تا ۲° و ۲۰° طول شرقی واقع است. بورکینافاسو در خشکی محصور است و به آبهای آزاد راه ندارد و از شمال و غرب به مالی، از شرق به نیجر، از جنوب به ساحل عاج، غنا و توگو، و از جنوب شرقی به بنین محدود است (اطلس... نقشه).

این کشور سرزمینی نسبتاً کم ارتفاع است و ۵۸٪ اراضی آن را دشتهای هموار تشکیل می دهد؛ بلندترین نقطه آن، قله تناکورو با ۷۴۷ متر ارتفاع در جنوب غربی کشور واقع است (جعفری، ۱۷۲؛ رضایی، ۲). مهم ترین رودهای بورکینافاسو ولتای سیاه یا موهون، ولتای سرخ یا نازین و ولتای سفید یا ناکانبه است؛ این رودخانه ها همگی از شمال به جنوب جریان دارند و هیچ یک قابل کشتی رانی نیستند و پس از عبور از کشور غنا به اقیانوس اطلس می ریزند (انکار تا^۳؛ رضایی، همانجا).

بیشتر اراضی بورکینافاسو پوشیده از علفزار و درختچه های پراکنده (ساوان) است و فقط در بخشهای جنوبی آن جنگلهای مناطق گرمسیری دیده می شود که رو به شمال از تراکم آن کاسته می شود (همانجا).

این کشور دارای دو نوع آب هوای گرم و خشک در شمال، و گرم و مرطوب در جنوب است (جعفری، همانجا). در ۱۳۸۳ ش/م ۲۰۰۴ جمعیت بورکینافاسو ۱۲'۱۱۴'۴۰۰ تن برآورده شده است («فرهنگ...») که با توجه به وسعت کم آن، یکی از پرتراکم ترین کشورهای آفریقایی به شمار می رود. تراکم جمعیت در این کشور بستگی به آب و هوا و صنعتی بودن هر منطقه دارد. در شمال تراکم جمعیت کمتر

Tawarik part 1

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H.R. KHUSHA

Tawarik ✓

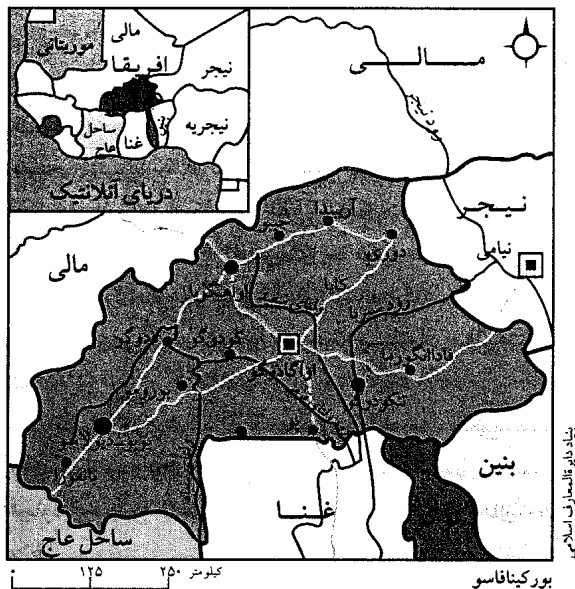
Tribes of Algeria, Burkina Faso Libya, Mali and Niger

The Tawarik, Arabised form of the original Berber Twareg, are conventionally in French and English Touareg, Tuareg, a Berber tribal people of the Inner Sahara, living in what is now Algeria, Libya, Niger, Mali and Burkina Faso.

The Tuareg society is a society of nomadic cattle breeders organised in tribes and confederations of tribes. It is, moreover, a society strongly divided into classes or castes.

بورکینافاسو

۵۱۹



Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Traditional Islam in the modern world*, London 1987.

/ پروانه هروج نیا /

بورکینافاسو، کشوری در افریقای غربی. در شمال و مغرب با مالی، در مشرق با نیجر و بنین و در جنوب با توگو، غنا و ساحل عاج همسایه است. مساحت آن ۲۷۴'۲۰۰ کیلومتر مربع و پایتختش اوآگادوگو^۱ است. این کشور سابقاً بخشی از افریقای غربی فرانسه بود. در ۱۳۶۳ ش/ ۱۹۸۴ نام آن از ولتای علیا به بورکینافاسو تغییر داده شد که به زبان قوم موسی^۲ به معنای «سرزمین مردم درستکار» است (بریتانیکا، ج ۲۹، ص ۸۴۲؛ آمریکانا، ذیل ماده).

بورکینافاسو فلاتی وسیع و مسطح است. ارتفاع متوسط کشور که چهارصد متر است، به سمت شرق و جنوب کاهش می‌یابد. بلندترین نقطه کشور در جنوب غربی تنها ۷۴۹ متر ارتفاع دارد. بزرگترین رود کشور، رود موهون^۳ (ولتای سیاه سابق)، همراه رودهای ولتای سفید و قرمز وارد غنا می‌شود. رود مهم دیگر، کوموئه^۴ با جریان یافتن در بخش کوتاهی از بورکینافاسو، در جنوب غربی کشور وارد ساحل عاج می‌شود. هیچیک از این رودها قابل کشتیرانی نیست. سه منطقه آب و هوایی به‌طور همزمان در کشور وجود دارد: در جنوب غربی سالانه تا ۱۱۶۸ میلیمتر باران می‌بارد؛ در منطقه میانی، شامل اوآگادوگو، بارش به‌طور متوسط حدود ۷۶۲ میلیمتر است؛ و در شمال بندرت به ۵۰۸ میلیمتر می‌رسد. خاک کشور عمدتاً سبک، کم‌مایه و رسوبی است و آب را در خود نگه نمی‌دارد و بیشتر بارش سالانه بسرعت جاری می‌شود. میانگین دما در بیشتر اوقات سال بین ۲۰ تا ۳۵ سانتیگراد است. شمال کشور در فصل بارانی عمدتاً از علفزارهای ساوانا پوشیده می‌شود و در دوره وزش باد هارماتان نیمه‌بیابانی است. بوته‌های خاردار و علفزار در «ساوانا» در شمال جای خود را در جنوب به جنگلهای تنک می‌دهد که بیشتر در امتداد رودها گسترش یافته است. همچنین در جنوب شرقی، ناحیه باتلاقی گورما^۵ و در غرب تپه‌های پوشیده از درخت وجود دارد. در جنوب غربی، به علت بارندگی فراوان پوشش گیاهی مناسب است (آمریکانا؛ بریتانیکا، همانجاها؛ <دایرةالمعارف ورلد بوک>؛^۶ ذیل ماده؛ امجدعلی، ص ۵۷۳).

جمعیت بورکینافاسو در ۱۳۷۶ ش/ ۱۹۹۷، ۱۰'۸۹۱'۰۰۰ تن برآورد شده است. بیشتر جمعیت این کشور در نواحی مرکزی و جنوبی متمرکز شده‌اند. در مناطق دیگر، بویژه در شمال، مشرق و جنوب غربی، به علت شرایط محیطی نامساعد مانند بارندگی ناکافی یا شیوع بیماری کوری رودخانه‌ای و وجود مگس تسه‌تسه و پشه مالاریا، تمرکز جمعیت کمتر است. حدود ۸۰٪ از جمعیت کشور روستانشین‌اند. پرجمعیت‌ترین شهر کشور، اوآگادوگو در ۱۳۷۴ ش/ ۱۹۹۵، ۸۲۴ هزارتن جمعیت داشته است. شهرهای مهم دیگر بوبو - دیولاسو^۷، کودوگو^۸، اوآهیگویا^۹، بانفورا^{۱۰} و کایاست. بیشتر مردم بورکینافاسو به یکی از دو گروه اصلی قومی، ولتایی و مانده^{۱۱}، وابسته‌اند. اقوام موسی^{۱۲}، لوبی^{۱۳}، گورونسی^{۱۴} و گورما از گروه ولتایی و اقوام بوسانسه (ببسا)^{۱۵}، مارکا^{۱۶}، سامو^{۱۷}، سنوفو^{۱۸} و دیولا^{۱۹} از گروه «مانده»‌اند. اقوام دیگری نیز مانند هوسا^{۲۰} و طوارق در کشور وجود دارد. نسبت جمعیت اقوام عمده در ۱۳۶۲ ش/ ۱۹۸۳ بدین‌صورت بوده است: موسی ۴۷٫۹٪، مانده ۸٫۸٪، فولانی ۸٫۳٪، لوبی ۶٫۹٪، بوبو ۶٫۸٪، سنوفو ۵٫۳٪، گورونسی ۵٫۱٪ و گورما ۴٫۸٪. هر گروه قومی، به زبان یا لهجه خود گفتگو می‌کند. در مرکز کشور زبان موسیها، موره، بیش از دیگر زبانها به کار می‌رود. زبانهای دیولایی و هوسایی معمول‌ترین زبانهای تجاری است. زبان رسمی کشور فرانسوی است، اما

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| 1. Ouagadougou | 2. Mossi | 3. Mouhoun | 4. Komoé | 5. Gourma |
| 6. The World book encyclopedia | 7. Bobo-Dioulasso | 8. Koudougou | 9. Ouahigouya | 10. Banfora |
| 11. Mande | 12. Lobi | 13. Gurunsi | 14. Busansi (Bissa) | 15. Marka |
| 17. Senufo | 18. Dioula (Dyula) | 19. Hause (Hausa) | | |



BURKINA FASO

VOS CONTACTS

Ministère du Commerce, de l'Industrie et de l'Artisanat

Immeuble 15 Octobre
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Fax (226) 31 45 86

Office National du Tourisme du Burkina (ONTB)

Immeuble Caisse
de stabilisation des prix
01 B.P. 1311
Ouagadougou 01
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Fax (226) 31 44 34

Office National du Commerce Extérieur (ONAC)

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Ouagadougou 01
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31 13 00 / 31 13 01
Fax (226) 31 14 69
Télex 5258 BF

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Ouagadougou 03
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31 73 56 / 31 73 57
Fax (226) 30 87 92
Télex 5222 BF

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Immeuble CCIAB
Avenue Nelson Mandela
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Tél. (226) 30 61 14
Fax (226) 30 61 16
Télex 5268 BF

Commission de Privatisation / Secrétariat permanent

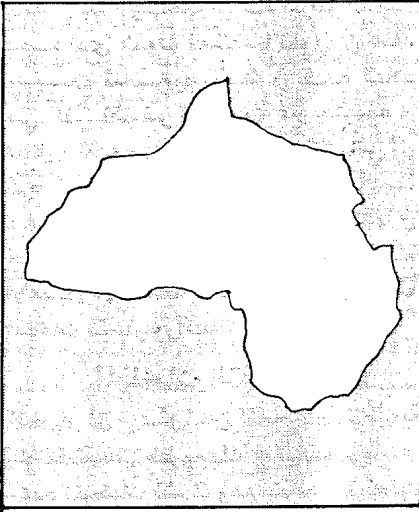
Immeuble CAI
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01 B.P. 6451
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Fax (226) 30 77 41

MARQUE DÉPOSÉE
SOCIÉTÉ ANONYME

24 EYLUL 1996

المشرف العام على المراكز الاسلامية في بوركينا فاسو الدكتور أبوبكر ديكورتي:

هذا ما يفعله النصارى في أفريقيا!



تحدثونا عن نشاطات هذه المراكز؟

- هذه المراكز الإسلامية تابعة لرابطة العالم الإسلامي وعددها أربعة مراكز ويقع المركز الرئيسي في العاصمة وهو عبارة عن مستوصف طبي ومكتبة ومسجد ومدرسة ثانوية تحت الإنشاء وهذا النظام هو المتبع بالنسبة لباقي المراكز ولكن هذه المشاريع لم تكتمل بعد، أما المعاهد العلمية فانا الذي انشأتها بعد تخرجي من الجامعة كمساهمة متواضعة لرفع مستوى التعليم العربي والإسلامي في البلد والمعهد الرئيسي يوجد بالعاصمة وبه نحو ١٤٠٠ طالب وطالبة وله فروع في مختلف مناطق البلاد.

والمراكز تقوم بنشاط معنوي أكثر منه مادي لأن النصارى كانوا يتظاهرون بأنهم هم وحدهم الذين يهتمون بالجانب الإنساني أما المسلمون فإنهم يدعون إلى الإسلام دون أن يحاولوا مساعدة الناس وتخفيف آلامهم ومواسلتهم وكانوا يعتبرون ذلك عيبا في الإسلام فهم يرون لأنفسهم الفضل في هذا الجانب لأنهم يحاولون أن يخففوا آلام الناس ومساعدتهم قدر الإمكان، وبالطبع فإن المراكز بددت هذا الزعم الذي احتكروه لأنفسهم مدة

كتب: إبراهيم رفعت:

بوركينا فاسو دولة إسلامية تقع في غربي إفريقيا تبلغ مساحتها ٢٧٤ كم^٢ وتقع بين جمهورية النيجر شرقا ومالي غربا وشمالا وغانا جنوبا، هذه الدولة عانت طويلا من الاستعمار الذي لم يرحل عنها إلا مؤخرا بعد أن تركها ترزح في ظلام الجهل والتخلف في شتى الميادين الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والسياسية.

وقد بدأت هذه الدولة وبدأ شعبها المسلم يتلمس طريقه نحو التنمية ونحو العودة إلى هويته الإسلامية التي قام الاستعمار بمسحها وتشويهها ولكنه يحتاج إلى يد المساعدة تمتد إليه لتعاونه في سبيل العودة إلى دينه والتعرف عليه وحتى الآن لا توجد إلا منظمتان إسلاميتان فقط تعملان على الساحة هناك، هما رابطة العالم الإسلامي ولجنة مسلمي إفريقيا الكويتية كما أخبرنا بذلك الدكتور/ أبوبكر ديكورتي المشرف العام على المراكز الإسلامية والمعاهد العلمية في بوركينا فاسو، والذي نتعرف من خلاله على أوضاع المسلمين هناك والمشاكل التي يعانون منها.

- بالنسبة للموضع الاقتصادي فهو جيد إلى حد ما، فمعظم رجال الأعمال والتجار من المسلمين وهناك تقدم ملموس في التجارة بالنسبة للمسلمين ولكنهم لم يستطيعوا استثمار ذلك لتحقيق نهضة اقتصادية أو إحداث أي تغيير في البلد أما بالنسبة للموضع التعليمي فهو غير جيد كما ذكرت لأنهم كانوا يرفضون الالتحاق بالمدارس التي انشأها الاستعمار حتى أن رجال القبائل كان يبذلون كل ما في وسعهم حتى لا يلتحق ابنائهم بهذه المدارس ولو تطلب الأمر دفع الرشاوى ولكنهم الآن وبعد الاستقلال بدعوا يهتمون بالتعليم.

نشاطات المراكز الإسلامية

■ بما أنكم ترأسون المراكز والمعاهد الإسلامية في بوركينا فاسو - نرجو منكم أن

■ نرجو أن تحدثنا في البداية عن وضع الإسلام والمسلمين في بوركينا فاسو؟
- نستطيع القول إن وضع الإسلام في بوركينا فاسو جيد مقارنة مع بعض الدول الأفريقية والميزة التي يتميز بها المسلمون بالرغم من أنه ليست هناك وحدة تجمعهم تحت ظل جمعية أو اتحاد واحد أنه لا توجد بينهم حزازات أو عدااء مستفحل على تعدد جماعاتهم، فكل منها يعمل ويخدم الإسلام وكثيرا ما تتعاون هذه الجمعيات فيما بينها لتحقيق هدف معين.

أما عن وضع المسلمين فبالرغم من أنهم يشكلون الأغلبية حيث تبلغ نسبتهم حوالي ٦٥٪ إلا أنهم لا يمثلون ثقلا سياسيا، فهم ضعفاء ومتخلفون في هذا الجانب وهذا يرجع إلى ضعفهم وتخلفهم في الجانب التعليمي.

■ نود أن تحدثونا أيضا عن الوضع التعليمي والاقتصادي؟

döndüğü günün sabahı kamptan ayrılmıştı. En yakın yerleşim yeri işaretlenmiş ve oraya ulaşana değin onlara yetecek miktarda yiyecek bırakılmıştı; ama Burke ile King, Avustralya'nın güney kıyısındaki Adelaide'e doğru ilerlemeyi kararlaştırdılar. İki gün sonra Burke yola dayanamayarak öldü. Kampa geri dönen ve Wills'i ölü bulan King ise sonunda bir arama ekibine kurtarıldı. Melbourne'da, Burke ve King'in anısına bir heykel dikildi. Wills'in üstünde bulunan günlük, bu serüveni anlatan bir belge niteliğindedir.

Burke, William ve Hare, William (sırasıyla, d. 1792, Orrery, İrlanda - ö. 28 Ocak 1829, Edinburg; d. Londonderry, İrlanda; ö. 1820'ler), kurbahalarını öldürdükten sonra cesetlerini, bilimsel araştırma yapan bir anatomi bilginine satan ünlü katiller.

İrlanda'dan İskoçya'ya göç eden William Hare, çeşitli işlere girip çıktıktan sonra, Edinburg'un Tanner's Close bölgesinde bulunan Log'un Pansiyonu'nda bekçi olarak çalışmaya başladı. Hare gibi İrlandalı olan William Burke de 1827'de pansiyona geldi. 29 Kasım'da, pansiyonda kalan yaşlı bir müşteri ölünce, Burke ile Hare cesedi gömmek yerine, 7,5 sterlin karşılığında Robert Knox adındaki cerraha satular. Sonraki aylarda, kimliği bilinmeyen en az 15 yolcuyla daha kandırıp pansiyona getirdiler. Yolcuları önce sarhoş ediyor, darbe izi bulunmaması için boğarak öldürdükten sonra da cesetleri Knox'ın anatomi okuluna satıyorlardı. 31 Ekim 1828'de bölgede yaşayan bir kadını öldürmeleri, komşularla polis olayı ortaya çıkarmasına yol açtı.

Hare, arkadaşına karşı ifade verince serbest bırakıldı ve bir daha izine rastlanmadı.

Burke ise cinayetle yargılanarak suçlu bulundu ve asıldı. İfadesinde, Knox'ın cinayetlere ilişkin hiçbir bilgisi olmadığını söyleyerek onu temize çıkardıysa da, doktor uzun süre kamuoyunun ve basının suçlamalarından kurtulamadı.

Burke's Peerage, İngilizce tam adı BURKE'S GENEALOGICAL AND HERALDIC HISTORY OF THE PEERAGE, BARONETAGE, AND KNIGHTAGE (Burke Tarihi: Soyluların, Baronların ve Şövalyelerin Soy ve Arma Tarihi), John Burke'un ilk kez Londra'da 1826'da yayımladığı, günümüzde de eksiksiz soy bilgisi veren tek İngiliz soyluluk rehberi. 105. basımında (1970) başlatılan bir uygulamayla, kişilerin yaşamöyküleriyle ilgili daha geniş ve daha ilginç ayrıntılara yer verilmiştir. Örneğin ilgili kişinin siyasal ve askeri geçmişinin yanı sıra yapıtlarına ilişkin bilgiler de metinlere eklenmiştir. Rehberde, yeni ya da değişikliğe uğramış armalar, kraliyet ailesinin, başpiskopos ve piskoposların, şövalyelerin, kraliyet beratı sahiplerinin yaşamöyküleri, protokol listeleri ve soyagacı tükenmiş unvanlar yer almaktadır. Ayrıca özel makalelerde, İngiliz ve İrlanda soyluları ile Lordlar Kamarası'nın kökenleri, soyluluk unvanlarının askıya alınması gibi sorunlar tartışılmakta, kalıtsal soyluluk savunulmaktadır.

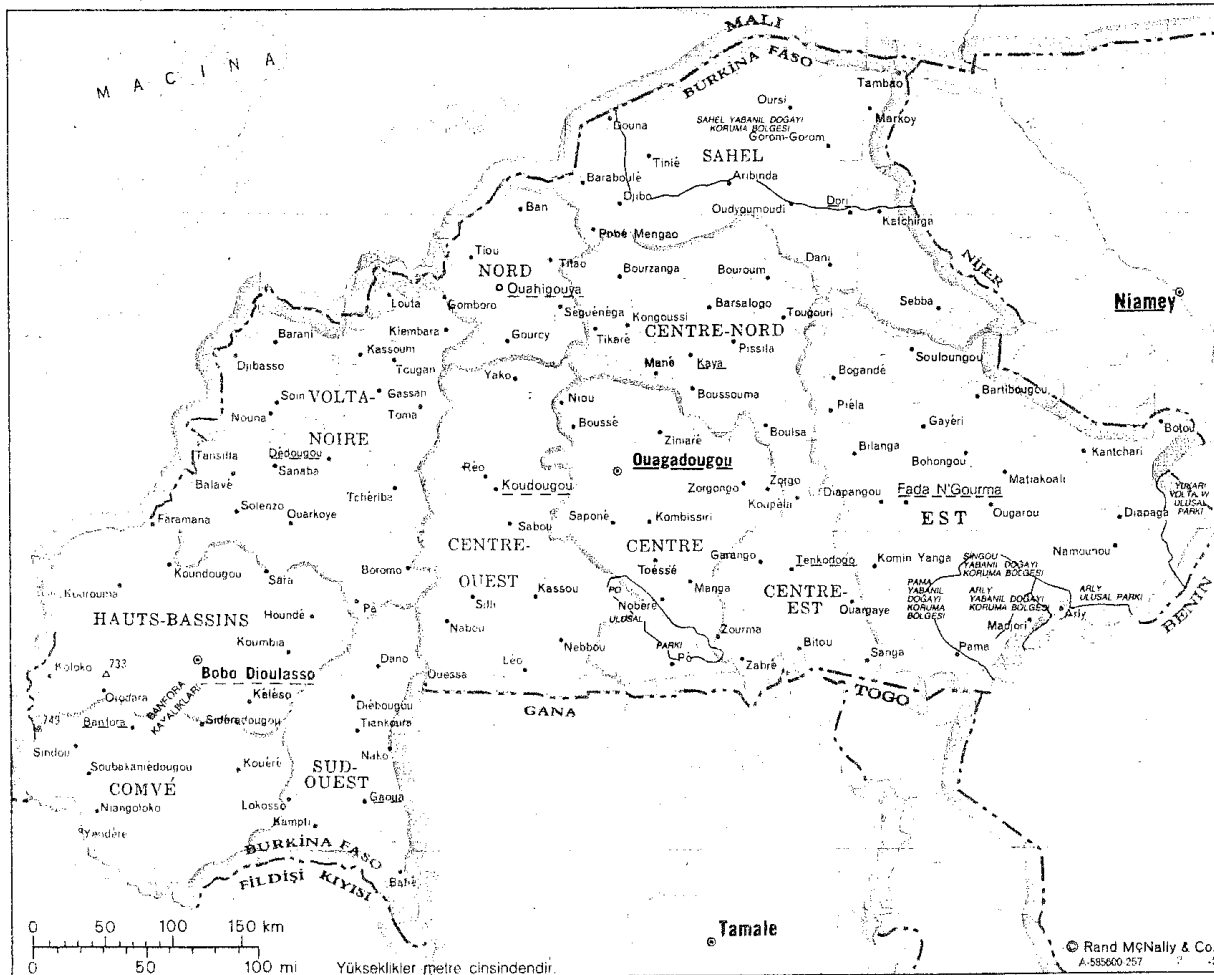
Burkina Faso, eskiden YUKARI VOLTA, YUKARI VOLTA CUMHURİYETİ, Fransızca RÉPUBLIQUE DE HAUTE-VOLTA, Afrika'nın batısında 274.200 km²'lik bir alanı kaplayan karayla kuşatılmış ülke. Sahra Çölünün güneyinde yer alan Burkina Faso, kuzey ve batıda Mali, güneyde Fildişi Kıyısı, Gana ve Togo, doğuda da Benin ve Nijer ile çevrilidir. Başkenti karayoluyla denizden 800 km içeride olan Ouagadougou'dur. Bugünkü adı Mossilerin dili Morede "dürüst insanların

yurdu" anlamına gelir. Nüfus (1986 tah.) 8.126.000'dir.

Doğal yapı. Burkina Faso'nun büyük bölümü, aşınmış yükseltilerin egemen olduğu, lateritli bir kayalık tabakasıyla kaplı geniş bir kristal kayalık platodan oluşur. Güney batıda kristal kayalık tepelerini örten kumtaşı platolar, birdenbire yükselerek 150 m'ye ulaşan Banfora kayalıkları (Falaise de Banfora) ile sınırlanır. Kuzey ve kuzeydoğuda şeritler halinde uzanan kumların arasında yer yer kayalık tepeler yükselir. Güneye doğru hafifçe eğimli olan platoyu, ülkenin başlıca akarsuları olan Kara Volta, Beyaz Volta ve Kızıl Volta'nın vadileri keser; Volta'nın başlıca kollarından biri olan Sourou Irmağıyla kuzeyde birleşen bu akarsular güney yönünde akarak Gana'da Volta'yı oluştururlar. Irmakların akışında mevsimlere göre büyük değişiklikler ortaya çıkar.

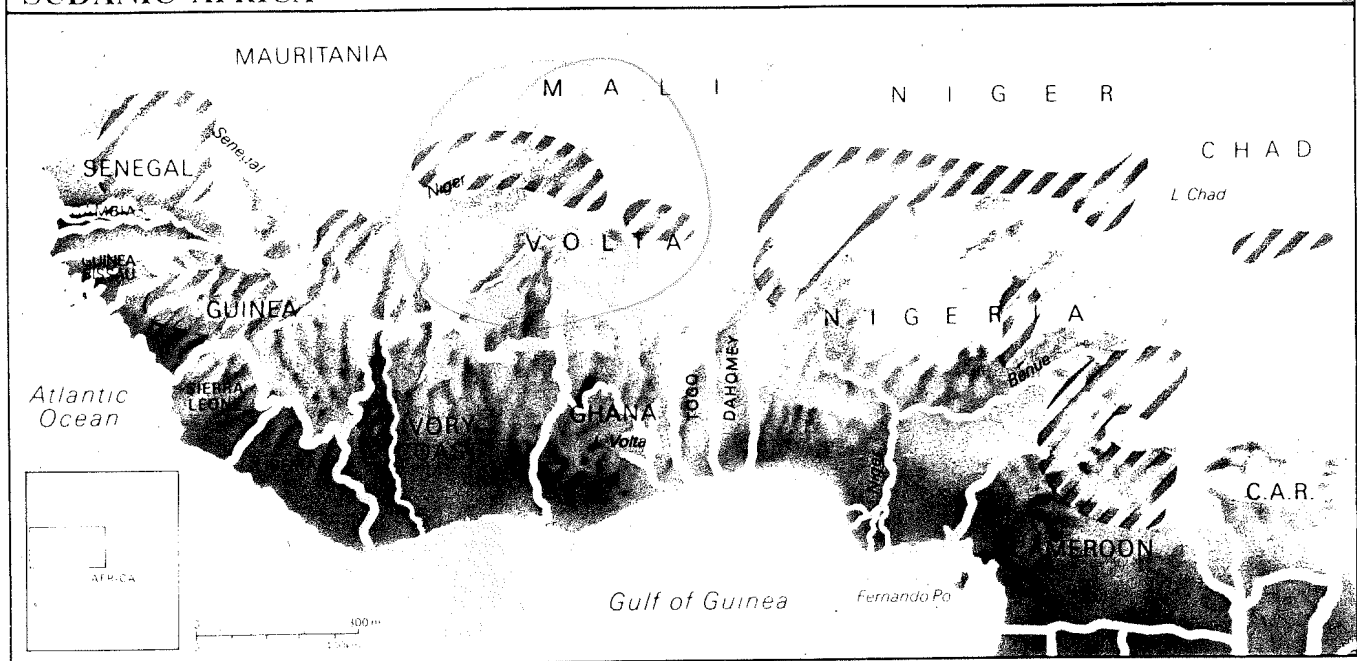
İklim genel olarak sıcak ve kuraktır. Kuzeyde üç-beş ay süren düzensiz yağışlarla beirlenen Sahel iklimi görülür. Güneye doğru inildikçe bazen Sudan iklimi de denen tropik bir savan iklimi egemen olur. Yıllık yağış yaklaşık 250-1.000 mm arasında değişir. Burkina Faso'da sıcaklığın 10°C'ye düştüğü kurak ve serin mevsim (kasım-mart), sıcaklığın gölgede 40°C'ye kadar çıktığı sıcak mevsim (mart-mayıs) ve yağmur mevsimi (haziran-ekim) olmak üzere üç mevsim görülür.

Ülkenin büyük bölümü çeşitli ot ve küçük ağaçların da yer aldığı çalılıklarla kaplıdır. Savan bölgesi yağmur mevsiminde otlak, *harmattan* denen kuru iç rüzgârlar döneminde de yarı çöl görünümünü alır. Güneyde dikenli çalılıkların yerini alan seyrek ormanlar, yıl boyunca akan akarsu kıyılarındaki sıklıkla. Daha çok karite ve baobab ağaçlarına rastlanır. Ülkede yaşayan hayvanlar arasında yabansıgın, antilop, aslan, suaygırı,



Fulani

SUDANIC AFRICA



The beautiful appearance and elegant gestures of the Fulani have long made them attractive to other peoples, African as well as European, who have come into contact with them. But their elusive nomadic life, their independent warrior values and their reputation for skill in both beneficial and harmful 'medicine' have also made them objects of suspicion.

Some theories about the Fulani have been highly speculative and their origins have been widely disputed. In fact, there need be little mystery about them. Their language, Fulfulde, is related to a number of languages found in the extreme west of the Sudan belt, and it is reasonable to assume that it developed there. As the Fulani spread eastwards, different dialects developed - the main ones being those of the Fouta Senegalais and Fouta Jalon, of the central Niger region, of northern Nigeria, of Adamawa and Cameroon and of Bagirmi in Chad.

The Fulani who moved further east into the Republic of the Sudan, are greatly mixed with the Arab cattle-herders, the Baggara, and they speak Arabic. But the Fulfulde language is now classified, with general agreement, as one of the West Atlantic family and most ethnographers accept that this area was their original home. Their particular appearance (and also, incidentally, their similarity to many Ethiopians) is accounted for by their assumed ethnic origin as a people of mixed Caucasoid and Negroid ancestry.

Most of the inhabitants of the savannah among whom the Fulani live are settled agriculturalists, and the Fulani are principally distinguished from them as pastoralists. Even where the neighbours of the Fulani have also acquired cattle, they treat them quite differently since the majority of West African Negroes do not milk their animals. For the Fulani, dairy techniques are the main means of food supply. The fact that they are thus sharply different in culture from the Negroes can possibly be attributed to the Caucasoid part of their ethnic and cultural heritage. It was the use of dairy techniques which enabled the Fulani to rely completely on their animals for subsistence:

it is not possible to live exclusively on pastoralism otherwise. Nevertheless, while this did enable the Fulani to utilize marginal lands on the southern edge of the Sahara desert, where rainfall and water supplies were too slight for agriculture, it is probable that they have always had access to agricultural produce in exchange for their animal products - hides and meat as well as dairy foods.

The importance of pastoralism as the essential characteristic of their society is seen in the legends of the origin of the Fulani. The first Fulani to own cattle acquired them after he was driven out from his original home village. He wandered in the bush, suffering greatly, until a water spirit helped him by sending him cattle. In one version the cattle were the last of many animals he was forced to water on the spirit's instructions, and he was given them as a reward for his hard work - but only on the condition that he light a fire for them every night. This would keep them in the camp - without it they would leave and return to a wild state.

For over 1,000 years, Arab writers have reported the existence of the Fulani, but for the first few centuries after they acquired cattle their numbers do not appear to have expanded very fast. An important exodus of Fulani from the kingdom of Tekrur in Senegal occurred in the 11th century, and gave them the name Tekruri, by which they are still known in the eastern Sudan. They had reached northern Nigeria by the late 12th century and there were considerable numbers there by the 13th century. Penetration was peaceful and gradual. The 14th century saw the arrival of Islam in some of the Hausa cities of this area, and it is possible that the Fulani were also participants in this early conversion. But the Fulani states further to the west were generally hostile to the new religion. The Fulani kingdom of Fouta Jalon in the 10th century, for example, and that of Fouta Senegal in the 16th, both persecuted Moslems.

But once the Fulani had been converted to Islam the states which they built up or conquered became strong, even fanatical, centres of Moslem evangelism. The highlands of the Fouta Jalon had seen considerable immigra-

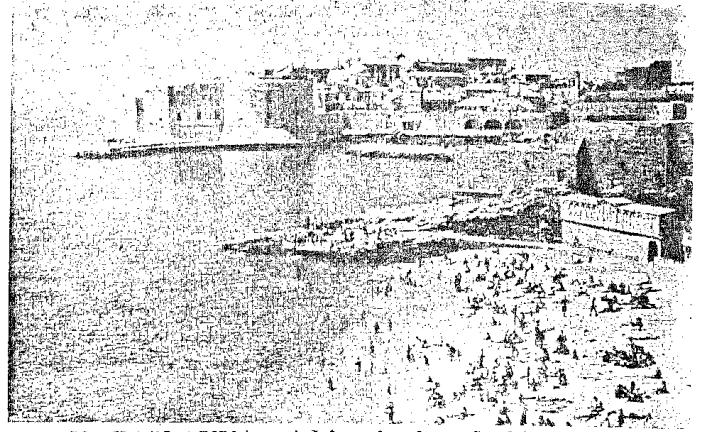
YUGOSLAVYA, resmî adı: (Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija = Yugoslavya Sosyalist Federal Cumhuriyeti), Balkan Yarımadasının kuzeybatı bölümünde bir devlet. Kuzeyde Avusturya ve Macaristan, kuzeydoğuda Romanya, doğuda Bulgaristan, güneyde Yunanistan ve batıda Arnavutluk, Adriya Denizi ve İtalya ile çevrilmiştir. Yüz ölçümü 255 804 km², nüfusu 22 411 000 (1978) ve başşehri Belgrad (Beograd, 1 200 000)'dir.

Y. % 80'i sarp dağlarla kaplı bir ülkedir. Bu dağlar Avrupanın Alp sisteminden ayrılarak, güneydoğuya, Balkan yarımadası içerisine doğru uzanan Dinar dağ sıralarıdır. Adriya Denizi kıyısında dar bir düzlükler şeridi uzanır; denizaltına dalmış dağ sıralarının su yüzünde kalan kısımları kıyıya paralel uzanır, sayısız adaları meydana getirmiştir. Ülkenin kuzey bölümünün ortasında ve kuzeydoğusunda, Macaristan'da geniş yer kaplayan Panonya havzasının güney uzantısı bulunur. Tuna nehriyle, ülkeyi boydan boya kesen kolu Sava ve diğer kolları bunadan geçer.

Dar kıyı kesiminde Akdeniz iklimi görülür; yazlar sıcak ve kurak, kışlar ılık ve yağışlıdır. Bunun dışında ülkenin büyük kısmında karasal iklim özellikleri hâkimdir; kışlar soğuk ve yazlar sıcak geçer. Kış yağışları çoğunlukla kar şeklindedir.

Ekonomisi, II. Dünya Savaşından önce tarıma dayanıyordu. Fakat daha sonra, madencilik ve sanayi gelişmiş ve kırsal kesimde çiftçilikle uğraşanlar şehir ve kasabalara akın etmişler, fabrika ve madenlerde çalışmaya başlamışlardır. Fakat Yugoslav endüstrileşmesi, Batı standartlarına göre daha geri düzeydedir. Anayasaya göre, bütün üretim araçları ve tabii kaynaklar halkın ortak malıdır.

Anazinin yarısından fazlası tarıma ve kalan kısmı hayvan otlatmaya tahsis edilmiştir. II. Dünya Savaşından sonra, her ne kadar tarım kolektifleştirilmiş ise de, başını sağlanamadığından, 1951'den sonra isteyenlerin kendi mülklerinde çalışmasına izin verilmiştir. Bugün kolektif çiftliklerin üyesi olarak çalışanlar % 5'ten azdır. Çiftçilerin % 85'i kendi küçük işletmelerinde çalışmaktadırlar. Tarım en çok kuzeydeki çukur alanda yapılır (mısır, buğday, şeker pancarı, patates, çavdar, kenevir, tütün ve çeşitli sebzeler). Batı ve güney bölgelerinde bağlar ve meyvelikler, Güney Sırbistan ve Makedonya'nın daha güneşli ve daha ılık ikliminde pirinç, pamuk, suam, meyveler ve sebzeler ve Adriya Denizi kıyılarında da limon ve portakal gibi turunçgiller görülür. Hayvancılık gelişmiştir; domuz çok beslenir. Kuzeybatıda sığır yaygındır. Güneyin yüksekliklerinde koyunculuk başta gelir. Y.'nın üçte biri ormanlarla kaplıdır; özellikle Slovenya, Kuzey Hırvatistan ve Bosna orman bakımından zengindir. Bu bölgelerde kerestecilik ve odun



YUGOSLAVYA: Adriya kıyılarında bir görünüş

ürünleriyle ilgili endüstri dalları gelişmiştir. Deniz ve nehir balıkçılığının da ekonomiye katkısı vardır.

Maden kaynakları zengindir; bakır, kurşun, boksit, antimon, civa, çinko ve krom bakımından Avrupa'nın en ileri ülkeleri arasındadır. Bunlardan başka, demir ve kömür (linyit) de çıkarılır. Petrol ve tabii gaz bulunmuştur; fakat ülke ihtiyacına yeterli değildir. II. Dünya Savaşından sonra, özellikle ağır endüstriye (demir-çelik, bakır ve alüminyum endüstrisi) önem verilmiştir (daha çok Sava vadisinde Belgrad ile Ljubljana arasında). Bundan başka, dokuma, kimya, makine, elektrikli aletler, gıda maddeleri, halıçılık, ağaç işleri gibi endüstri dalları da gelişmiştir. Y. gemi yapımında da ileridir.

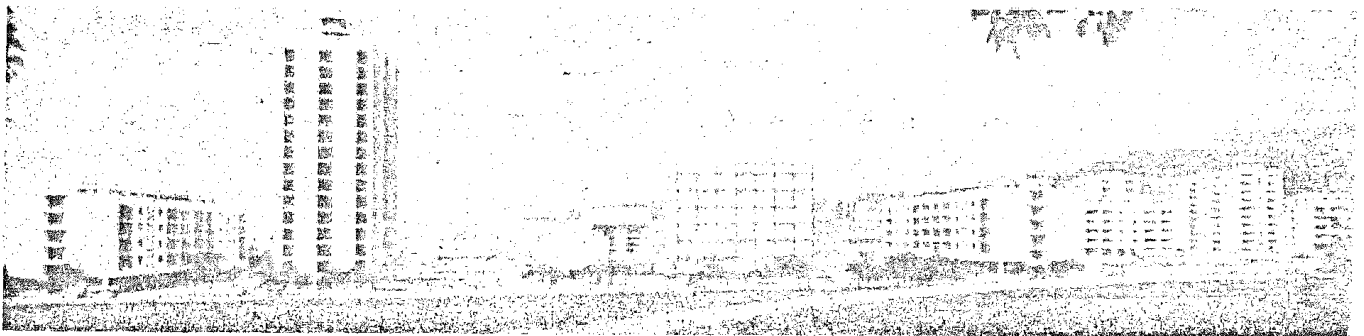
Halkın çoğunluğunu Sırp, Hırvat ve Slovenler teşkil eder; diğer önemli etnik gruplar Arnavutlar, Makedonyalılar ve Karadağlılardır. Yarım milyona yakın Macar vardır. Çoğunluk Hristiyan olmakla birlikte 4,5 milyon kadar Müslüman bulunmaktadır. Önemli şehirleri Zagreb (670 000), Saraybosna (Sarajevo 300 000), Ljubljana (260 000), Novi Sad (220 000) ve Maribor (180 000)'dur; bunlar aynı zamanda eyalet merkezleridir. Eyaletlerinin sayısı 11'dir. (Cevat R. Gürsoy)

YUKARI CULAT: bk. TATARTUP.

YUKARI TUNGUSKA: bk. TUNGUSKA.

YUKARI VOLTA, Batı Afrika'da bir devlet. Yüz ölçümü 274 122 km², nüfusu 5 638 203 (1975)'tür. Nijer, Dahomey, Togo, Gana, Fildişi Kıyısı ve Mali ile sınırdadır. Başşehri Uagadugu (Ouagadougou) (172 661)'dur.

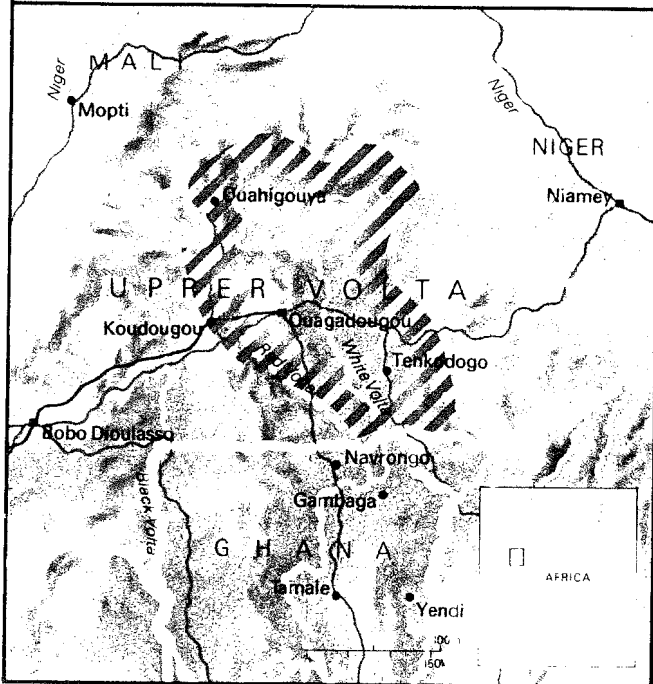
Ülke, kuzeyden güneye doğru eğilmiş bir yontukdüz (peneplen) olup monoton bir manzara gösteren granit ve



YUGOSLAVYA: Velence şehrinin yeni mahallelerinden bir görünüş

London 1978

Mossi UPPER VOLTA



Nation building is a very ancient process in Africa. The boundaries of modern African states, which are legacies of the colonial period, are more rigid than those of the traditional polities, but throughout African history political boundaries have changed as the authority of dynasties and kings has expanded or contracted. As in the modern states of Africa today, traditional states were amalgamations of many peoples, often with very different cultural traditions. Mossi society was, and remains, an example of this, for the way in which distinct local groups were united into a larger community was central to their development.

Mossi history has been documented for at least 500 years. During this time more and more people have come to identify themselves as Mossi, until today the Mossi number over 2 million, more than half the population of the Republic of the Upper Volta. There are also at least half a million Mossi outside Upper Volta, migrants who have temporarily or permanently moved south to Ivory Coast or Ghana to work on cocoa and coffee plantations, and in mines and factories.

Given these large numbers, and the dispersion of the Mossi today, it is not surprising that Mossi culture varies widely. There are Mossi in Upper Volta who also call themselves by other names, identifying their diverse cultural origins. And there are Mossi outside Upper Volta who no longer speak More, the Mossi language, and who have little knowledge of traditional customs. The term Mossi now refers to a society which includes many different ethnic and local communities which have increasingly recognized a common way of life and a common social identity.

There are two separate traditions which describe the origin of the Mossi state. Taken together they show different but complementary aspects of the society. According to one tradition the Mossi chieftainship, and thus the state organization itself, derives from the more southerly states of Mamprusi and Dagomba. Several hundred years ago a Mamprusi king was said to have had a daughter.

Having no son, he did not want her to marry, but rather wanted her to become king. Complaining that she was wasting away, 'like an unplucked okra', she rode off on horseback to the bush.

In the area of Upper Volta now known as Tenkodogo, 'old town', she met a wandering hunter who came from a royal Malinke family. A son resulted from this encounter. Ouedroago, who became the first Mossi king, or *Naba*, the founder of a line of chiefs which has remained unbroken to the present. Ouedroago returned to visit his grandfather in Mamprusi country and took with him horses as symbols of royalty, and men who intermarried with the local women. He and his men then moved from one area to another establishing chieftainships and creating a network of inter-connected royal houses.

This history defines the origins and relationships between three major segments or estates in Mossi society: the royals, who all claim to be descendants of Ouedroago through the male line; the commoners, descendants of the marriages of the horsemen and local women; and the indigenous inhabitants who were there before the arrival of the Mamprusi princess and her son, the first Mossi chief. Even today in many villages the indigenous peoples reserve for themselves the role of custodian of the earth. This gives them important ritual power which complements the political power of the chiefs. While a chief is said to possess *nam*, the power to govern, the earth priest, or *tengsoba*, is considered the 'owner of the earth'. Both must co-operate in allocating farmlands and in performing rituals which ensure the fertility of crops.

The other traditional history is a legend told more often by commoners than by royals. It does not emphasize conquest, but rather stresses the interdependence of various groups, each of which makes its unique contribution to the society as a whole. In this story God (known as *wende*) created four brothers and four bags of miracles. The brothers all fell asleep and when they awoke each found himself in a different place with one of the bags.

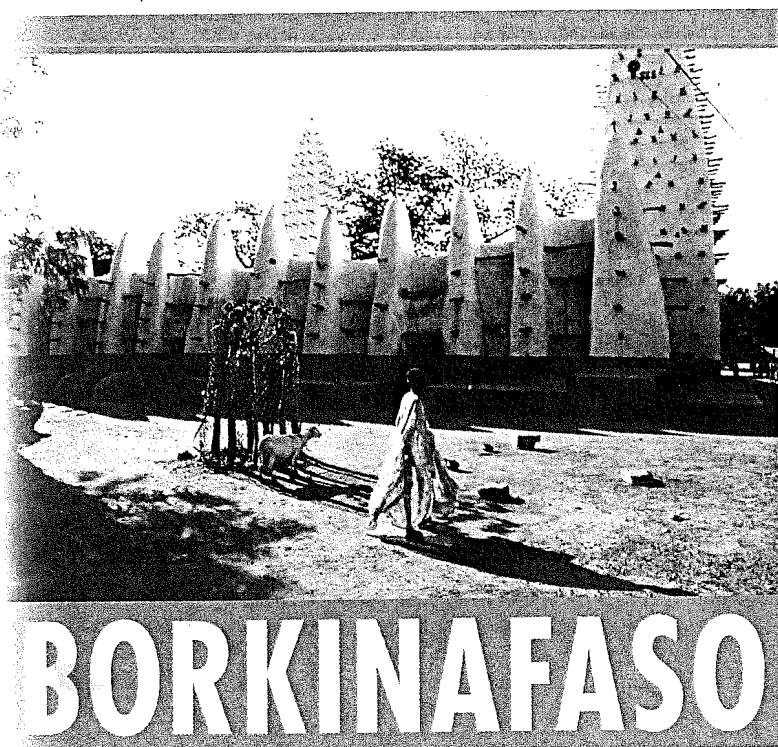
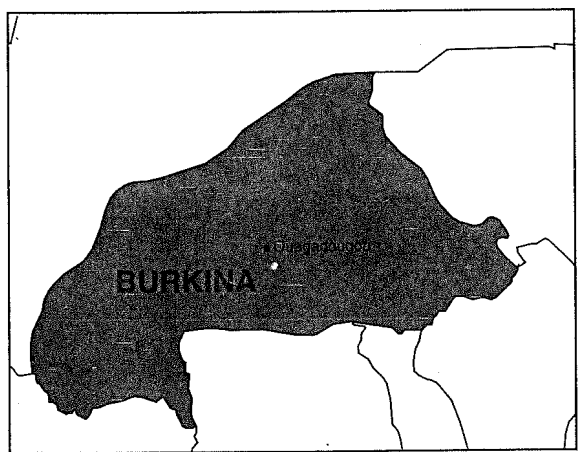
Yarse boys, from one of several Mossi groups, rest during a series of dances which precede their circumcision. At the age of seven, boys spend a month at a camp in preparation for the ceremony.





هشتمین اجلاس سران کشورهای اسلامی
ISLAMIC SUMMIT CONFERENCE
Tehran 9-11 Dec. 1997

Tahran, 8-1376/1997
IRICA: 36008



LOCATION, CLIMATE, LANGUAGE, RELIGION, FLAG, CAPITAL

Burkina Faso (formerly the Republic of Upper Volta) is a landlocked state in West Africa, bordered by Mali to the west and north, by Niger to the east, and by Benin, Togo, Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire to the south. The climate is hot and mainly dry, with an average temperature of 27°C (81°F) in the dry season December-May). A rainy season occurs between June and October. Levels of rainfall are generally higher in the south than in the north; average annual rainfall in Ouagadougou is 894mm (35 ins). The official language is French, and there are numerous indigenous languages (principally Mossi), with many dialects. The majority of the population follow animist beliefs; about 30% are Muslims and some 10% Christians, mainly Roman Catholics. The national flag (proportions 3 by 2) has two equal horizontal stripes, of red and green, with a five-pointed gold star in the center. The capital is Ouagadougou.

AREA, POPULATION AND DENSITY

Area (sq km)	274,200
Population (census results)	
1-7 December 1975	5,638,203
10-20 December 1985	
Males	3,833,237
Females	4,131,468
Total	7,964,705
Population (official estimates at mid-year)	
1993	9,682,000
1994	9,889,000
1995	10,200,000
Density (per sq km) at mid-1994	36.1

ECONOMY

Monetary Units: 100 centimes = 1 franc de la Communauté financière africaine (CFA).

Revenue ('000 million francs CFA)	1992	1993	1994
Current revenue	92.9	99.4	113.3
Tax revenue	68.9	72.6	104.0
Income and profits	20.5	18.9	21.2
Domestic goods and services	15.3	14.8	19.4
International trade	31.0	36.4	61.2
Other tax revenue	2.2	2.5	2.1
Other current revenue	24.0	26.8	9.4
Capital revenue	0.1	0.6	-
Total	93.0	100.0	113.3

International Reserves (US \$ million at 31 December)

	1993	1994	1995
Gold	4.1	4.1	4.3
IMF special drawing rights	7.7	8.1	8.2
Reserve position in IMF	9.9	10.5	10.7
Foreign exchange	364.7	218.6	328.4
Total	386.4	241.3	351.7

EDUCATION

(1991)

	Institutions	Teachers	Students		
			Males	Females	Total
Pre-primary	95	259	3,744	3,911	7,655
Primary	2,741	9,412	344,248	218,396	562,644
Secondary:	n.a.	3,162	70,718	36,306	107,024
Vocational	n.a.	493	4,358	4,021	8,379
Teacher training	n.a.	n.a.	220*	130*	350*
University level	n.a.	205*	3,978**	1,108**	5,086**

* 1989 figure(s).

State education only.

1991 figure.

* Estimate.

**1990 figure.

GOVERNMENT

Head Of State: President

Political Divisions: Bam, Bazega, Bougouriba, Boulougou, Boulkiemde,

juvazinin uzun egemenlik dönemi" dediği Louis XIV döneminde burjuvazi, kendisini monarşi rejimine bağlayan bir bağlaşıma ile, gücünün doruk noktasına ulaştı. Monarşiye bağlanan bu burjuvaziyi, kumaşçı bir aileden gelen Colbert simgeliyordu. XVIII. yy. tersine, burjuvazinin monarşiyle bağlarının koptuğu dönemdir. Louis XIV'ün ölümünden sonra, aristokrasinin tepkisi burjuvaların idari, adli, askeri ve dini görevlerde yüksek mevkilere gelmelerini engelledi. Oysa, burjuvazinin bu geriye püskürtülmesiyle birlikte iktisadi gücü de hızla gelişiyor, bu da yeni bir siyasal ve toplumsal düzen özlemi duyan burjuvaların sabırsızlığını artırıyor. 1789 États généraux meclislerinde çoğunlukta olan burjuvazi, Devrim'den 1830'a kadar uzanan dönemde siyasal iktidara geldi. Napoléon'un getirdiği örgütlenmenin elverişli ortamında, burjuva hanedanlar (Mallet, Périer, Delessert) yüksek devlet memurluklarını ele geçirdiler. 1830'da burjuvazi, Restauration'a bağlı aristokrasinin tepkisine karşı kesin bir zafer kazandı. Artık egemen olduğu siyasal yaşama (vergilerle dayanan seçim sistemi) ve XIX. yy.'in ilk yarısında Balzac'ın romanları ile Daumier'nin karikatürlerinde betimlenen toplumsal yaşama yön veren, burjuvaziydi. Burjuva, bireyci, girişimci bir ruha sahip ve aile erdemlerine düşkün bir tip olarak tanındı. 1848'de bütün yurttaşlara oy hakkının tanınması burjuva etkisini azaltmadı. Kapitalizmin gelişmesi, liberalizm ve parlamenter rejimle özdeşleşen burjuvazi, Proudhon ve özellikle Karl Marx gibi sosyalist kuramcılar tarafından şiddetle eleştirildi. Bu kuramcılar, üretim araçlarını elinde tutan sınıf olarak, burjuvaziyi sömürülen işçi yığınlarının karşısında görüyor ve sınıf mücadelesini vurguluyorlardı.

Karl Marx, 1846'da şöyle yazıyordu: "Burjuvazi [...] kendine özgü koşullarla birlikte, ancak yavaş yavaş gelişir. Sırası gelince, işbölümüne göre, kendi içinde çeşitli bölümlere ayrılır ve [...] varolan tüm mülkiyetin ticaret ya da sanayi sermayesine dönüşmesi ile, sonunda daha önceki bütün mülk sahibi sınıfları kendi içinde eritir" (*Alman ideolojisi*). Gene Marx, 1848'de şöyle diyordu: "Burjuvazi tarihte son derece devrimci bir rol oynadı. İktidarı ele geçirdiği her yerde feodal, ataerkil ve duygusal tüm ilişkileri yok etti. Feodal insanı üstlerine bağlayan tüm karmaşık ve zengin bağları acımasızca koparttı [...]. Kişisel saygınlığı basit bir değişim değeri haline getirdi, o kadar pahalıya mal olan birçok özgürlük yerine, tek ve acımasız ticaret özgürlüğünü geçirdi. Kısacası, dinsel ve siyasal yanılsamaların gizledikleri sömürünün yerine, açık, utanmaz, dolaysız ve duyarsız sömürüyü koydu" (*Komünist manifesto*). Böylece Marx'a göre, burjuvazinin olumsuz ve yıkıcı etkisi, olumlu ve yaratıcı etkisine sıkı sıkıya bağlıydı: "Burjuvazi üretim araçlarında, böyleyse üretim ilişkilerinde, yani bütün toplumsal ilişkilerde sürekli olarak devrim yapmak-sızın yaşayamaz" (*a.g.y.*).

XIX. yy. boyunca sanayi devriminin ve siyasal özgürleşmenin meyvelerini toplayan burjuvazi, sonunda kendine liberalizm dediğimiz bir ideoloji oluşturdu ve bu ideolojiden de hem iktisadi alanda (fiyatların serbest bırakılması, zaman zaman himayeciliğe başvurulmakla birlikte ürünler arası rekabet, sömürgeci yayılma ve emperyalizm, vb.) hem de siyasal alanda yararlandı (toplama özgürlüğü, basın özgürlüğü, vb.). Bazı kuramcılar, burjuvazinin güçlenmesinde, devletin oynadığı rol üzerinde dururlar. XIX. yy. sonundaki himayecilik önlemleri, yatırımlara ya da güçlü işçilerdeki kimi sektörlerde devletçe yapılan düzenli katkılar, bu kuramcılara göre, bazı devlet görevlileri ile büyük sermaye arasındaki bağlaşmayı ortaya koyuyorlardı.

Bütün bu çözümlemelerde, burjuvazi tek bir sosyal etken olarak ele alınmıştı.

Oysa kısa bir süre sonra farklılaşmalar başladı. XIX. yy.'ın sonunda, birtakım katmanlar belirirdi: toplumsal ve iktisadi işlevi Marx ile Engels'in "burjuvazi" dedikleri şeyde inceledikleri işlev olan *büyük burjuvazi* ile *küçük burjuvazi*. Günümüzde, kimi gözlemciler göre, küçük burjuvazi, tümü birden dar anlamıyla bir sınıf oluşturmamış üç toplumsal kategoriyi bir araya toplar. Bu gözlemcilere göre, ilk kategori, zanaatçılar, küçük tüccarları ve serbest meslek sahiplerini kapsar. Bu kategori, hukuki bakımdan kendi üretim araçlarının sahibi olmak ve zaman zaman ücretli emekçi çalıştırmakla birlikte, yönetiminde hiçbir payları olmayan banka sistemine sıkı sıkıya bağlıdır (istikraz, borçlanma). Küçük tüccarlar, zanaatçılar, vb., hukuki bakımdan girişimci sayılmakla birlikte, kendilerine özgü siyasal ve istemsel stratejileriyle işverenler sınıfından ayrılırlar. Gene bu gözlemcilere göre, ikinci kategori, kamu görevlerini yürüten personelden (hukukun başlıca özellikleri güçlü bir sendikalaşmayla birlikte istemsel bir strateji gütmeleridir) ve bu personelin iki yanlı (paritaire) kuruluşlarda etkin bir rol oynayan sendikalarından oluşmuştur. Üçüncü kategoriyse, aynı gözlemcilere göre, özel sektördeki yönetici ve teknik ücretlilerden oluşur. Bu personelin başlıca özelliği sektörden sektöre çok değişken olan istemsel stratejileri ile sendikalaşma oranlarının çok düşük bir düzeyde kalmasıdır. Sürekli bir gelişme halindeki mesleki uzmanlaşma, çeşitliliği gittikçe artan gelirlerin büyüklüğü ve kökeni, küçük burjuvazinin sürekli olarak yenilenen incelenmesini gerektirir. Marxçılar bir "proleterleşme" (geniş anlamda: istihdam istikrarsızlığı, vasıfsızlaşma eğilimi) olarak gördükleri öğeler üzerinde dururlarken, amerikan okulu toplumbilimcileri küçük burjuvaziyi, sonunda proletaryayı da özümleyecek bir "üçüncü güç" olarak bakarlardı.

BURKA ya da **BÜRKA** a. (ar. burka). *Esk. 1.* Kadınların yüzlerini kapattıkları peçe, yaşmak. "*Çün açar burka ki şeyh anı göre / Eydesin kim şeyhi oda yandura*" (Gülşehri, XIV. yy.). —*2.* Kâbe'nin örtüsü. —*3.* Yedinci kat gök. —*4.* Burka-fiken, perde açan, peçeyi kaldıran. || *Burka-ı esrar*, esrar perdesi.

BURKART (Erika), almanca yazar isviçreli kadın şair (Aarau 1922). İlk şiir kitapları (*Bann und Flug*, 1956; *Geist der Fluren*, 1958), insanla doğanın özgün bir uyumunu anlatır. Bir "ayrılık" deneyi geçirmesi ve geleneksel şiir diline güvenini yitirmesi onu insanları yalnızlığını ve uygarlıkların yanılabilirliğini işlemeye yöneltti (*Die Transparenz der Scherben*, 1973; *Rufweite*, 1975).

BURKE → BURGH.

BURKE (Edmund), İngiliz siyaset adamı ve yazar (Dublin 1729'a doğ. - Beaconsfield 1797). İlk önemli yapıtı *Vindication of natural Policy* (Doğal toplumun doğrulanması) [1756], kendinden önceki kuşakların çok bulanık olan akılcılığına ve yaradancılığına karşı bir tepki niteliğindedir. Burke, 1759'da, zamanın günlük olaylarının bir çeşit yillığı olan *Annual Register*'i kurdu. Daha sonra, siyasete yöneldi ve 1765'te lord Rockingham'ın özel sekreteri oldu. Avam kamarası'na girdiği zaman, birçok çabı grubuna bölünmüş olan whig partisini yeniden düzenledi.

Her türlü sisteme ve soyutlamaya şiddetle karşıydı; somut ve belirli sorunları, derece derece ve yasalara uygun bir biçimde çözmekten yanaydı. Böylece, liberal ve tutucu whig aristokrasisine, halk kitlerinin taşkınlıklarına ve saray entrikalarına karşı mücadele etmek için gereken inancı sağladı. 1765'te kraliyet hükümeti, inancı olarak vergiye bağlayınca Burke, kralın keyfi idaresi karşısında İngilizler'in sahip olduğu özgürlüklerden sömürgeler

halkının da yararlanma hakkını savundu. Pitt'in sunduğu geniş bir seçim reformu tasarısına karşı çıktı; sonra da 1782'de kısmi bir reform tasarısını kabul ettirerek birçok kraliyet memurunun dokunulmazlıklarını kaldırtmayı başardı ve böylece İngiliz siyaset yaşamını bir ölçüde istikrara kavuşturdu; böylece monarşinin etkinliğine de ağır bir darbe indirdi. Dostu Fox' un Pitt ve Shelburne'e olan öfkesini paylaşıp, Fox'un whig'leriyle North'un tory'leri arasında, alışılmışın tersine bir ittifak kurulmasını sağladı (1783), bu da Shelburne'ün düşmesine neden oldu. Burke, bunun üzerine Portland'ın kabinesine girdi. Burada daha çok Hindistan sorunlarıyla ilgilendi; 1781'den sonra, arkadaşları P. Francis'in de etkisiyle, Hindistan siyasetini yeterince titiz bulmadığı Hastings'e şiddetle saldırdı; 1784'te Hastings hakkında bir parlamento soruşturması açtırmayı başardı. Wales prensinin ateşli bir taraftarı olarak, George III'ün 1788'de ilk sinir krizini geçirmesinin ardından, sınırsız yetkilere sahip bir naiplik projesini savunduysa da kabul ettiremedi. Başından itibaren Fransız ihtilale karşı çıktı ve *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Fransa'daki devrim üzerine düşünceler) [1790] adlı yapıtında halk ayaklanmasını şiddetle yermişti. Bu ayaklanmaya karşı, Fox ile olan dostluğunu ve partisinin birliğini bozma pahasına savaşımını sürdürdü.

BURKE (sir John Bernard), İngiliz soyacı uzmanı (Londra 1814 - Dublin 1892). Babası John'un (1787 - 1848) yapıtlarını, özellikle de her yıl gözden geçirerek yayımladığı *Peerage*'i tamamlayıp düzeltti.

BURKE (Robert O'HARA), İrlandalı gezgin (Saint Clerah's, Galway, 1820 - Avustralya 1861). 1860'ta Avustralya'nın Coopers Creek ile Carpentaria körfezi arasında bir sefer yapmakla görevlendirildi. Dönüşte yorgunluktan öldü.

BURKE (Kenneth), Amerikalı yazar (Pittsburgh 1897). Yapıtlarında, simgesel eylem kavramını açıklamak için freudculuğun, marxçılığın ve toplumbilimin yeni bir bileşimini yaparak, retorik, pragmatizm ve din arasındaki ilişkileri sorguladı (*Counter-Statement* [Karşı ileri sürüş], 1931; *Attitudes towards history* [Tarih karşısındaki tutumlar], 1937; *The Philosophy of literary form* [Edebi biçimin felsefesi], 1941; *The Rhetoric of Religion* [Din retoriği], 1961).

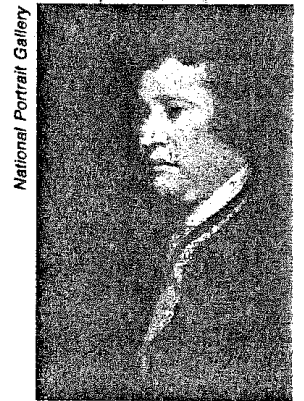
BURKHAN, Uygur Türkleri'nde Buddha'ya ya da Buddha heykeline verilen ad. (*Burkan, Burhan, Perhan, Purkan* da denir.)

BURKHARD (Willy), İsviçreli besteci (Evilard, Bern, 1900 - Zürich 1955). Önce Almanya'da, sonra Paris'te öğrenim gördü, Zürich Konservatuarı'nda besteleme öğretmeni oldu. Senfoniler, konçertolar, lieder, oratoryolar ve kantatlar (*la Vision d'Isaïe*, 1935; *l'Année*, 1941; *le Déluge*, 1955), bir misa, oda müziği yapıtları ve operalar (*L'araignée noire*, 1949) besteledi.

BURKİNA FASO, eski adıyla YUKARI VOLTA, Batı Afrika'da devlet; 275 000 km²; 7 009 000 nüf. Başkenti *Uagadugu*. Resmi dili *fransızca*.

COĞRAFYA

• *Doğal çerçeve* Temelin yüzeye çıktığı yerde (püskürük kayalar granit ve başkalaşım kayalar) yaklaşık 300 m yükseltide yer alan ve B.-K.-B.'sında ve G.-D.'sında tortul örtüsünün (temeli kumtaşına dayanır) parçalarından oluşan iki plato bulunan bölge düz bir alandır. Orta kesimdeki, tortul örtü parçaları 100-300 m'lik kabartılar ya da "yarlar" oluşturur. Dördüncü Zaman kökenli, B.'dan D.'ya doğru uzanan, bir bölümü sabit kumul şeritleri, kuzeyde, coğrafi bütünün temel özelliklerini gizler.



National Portrait Gallery

Edmund Burke
J. Reynolds'un
atölyesinde yapılan
bir portreden ayrıntı
National Portrait Gallery, Londra

Rainfall, in amount and length of season, is highest in the south and east; the north averages 20 in. (508 mm.) in the period May–October, the Ethiopian border and Boma Plateau 40 in. (1016 mm.) in the period March–November. The coolest period is the rainy season, when the daily mean is 78° F (25.6° C); the warmest period is at the end of the dry season, when the south has a daily mean of 80° (26.7°), the north 90° (32°).

Upper Nile Province is excellent big-game country, with elephant, lion, and antelope, including hartebeest and bongo, but climatic conditions restrict hunting to the dry season. There are innumerable birds, including shoebill storks, secretary birds, and flamingoes; many varieties of fish abound in the White Nile and its tributaries.

The province was formed in 1903 and assumed its present boundaries in 1952. At Kodok in 1898 the "Fashoda incident" occurred (see EGYPT: History).

The census of 1955–56 gave a population of 888,611 (1965 est. 1,142,000). The only town is Malakal (pop. [1964 est.] 11,000), on the White Nile just below the confluence of the Sobat. Villages are located on patches of higher land. The people are mostly Nilotes (94%), including Nuer (51%), Dinka (26%), and Shilluk (12%). (See NILOTES and articles on the individual peoples.) At home more than 90% of the population speak Nilotic languages and about 5% Nilo-Hamitic. Arabs form less than 0.5% of the population, and only 1.7% speak Arabic (the Sudanese official language) at home. Upper Nile is the least developed Sudanese province, both socially and economically. The 1955–56 census showed that 98% of the total population had never attended school; 0.1% had reached secondary school or higher. The crude birth rate was 69.3 per 1,000 persons, the crude death rate 32.6; the infant mortality rate was 143.9 per 1,000 births, the highest in Sudan (the lowest, in Northern Province, was 66.7 [cf. United States 25]).

Farming or pastoralism is the major occupation of 95% of the gainfully employed. The staple food crop is durra (*Sorghum vulgare*), grown in the highlands, together with peppers and occasionally vegetables. Attempts are being made to introduce rice and sugar cane and to foster durra commercially. Cotton growing is developing along the White Nile in the north. Cattle are an integral part of the social system of the Nilotic peoples and are rarely used for food. Fish have an important place in the diet.

Communications are mainly by river, since the roads are mostly closed during nine months of the year. Steamers ply the White Nile, Bahr ez Zeraf, and Sobat; local transport is by dugout canoe. There is an airport at Malakal.

See also SUDAN, REPUBLIC OF THE; SOBAT; NILE.

(H. R. J. D.)

UPPER REGION, GHANA, created in 1960, occupies the northern extremity of the Republic of Ghana. Pop. (1960) 757,344. Area 10,548 sq.mi. (27,319 sq.km.). It is bounded by the Republic of Upper Volta on the west and north and by Togo on the east. Structurally it is a gently dissected peneplain of Precambrian metamorphic rocks, predominantly granites, from which rise low, rocky hills. The average elevation is about 1,000 ft. (300 m.), but along the west the watershed between the Black and White Voltas rises to 2,000 ft. Drainage is mostly southward into the White Volta, whose largest tributaries are the Red Volta, the Sisili, and the Kulpawn.

The climate is essentially that of the Northern Region (*q.v.*), except that the rainfall is slightly lower (40–45 in. [1,016–1,143 mm.] annually) and the dry harmattan season is longer and more severe. Partly because of this, but mainly from prolonged cultivation and burning, the vegetation is a low savanna of short grass with widely spaced trees. This is especially so in the Mamprusi and Kusasi country in the east; in the hillier western part, where sleeping sickness and filariasis have caused widespread depopulation, the vegetation is considerably denser. The soils are mostly savanna ochrosols and laterites, but along the Black and White Voltas they consist of rather deeper and more fertile brunosols. Water shortage is a severe problem there, but the torrential rains that relieve the long periods of drought cause serious soil erosion.

The tribal pattern is complex, and some of the people, such as

the Mossi (see MOSSI PEOPLES), have affinities with Sudanese groups farther north. The region is remote and economically backward; yet the relative fertility of the soils and the greater availability of water over the older rocks have created an average population density much higher than elsewhere in the north. The highest densities (exceeding 200 persons per square mile) are found in the Mamprusi area around Zuarungu. In the less hospitable western area around Tumu the densities fall to between 10 and 25 persons per square mile. The Mamprusi area is remarkable for its large agglomerations of "compound houses" consisting of round, thatch-roofed conical huts scattered amid cultivated fields and grouped so closely as to resemble villages.

Although cattle are numerous, the predominant activity is cultivation. The crops grown are mostly the drier cereals (millets, guinea corn, pulses and rice) and yams. But high population densities and improvident farming have caused widespread soil destruction.

Land-planning projects launched by the government in cooperation with the Agency for International Development, improved methods of tillage involving the use of animal manure, and the conservation of water are gradually gaining ground; resettlement projects to relieve overpopulation, notably in the Frafra country, have been implemented. A development of great significance to this impoverished region is the production of tomatoes and tobacco for sale in southern Ghana.

There are few large settlements, the most conspicuous being Bawku (pop. [1960] 12,719), the leading commercial centre; Wa (14,342); and the regional capital, Bolgatanga (5,515), noted for its colourful basketware. All local and urban councils have the status of administrative district.

Although a number of good roads exist, communications are deficient and traffic is thin. The main roads are those linking Bolgatanga with Tamale and an east-west one linking Bawku, Bolgatanga, Tumu, and Lawra. Shorter roads run northward across the frontier into the Republic of Upper Volta, with which there is close commercial intercourse. (ER. A. B.)

UPPER VOLTA, REPUBLIC OF (RÉPUBLIQUE DE HAUTE VOLTA), a landlocked country of western Africa, and formerly a territory of French West Africa, received its independence in 1960. Area 105,869 sq.mi. (274,200 sq.km.). Pop. (1969 est.) 5,226,000. It is bounded north and west by Mali, south by the Ivory Coast, Ghana, and Togo, and east by Dahomey and Niger. The capital is Ouagadougou.

Physical Features.—The country is mainly flat and monotonous, a crystalline peneplain dominated by residual relief and covered by a red ironstone shield. In the west the crystalline deposits are covered by sandstone plateaus, bordered by escarpments; e.g., the cliff of Banfora. To the north and northeast granite domes give a different landscape, rocky hills rising above stretches of sand; e.g., the Dori area. The river network consists chiefly of the upper basins of the Komoé (Comoé) and of the Volta (*q.v.*). The upper Komoé, like the branches and tributaries of the Volta, often has low-lying marshy banks. The water flow is seasonal; replenishment by the winter rains is followed by flooding; in the dry season the secondary rivers are merely strings of small pools.

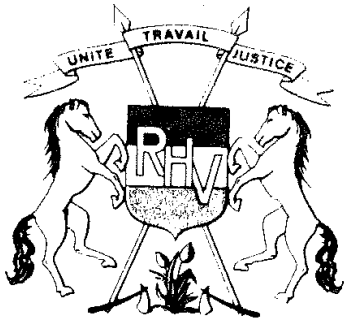
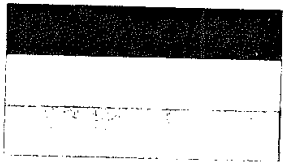
Two types of climate may be distinguished: the Sudano-Guinean type is prevalent in the southwest (as far as Ouagadougou), with a single rainy season at its height in August–September, during which the rainfall exceeds 39 in. (991 mm.); and the Sahelo-Sudanian type, covering the rest of the country, with a shorter rainy season (two–four months) and rainfall between 11 in. (280 mm.) and 39 in. The rains are accompanied by tornadoes at the beginning and end of the winter season. There are noticeable variations in temperature, the seasonal range being greater than along the Gulf of Guinea. A sparse forest results from the climatic conditions, nonspiny wooded savanna in the southern region, grassy and prickly savanna in the Sahelian region. Corridor forests spread along the rivers. The vegetation has been severely ravaged, particularly in the Mossi country, although the farmers carefully preserve certain useful trees such as the karité (shea butter tree).

(J. D.)

YUKARI VOLTA



Ougadougou yakınlarında bir Mossi köyü. Konut olarak kullanılan kulübeler ve tahıl depoları. Batı Afrika savanaları kuşağında yaşayan en önemli etnik gruplardan biri olan Mossilerin yaşamlarını tarıma bağlamış olduğunu kanıtlar.



KISA TANITIMI

Yüzölçümü : 274 200 km²
Nüfusu : 6 320 000 (1977)
Yıllık artış oranı : %2,3 (1970-1977)
Yoğunluğu : km²'ye 23 kişi (1977)
Kişi başına yıllık gelir : 110 A.B.D. doları (1976)
Başkenti : Ouagadougou (168 607 nüf.; 1975)
Para birimi : A.F.T. frangı
Resmi dili : Fransızca; volta, mande, poular lehçeleri de konuşulur
Dini : Animist; müslüman ve hristiyan azınlıklar

similar characteristics. Among them are the *m'allmin* (craftsmen), the *aghazazir* (salt miners), the *ighyawn* (bards) and two fast disappearing tribes of *namadi* (hunters) and *imraguen* (fishermen). These are not castes in the traditional sense of the term, but remnants (about 300 persons each) of aborigines who have kept their ethnic purity through insularity.

Moors follow the Maliki school of Islamic law. Two main *tariqa* flourish among them. The Qadiri is the most widespread, characterized by a multitude of secret societies replete with mysticism. The Tijani is a second major brotherhood. Less important is the Shadhiliyya *tariqa*.

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Articles

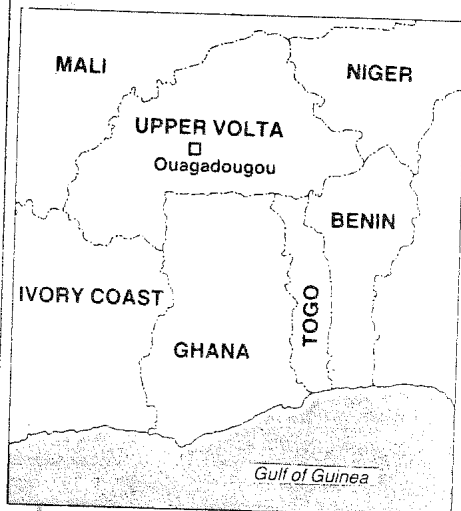
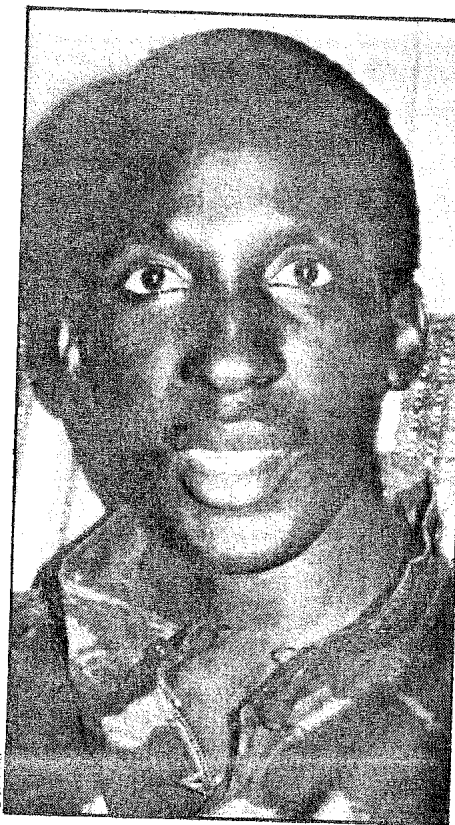
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Alfred G. Gerteiny
Population figures updated by Richard V. Weekes

MOSSI The Mossi are one of the major peoples living in the basin of the Volta River, south of the great bend of the Niger River. They number nearly 4.9 million, nearly all of whom live—or have their family homes—in Upper Volta, where they constitute about half the population. Some one-half million Upper Volta Mossi work in Ivory Coast, Ghana and other neighboring countries.

COUNTRY PROFILE

UPPER VOLTA



New man Captain Thomas Sankara

populated north, although a large-scale programme aimed at developing livestock production in the western region is in progress.

Mining is a largely unexploited area of the country's economy - there is considerable untapped potential. The most important working is the Poura gold mine, 180 kilometres southwest of Ouagadougou. Inefficient management led to the closure of the mine in 1966, but its re-opening in March 1981 gave rise to renewed optimism. Production is expected to start in 1984 and reserves are estimated at 23 tonnes of gold. The recent discovery of traces of gold near Poura should prolong the life of the mine substantially. Most of the finance for the \$100m mine is provided by the Islamic Development Bank and French interests.

Four diamond bearing structures have also been identified in the Barsalogo and Zabre-Gogo region. Significant phosphate deposits, estimated at 80m tonnes, have also been discovered in Kodjari. Currently, small-scale commercial exploitation of sulphur, copper, lead and nickel are under study. Mining development is, however, handicapped by low world commodity prices.

Manufacturing accounts for about 14 per cent of gross domestic product, a 2.3 per cent growth rate since the 1970s. Food processing, and the substitution of consumer goods imports, makes the largest chunk of this sector. Plants include cotton ginneries, a cigarette factory, rice and flour mills, a shoe factory and a bicycle assembly plant. The first and largest industrial plant is the textile mill at Koudougou. It has a yearly capacity of 500 tonnes of yarn and 760 tonnes of woven material, and uses local cotton supplies. A European Investment Bank loan led to the establishment of a 40,000 tonne sugar refinery at Barfora.

Like most francophone countries Upper Volta has a chronic trade deficit. Though no figures have been published since 1982, the last known trade deficit was CFA francs 56,560m, three times the value of exports. Official development assistance averages \$167.4 million a year. One favourable factor is the remittances from the country's emigrants, which offset current account payments significantly. Meanwhile, Upper Volta's external public debt has remained comparatively low - \$256 million by 1980 - and its debt service burden was 3.8 per cent that year.

Whatever Upper Volta's rulers might have in mind for the future, one thing that makes them uneasy is the definite economic ruin they can lead their country to if no preventive measures are adopted. Corruption and inefficient management are still rampant.

With most developed countries still in recession, belt tightening has led to cut backs in aid. Tying Upper Volta to the economic apron strings of France has proved to be a disastrous failure. Can the new regime take effective measures to reduce this dependence?

Coups, corruption, crisis

Ebrahim Moosa details the country's plight, which has been heightened by drought and dependence on France

Upper Volta's succession of coups in its 22-year history as an independent state has served only to exacerbate the country's acute economic problems. The recent coup, led by Captain Thomas Sankara on August 4, is the latest in the series of political upheavals. Sankara's coup ended the nine-month-old regime of Major Jean Baptiste Ouédraogo.

Upper Volta's coup makers usually blame the "adventurous policy" of the previous regime, as well as its corruption, for their usurpation. However, no coup maker has so far managed to tackle the chronic economic plight of the poverty-stricken nation.

In the absence of political reforms, the 6.8 million Voltaic population can only yearn for economic reforms. The presence of hundreds of aid missions has not alleviated the overwhelming poverty of the country. Self-sufficiency in food and the possibility of industrial development are not immediately foreseeable. However, early statements by Captain Sankara suggest that he is fully aware of the scale of the economic difficulties.

About one per cent of Upper Volta's population are integrated into the domestic money economy, while more than 90 per cent depend on agriculture. The relatively high population density on habitable land, combined with poor soil and lack of productive employment, have caused some 500,000 Voltaics to seek work in neighbouring Ivory Coast. Although they repatriate some \$100m

annually, this figure is likely to fall in coming years. It was estimated in 1977 that about one million workers from Upper Volta were in other countries of West Africa. The annual population growth is estimated at 2.7 per cent.

The Ouédraogo regime urged investors to take Upper Volta's interests into consideration and ensured the free reign of private enterprise in trade and industry. Worried businessmen in the capital, Ouagadougou, may want to be reassured by Captain Sankara's revolutionary council that this state of affairs will continue. Upper Volta is a member of the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas) and of the francophone organisation CEA0, but there is little sign that this has benefited the country, which remains dependent on foreign aid missions and organisations.

A rural training policy has brought about some improvements, but the scope for development is limited by unfavourable climate, inadequate water supplies and heavy soil erosion. Desert encroachment from the north is destroying an average of six kilometres of arable land a year. Major crops are sorghum and millet, although rice is also important.

The country is still battling to overcome the effects of the 1977-78 Sahel drought, which created a slump in cotton exports. Other cash crops are groundnuts, sugar and kerite nuts. Livestock produces a third of Upper Volta's export earnings. Stock rearing is carried out in the thinly

MIGRATIONS AS REVOLT: THE EXAMPLE OF THE IVORY COAST AND THE UPPER VOLTA BEFORE 1945*

BY A. I. ASIWAJU

... l'autre côté de cette frontière [i.e. the British side of the Ivory Coast-Gold Coast boundary] purement conventionnelle c'est la liberté presque complète, c'est la vie traditionnelle peut modifiée du fait de l'intervention britannique ... De ce côté [i.e. the French side] au contraire l'autorité de chefs est méconnue ou annihilée par une ingérence constante de l'autorité française ... notre administration s'est fait tracassière et tatillonne, elle intervient dans les plus petits actes de la vie; des réglementations compliquées gênent ceux qu'elles prétendent protéger; nous exigeons des impôts, nous exigeons des prestations, nous exigeons des soldats. Comment s'étonner que nos sujets ... nous quittent pour aller chercher, de l'autre côté de la frontière, une tranquillité que nous n'avons pas su ou pu leur donner?¹

In their treatment of African protest movements against European colonialism, scholars have tended to concentrate their attention on armed confrontation or ideological or philosophical opposition, especially the mahdist or messianic insurgencies and literary expressions such as *négritude* and the concept of the African personality.² The purpose of this paper is to explore another, though related, aspect, that of protest migrations.³ Differences in political conditions between the French and British colonies often induced the large-scale exodus of subject peoples from one colonial sphere to the other.⁴ Although attention has been drawn

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¹ J. V. Vollenhoven, Governor-General of French West Africa, Dakar, to the Lt.-Governor of the Ivory Coast, 20 Oct. 1917. Archives nationales, Abidjan (Depôt Historique à la Pyramide), hereafter A.N.A. (H): 1 Mi 25 (Microfilm of Fond Ancien A.O.F. Dakar Serie 3F9), M. Le Gouverneur-Général de l'A.O.F. à M. Le Lieutenant-Gouverneur de la Côte d'Ivoire, Dakar, 20 Oct. 1917, a.s. *Exodes en Gold Coast-Reclamations d'Indigènes*, p. 7.

² See R. I. Rotberg and Ali Mazrui (eds.), *Protest and Power in Black Africa* (Oxford, 1970), particularly sections II to IV.

³ Protest or politically motivated migrations are easily distinguished from migrations based on socio-economic motivation. In the case of migrations from the Upper Volta to the Gold Coast, the latter aspects have been well covered in several studies, including Jean Rouch's 'Migrations au Gold Coast', *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, xxvi, 1956, and E. P. Skinner's 'Labour Migration and Its Relationship to Socio-Cultural Change in Modern Society', *Africa and the Modern World*, 1962, and the *Journal of Modern African Studies*, x, 1972, pp. 1-10.

⁴ See also the *Journal of Modern African Studies*, x, 1972, pp. 1-10.

LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY MILITARY TECHNOLOGY IN UPPER VOLTA¹

BY MYRON J. ECHENBERG

MILITARY organization and technology have been important factors in the history of Upper Volta. The innovation of the horse in the fifteenth century as an instrument of war played an important part in the establishment of the Mossi states, formed as they were by conquering cavalry from Mamprusi.² In the late nineteenth century, the new innovation of firearms threatened to contribute to equally significant political change in the region.

This article will examine military organization and technology in four societies of Upper Volta. Two of these, the Mossi kingdoms and the network of Samo village communities, practised warfare without reference to the new firearms available in the western Sudan in the nineteenth century. The cases of the Marka army of Al-Hajj Al-Kari of Boussé and the Zaberma army of Babato, on the other hand, provide the historian with an interesting contrast, since both of these military systems used new weapons and new modes of organization.

Military technology held an integral place in the Mossi states from the time of their emergence in the fifteenth century until the French conquest of 1896. Mossi traditions of origin indicated that the Mossi states were born of conquest by southern horsemen from Mamprusi. The putative founder of the Mossi and Gurmantche nations, Ouedraogo, i.e. 'stallion', was born to a Mamprusi princess who fled north to Tenkodogo, and was named in honour of the horse that had carried the princess northward. Sent to Mamprusi for his upbringing, Ouedraogo returned to Tenkodogo with supporting cavalry, carved out a kingdom, and then divided it in Carolingian fashion among three sons. Oubri, a grandson of Ouedraogo, was perhaps the first truly historical figure in Mossi history. When he came to manhood in approximately the middle of the

¹ This paper is based on one presented to a seminar on African military organization and technology held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in the fall of 1967. Much of the descriptive information was provided by oral informants, cited in the notes, whom I interviewed in 1967. My field work in Upper Volta during that year formed part of my research towards the doctoral degree of the University of Wisconsin. I should like to thank the Canada Council and the Program in Comparative Tropical History at the University of Wisconsin, whose grants made this field work possible.

² Important contributions to the problem of Mossi origins have been made by: J. D. Fage, 'Reflections on the Early History of the Mossi-Dagomba Group of States' (ed. Vansina, Mauny and Thomas) *The Historian in Tropical Africa* (London, 1964), 177-91; Michel Izard, ('Introduction à l'histoire des royaumes Mossi', *Recherches Voltaïques* (Ouagadougou, 1970); Nehemia Levtzion, *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa* (Oxford, 1968), 197-201. Other accounts dealing with Mossi traditions of origin can be found in: A. A. Dim Delobsom, *L'Empire du Mogho-Naba* (Paris, 1933); and Elliot P. Skinner, *The Mossi of the Upper Volta: the political developments of a Sudanese people* (Stanford, 1964).

Meier (ed.), *Westöstliche Abhandlungen* (Wiesbaden 1954), 231–43; Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Fīhi mā fīhi*, ed. Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar, Tehran 1957; Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, ed. Reynold A. Nicholson, 8 vols., London 1925–40; Rūzbihān Baqlī, *Sharḥ-i shāṭhiyyāt*, ed. Henri Corbin, Tehran 1966; al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-luma' fī l-taṣawwuf*, ed. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, Leiden and London 1914; August Tholuck, *Sufismus sive Theosophia Persarum pantheistica*, Berlin 1821; Robert C. Zaehner, Abū Yazīd of Bisṭām. A turning point in Islamic mysticism, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 1 (1957), 286–301; Robert C. Zaehner, *Hindu and Muslim mysticism*, London 1960.

JAWID MOJADDEDI

Burkina Faso

Burkina Faso, formerly known as Upper Volta (Haute-Volta), was a territory where Islam was slow to take root and discontinuous in its development. Islam began its penetration of the western part of the region in the ninth/fifteenth or tenth/sixteenth century, when the Moose kingdoms were emerging under the influence of craftsman-merchants (Yarsé, Marensé, Marka), through the influence of merchants of the Dyula ethnic group. The diaspora of Muslim men of letters and certain marabout families also contributed to the establishment of Islam.

The major thrust of Islamisation began in the nineteenth century—especially as the Fulbe emirates (Liptaako and Jelgoogi) took root, an *imām* was named at the court of the Moogo Naaba (the title of Moose kings) in Moogo, and religious centres were established in rural areas in the south of the kingdom of Ouagadougou, in the state of Gwiriko, in the west, in the city of Bobo Dioulasso, and in the bend of the Black Volta (Mouhoun) River.

During the colonial period, Islam became a safe haven from established

powers that had become proxies for the French administration. The French had a policy of monitoring certain marabouts, pilgrims travelling to Mecca, and Qur'anic schools. Four Ṣūfī brotherhoods were dominant in Upper Volta: the Qādiriyya, in Ouagadougou; the Tijāniyya, east and west of Ouagadougou; and the Ḥamādiyya and the Hamawiyya, among the Fulbe of Djibo and Dori, in Liptako, and among the Moose people of Yatenga.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Muslims became more active in the public sphere, with the building of the Grand Mosque of Ouagadougou, the opening of the first *madrasas* (private Islamic schools combining religious and secular education, using mainly the Arab language), the creation of the first branch of the Union Culturelle Musulmane in Bobo Dioulasso in 1958, the establishment of affiliations with political parties (Union Voltaïque, Rassemblement Démocratique Africain), participation in the elections held between 1955 and 1957 in the region of Ouagadougou, and the creation of the Communauté Musulmane de Haute-Volta in 1962. The latter organisation sought to represent all of the country's Muslims and to serve as a counterweight to the influence of the Catholic Church. This intended unity was, however, threatened by internal tensions: doctrinal conflicts within the Hamawiyya, beginning in 1965, led to the creation in 1978 of the Association Islamique de la Tidjaniyya de Haute-Volta. The emergence, at the beginning of the 1960s, of a more literal and anti-Ṣūfī Islam (dubbed Wahhabī and more recently Salafist) led to the legal recognition of the Mouvement Sunnite de Haute-Volta by the government of General Lamizana in 1973.

The leading associations experienced recurring leadership conflicts between members educated in French schools,