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Mali

West Africa and Islam

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

by Peter B. Clarke

Edward Arnold

that its rulers became Muslims and assisted in the expansion and reform of Islam in surrounding areas, but they do not seem to have attempted to make Islamic law the law of their kingdom. Although they dressed as Muslims and allowed they daily activities to be in some respects regulated by Islamic practices, the indigenous legal system and a variety of other un-Islamic customs were retained. It was still necessary, for example, to prostrate and cover one's head with sand or dirt on entering the presence of the ruler, a practice which Islam objects to on the grounds that it gives exaggerated respect and importance to a human being. Moreover, rulers continued to be seen as "sacred" and in possession of supernatural or mysterious powers, while 'magic' was practised on a large scale.

Islam in Ancient Ghana, therefore, was at best an adjunct to the traditional religion. Furthermore, it was, in the main, the religion of the rulers, the court officials, the merchant class and the townspeople.

Islam in Mali.

Islam in Mali from c. 1050 to 1250.

Mallel was the name given to Mali by Arab geographers and historians. Al-Ya'qubi, writing in the 9th century A.D., states that Mallel, about 12 days distance from Ancient Ghana, was at war with Kanem.[1] Mallel or Mali was a Mandinka chiefdom at this time. Al-Bakri in 1068 A.D. made reference to Mallel and another Mandinka chiefdom, Do.[2] And again in the 12th century al-Idrisi, writing about the country of the Lamlam, by which he most probably meant Mandinka country, states that in the whole of Lamlam there are only two small towns, like villages, one is called Malal and the other Do.[3] In the 11th century the Keita clan, as we shall see, particularly under their ruler Mamadi-Kani and with the support of the hunters' association, gave a semblance of unity and cohesion to the Mandinka chiefdoms.

The Keita claim descent from a certain Bilali Bunama, who may well be Bilal b. Rahab, the black companion of Prophet Muhammad and the first *muezzin* (Mu'adhdin), the one who calls the people to prayer. Ibn Hasham, who wrote in the 9th century, was told by one who studied Islamic tradition that "when the apostle (Prophet Muhammad) entered the Ka'ba in the year of the conquest (630 A.D.) in company with Bilal he ordered him to call the people to prayer".[4]

A number of Mali traditions point to the descent of the Keita from Bilali Bunama. In one of these traditions, which recounts the role of Sundiata in the establishment of the Mali empire, we read that "Bilali Bunama, ancestor of the Keitas, was the faithful servant of Prophet Muhammad . . . . Bilali Bunama had seven sons of whom the eldest, Lawalo, left the holy city and came to settle in Mali; Lawalo had Latal Kalabi for a son, Latal Kalabi had Damul Kalabi, who then had Lahilatoul Kalabi. Lahilatoul Kalabi was the first black prince to make the pilgrimage to Mecca".[5] According to another account Bilali Bunama himself is said to have come from Mecca to Mali, and his grandson, Lalal Kalabi, is credited with establishing by conquest the Keita chiefdom situated between the Niger and Sankarani Rivers.[6] Ibn Khaldun,

too, writing in the 1370s and 1380s, states that the rulers of Mali had been Muslim for quite some time, and that the first Muslim king of Mali to make the pilgrimage to Mecca was Barmandana, and that other rulers followed his example.[7]

Although on certain points these traditions appear to contradict one another, they all nevertheless indicate, as Levtzion states, "an early Islamic influence among the Keita before the rise of the empire of Mali".[8] It is clear in fact from al-Bakri's 11th-century account of the conversion of the king of Mallel that Islam had begun to penetrate the Mandinka chiefdoms some 200 years before Mali began to emerge as a strong, imperial power in the middle of the 13th century. According to al-Bakri the ruler of Mallel was converted to Islam by a Muslim missionary and trader who was staying with the king as a guest, at a time when the country was afflicted with drought. The king's guest promised to pray for rain if the king and his people became Muslims. The king, having already prayed for rain to the local gods without success, accepted the terms offered by the missionary. Al-Bakri's account finishes like this: "They prayed throughout the night, the Muslim reciting invocations and the King saying Amen. The dawn had just begun to break when Allah brought down abundant rain. The King then ordered that the idols be broken and the sorcerers expelled from his country. He together with his descendants and the nobility became sincerely attached to Islam, but the common people of the kingdom remained traditional religionists . . . the kings have ever since been given the title al-Muslimani (the Muslims)".[9]

Oral and written sources, therefore, indicate that Islam had begun to influence the leaders in some Mandinka chiefdoms by the first half of the 11th century. After these conversions, however, it seems that there was something of a reaction against Islam. Al-Idrisi wrote in 1154 A.D. that the people of the Mandinka chiefdoms were plunged in unbelief and ignorance, and described one of their initiation rites which involved marking with fire the face and temples of one who had reached the age of puberty.[10]

By the middle of the 12th century the Mandinka chiefdoms had not been welded together into one kingdom under a central government. Some progress, however, was being made, as I have pointed out, towards the greater consolidation and unification of these chiefdoms. Drawn into a wider trading network with the opening up of the Buré goldfields, chiefs like Mamadi-Kani of the Keita with the assistance of hunters' associations (donso-ton) began building up their military and political strength. By the beginning of the 12th century the Keita clan based on the Sankarani River had come to be regarded by other Mandinka chiefdoms as the most powerful and senior Mandinka clan.

Nevertheless, over a century later, in the first half of the 13th century, the Mandinka chiefdoms were not sufficiently united or strong enough to prevent their territory being overrun by Sumanguru, ruler of the Soso. It was not in fact until the reign of Sundiata (known also as Mari-Djata), c. 1230–c. 1255 A.D., that there is evidence of a strong, expansionist Mali kingdom composed of the different Mandinka chiefdoms.

R.K.

MALI

The New
Encyclopædia Britannica
in 30 Volumes

MACROPÆDIA
Volume 11

Knowledge in Depth

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15TH EDITION

Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.
William Benton, Publisher, 1943–1973
Helen Hemingway Benton, Publisher, 1973–1974
Chicago/London/Toronto/Geneva/Sydney/Tokyo/Manila/Seoul

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(L.C.D./A.C.Br.)

Mali

The Republic of Mali (in French, the République du Mali) is a landlocked state in central West Africa. Bounded north by Algeria, west by Mauritania and Senegal, south by Guinea and the Ivory Coast, and east by Upper Volta and Niger, it covers an area of 479,000 square miles (1,240,000 square kilometres). Mali's sparsely distributed population was about 5,000,000 in the early 1970s. Bamako is the national capital. As a part of French West Africa from 1898 to its independence in 1960, it was known as the French Sudan. Its current name, taken at the time of independence, is derived from the Mali Empire of the Upper and Middle Niger and ruled by the Mandingo (Malinke) from the 13th to the 16th century.

Mali is basically an agricultural country. Although its development has been hindered by the nature of the Sahara, which occupies about half its territory, the country nevertheless benefits from the advantages conferred by the waters of the Niger and Sénégal rivers and their tributaries: almost all of the population lives in the southern river basins, where diverse crops are cultivated. Most agricultural activity, however, is at the subsistence level, and the few cash crops grown are subject to the fluctuations of the world market. Industrial development is minimal and is largely confined to food processing. Despite its poverty, the country has long functioned as a crossroads between North and West Africa and has developed a rich cultural tradition. (For history, see WEST AFRICA, HISTORY OF. For related physical features see NIGER RIVER; SENEGAL RIVER; and SAHARA.)

THE LANDSCAPE

The natural environment. *Relief.* Mali's landscape is largely flat and monotonous. Two basic relief features can be distinguished—plateaus and plains. The highland regions are localized and discontinuous.

The plateaus of the south and southwest (extensions of the Fouta Djallon highlands of Guinea and the Guinea Highlands of Guinea and the Ivory Coast) lie between about 1,000 and 1,600 feet above sea level but attain heights approaching 2,000 feet in the Mandingue Plateau near Bamako and more than 2,100 feet at Satadougou. Composed mainly of sandstone, the plateaus are deeply incised by the Sénégal and Niger rivers and their tributaries. The plateau edges often take the form of precipitous cliffs, and their surfaces are cut by deep river valleys and waterfalls.

The plateaus of the southeast and east, also extensions of the Guinea Highlands, are a series of small, broken hills. Altitudes in the southeast range between almost 1,000 feet in the region of Sikasso and 1,739 feet (530 metres) at Mt. Mina. East of the Niger River the Dogon Plateau descends gently westward to the river valley but ends in abrupt cliffs on the southeast. These cliffs reach an altitude approaching 3,300 feet at Bandiagara.

The only marked relief feature in the north is the Adrar des Iforas. An extension of the mountainous Hoggar region of the Sahara, this heavily eroded sandstone plateau rises to altitudes of between 1,300 and 1,600 feet.

Northern and central Mali are composed of the plains of the Niger River basin and of the Sahara. In the north are the vast plains of the Tanezrouft and Taoudenni, which are covered with sand dunes and with areas of shifting sand known as ergs. In the central region are the alluvial plains of Meriyé and Azaouak.

Drainage. The drainage system is composed of the Sénégal and Niger rivers and their tributaries. The Sénégal River flows in a northwesterly direction across Mali for 560 miles on its course to the Atlantic Ocean. Its main headwaters—the Bafing and the Bakoye (Bakhoy) rivers—rise in the Fouta Djallon and join at Bafoulabé to form the Sénégal. The river then flows to the west across the plateau region, where it is broken by falls at Gouina and Félou. Between Kayes and the Senegalese border it receives the Kolimbiné and Karakoro rivers on the right and the Falémé—its major tributary—on the left. A tropical river, the Sénégal experiences seasonal flow. The waters are low in April and May and are high between July and October. Floods occur during the first two months of the high-water period.

The Niger River

For 1,010 miles, nearly one-third of its total length, the Niger River flows through Mali. Rising in the Fouta Djallon, the river is of significant size by the time it enters Mali near Banankoro. It flows to the northeast across the Mandingue Plateau, where it is broken by falls at Sotuba. Reaching Koulikoro, it spreads out in a wide valley and flows majestically to its confluence with the Banifing River at Mopti. The Niger then forms an interior delta because the land is flat and the river's descent almost nonexistent. The river breaks down into a network of branches and lakes as it continues northward. The lakes include those of Débo, Fati, Télé, and Faguibine. At Bourèm the Niger makes a great bend to the south, known as the Niger Bend, and flows past Gao and Ansongo to the Niger border at Labbezanga.

The Niger also flows intermittently. High waters occur on the Upper Niger from July to October, at the delta from September to November, and at the bend from December to January. Periodic floods and the rich alluvial soils in the central delta make the Niger Valley an important agricultural region.

Soils. The soils are generally poor. In the south, ferruginous (iron-bearing) soils are shallow and form a hard, red crust because of intense evaporation. Along the southern edge of the Sahara, the brown and reddish soils are only slightly transformed into crust because of the lack of water and chemical decomposition. The desert region is composed of sand, rock, and gravel.

Climate. Mali lies within the intertropical zone and has a hot, dry climate. The sun is at its zenith throughout most of the year. In general, there are two distinct seasons, the dry and the wet. The dry season, from November to June, is marked by low humidity and high temperatures and is influenced by the *alize* and harmattan winds. The *alize*, from the northeast from December to February, causes a relatively cold spell, with temperatures averaging 77° F (25° C). From March to June, the dry, hot harmattan blows from the east and sweeps the overheated soil into dusty whirlwinds. The wind causes temperatures between 104° and 113° F.

During the rainy season from June to October, the monsoon wind blows from the southwest. Preceded by large, black clouds, the tornado-like rainstorms are accompanied by lightning and thunder. Temperatures lessen somewhat in August, when most of the rainfall occurs.

Climatic zones

The country can be divided into three climatic zones—the Sudanic, the Sahelian, and the desert zones. Sudanic climate occurs in almost one-third of the country, from the southern border to latitude 15° north. It is characterized by an annual rainfall of between 20 and 51 inches and average temperatures of between 75° and 86° F (24° and 30° C). The Sahel, or the area bordering on the Sahara, receives between eight and 20 inches of rain a year and has average temperatures between 73° and 97° F (23° and 36° C). In the Sahara, temperatures during the day range from 117° to 140° F (47° to 60° C), while

20 NISAN 1992

Songay (34-36)

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IMAM MUHAMMAD
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1404 AH - 1984 AD

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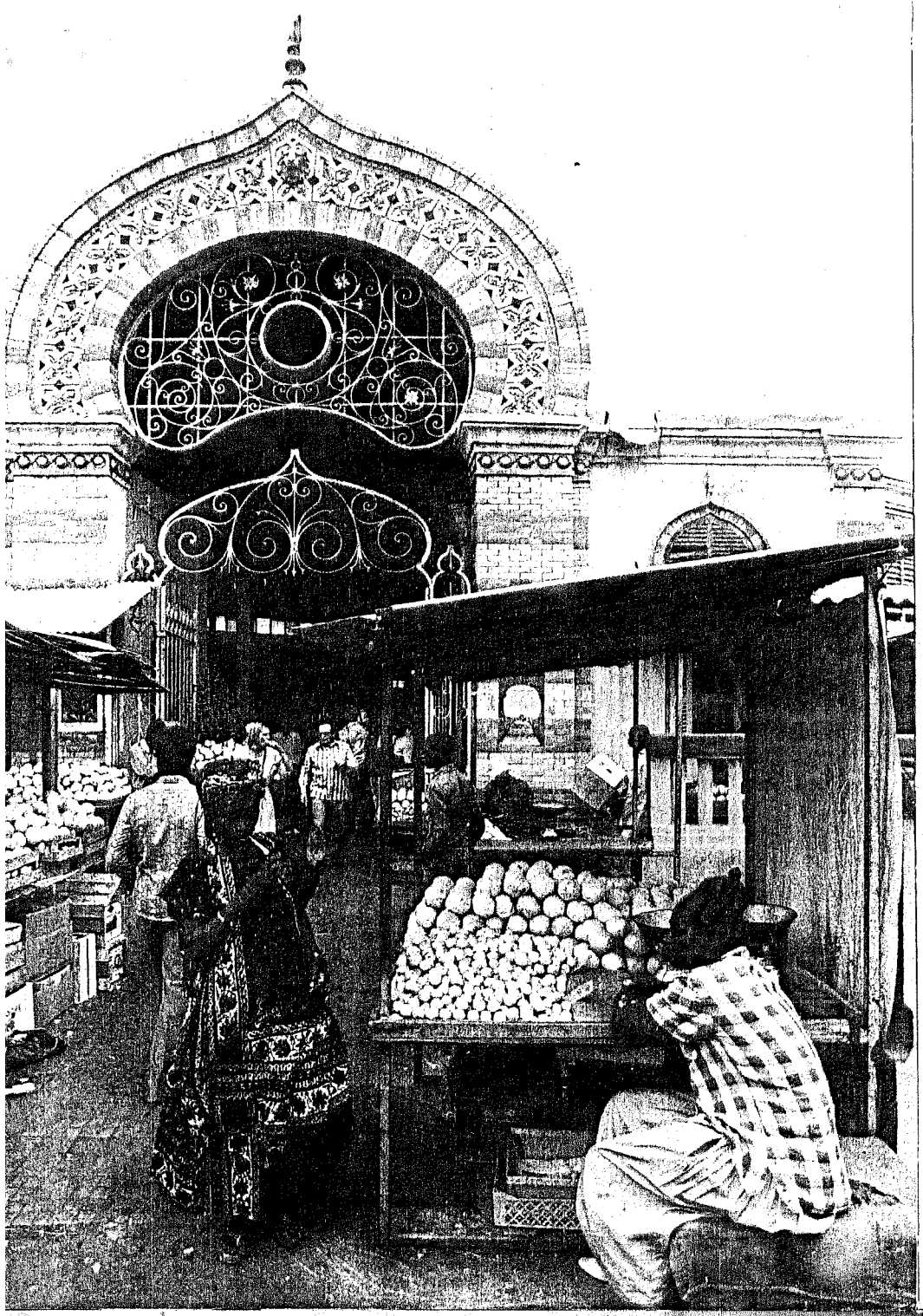
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(Cultural Relations with Europe in the reign of Sultan Murad III and the World Ball in the Observatory in Istanbul, Journal of Belleten, year 1961, pp. 397-445. It includes 13 pictures and map.)

THE PLANTING AND DIFFUSION OF ISLAM IN AFRICA- SOUTH OF SAHARA

BY

DR. A. RAHMAN I. DOI



VIII 9-16

Thomas Krings

-Songay

0 4 AGUSTOS 1992

Sahel

Senegal, Mauretanien, Mali, Niger

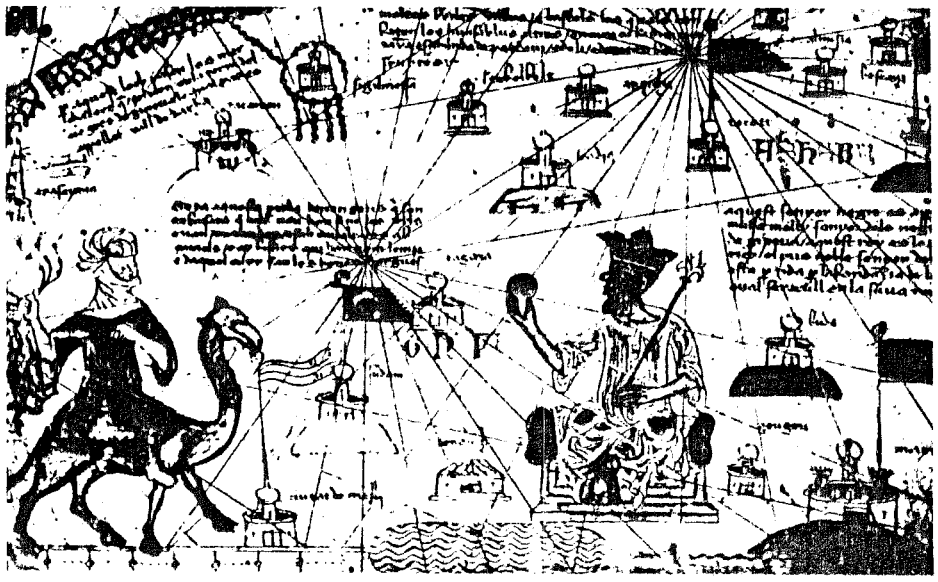
Islamische und traditionelle schwarzafrikanische Kultur
zwischen Atlantik und Tschadsee

Mit Fotos von Beatrice Frehn

İSLAM TARİH SANAT
ve KÜLTÜRÜ ARASTIRMA
MERKEZI - İSTANBUL
5410

DuMont Buchverlag Köln

1982



Darstellung von Kankan Moussa, ›Herr der Neger von Guinea‹, auf einer Karte des katalanischen Atlas von Karl V. aus dem Jahr 1375

Die engen kulturellen Verbindungen Malis mit Nordafrika führten auch zu einer verstärkten Islamisierung des Sudan. Arabische Kaufleute und Koranlehrer aus dem Maghreb ließen sich in so großer Zahl in den sudanischen Städten nieder, daß es zur Entstehung von regelrechten ›weißen‹ Stadtteilen kam. Dennoch blieb der Islam noch immer die Religion der Oberschicht und der Gebildeten, während die Masse des Volkes an den traditionellen animistischen Kulten festhielt. Beim Tode von Kankan Moussa hatte das Reich Mali eine gewaltige Ausdehnung erreicht: Es erstreckte sich von Tekrur im Westen bis in den Ostteil des Nigerbogens bei Gao; im Norden reichte seine Einflußsphäre bis in die zentrale Sahara, wodurch die Überfälle der Tuareg-Nomaden in Grenzen gehalten werden konnten; im Süden grenzte es an den Waldgürtel und an das Mossi-Reich.

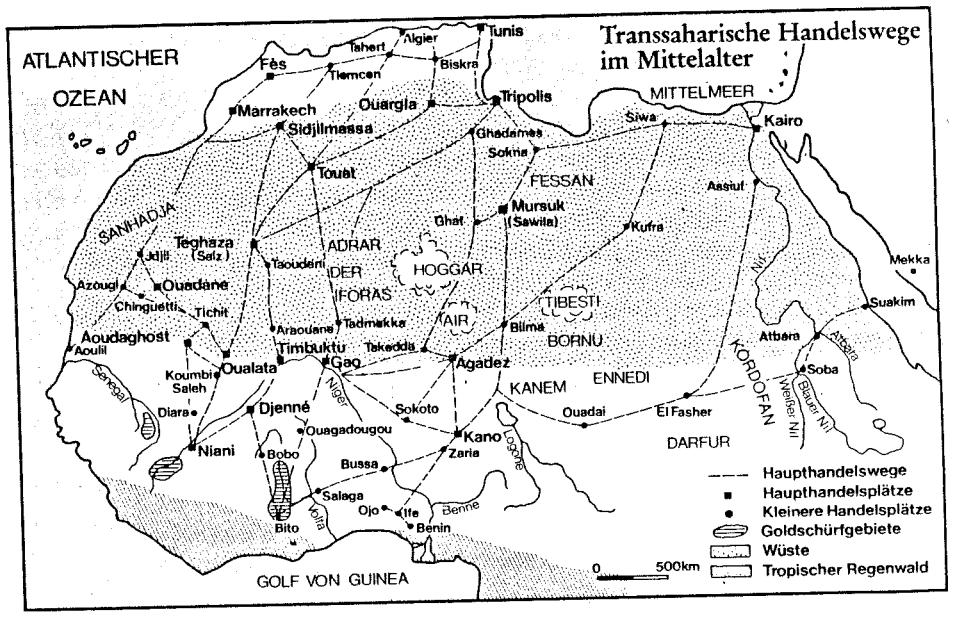
In den folgenden Jahrhunderten verlor Mali allmählich seine absolute Vormachtstellung im Westsudan, konnte jedoch noch bis zum ausgehenden 14. Jh. eine Führerrolle in dieser Region behaupten. Zu Beginn des 15. Jhs. nahm Malis Machtzerfall stetig zu. Von Norden griffen die Tuareg immer häufiger an, während von Südosten die Mossi-Könige Kriegszüge gegen Timbuktu unternahmen. Verheerend für den Zusammenhalt des Reiches wirkten sich die Machtkämpfe unter den Nachkommen der Keita-Dynastie aus, so daß weder die Besetzung von Timbuktu, Oualata und Araouane im Jahr 1435 noch die Übergriffe der aufstrebenden Songhay-Herrscher gegen die Stadt Niani und die Kernlande des Mali-Reiches verhindert werden konnten. Der Verfall des Reiches setzte sich im 16. Jh. fort, als die Tekrur vom Senegal die Goldminen von Bambuk besetzten und weite Gebiete südlich des Senegalflusses verwüsteten.

Danach kämpften die Bambara von Segu, die seit 1600 nominell von Mali unabhängig waren, zusammen mit den Fulbe von Massina gegen Mali. Mama Magan, der letzte Herrscher der Keita-Dynastie, unternahm im Jahr 1645 einen letzten Versuch, sich gegen die Bambara zu verteidigen. Mit einem kleinen Rest seines Heeres zog er sich nach Kangaba, dem Herkunftsort des Keita-Clans, zurück. Von der Stadt Niani, die über Jahrhunderte das politische Zentrum des Sudan dargestellt hatte, waren im 18. Jh. nur noch einige Ruinen übrig.

Trotz des Verfalls von Mali blieb bei den Malinke die Erinnerung an die einstige Größe des Reiches stets lebendig. Die ehemalige französische Kolonie ›Soudan français‹ erhielt nach ihrer Unabhängigkeit von den nun wieder führenden Politikern des Keita-Clans den traditionsreichen Namen Mali, und in Gedichten und Liedern halten bis heute fahrende Bänkelsänger auf den Märkten des Sudan die Erinnerung an das alte Mali-Reich wach.

Das Reich Songhay

Über die Geschichte des letzten großen mittelalterlichen sudanischen Großreiches, das der Songhay, unterrichtet uns genau der *Tarikh es Sudan* (›Geschichte des Sudan‹) des Abd er Rahman al Sadi, der 1596 in Timbuktu geboren wurde. Die Songhay sind ihrer Herkunft nach ein schwarzafrikanisches Fischer- und Bauernvolk, das früher am Mittellauf des Niger in der Landschaft Dendi, in der Nähe der heutigen Stadt Say im Niger, lebte. Unter dem Druck fremder Völker zogen die Sorko-Fischer und Gabibi-Bauern vor mehr als 1000 Jahren nigeraufwärts,



MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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Élodie DE FAUCAMBERGE

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Mali (130246) Niger (140447)

P71. PROTOHISTOIRE DU MALI ET DU NIGER

Au IX^e siècle apr. J.-C., les manuscrits arabes relatifs au *Bilād al-Sūdān* (= « pays des Noirs ») rapportent l'existence d'un important royaume dans la moyenne vallée du Niger, le royaume de Kawkaw (= Gao) qui participe au commerce transsaharien arabo-berbère (Cuoq 1984, 1985). À partir du XI^e siècle apr. J.-C., l'utilisation locale de l'écriture arabe fait basculer la région dans l'histoire (Moares Farias 2003 ; Triaud 2005). Ici comme ailleurs, en Afrique et hors d'Afrique, l'avènement de la monarchie et le passage à l'écrit qui lui est souvent consécutif, n'auraient pu se réaliser sans les surplus alimentaires générés par l'agriculture, indispensables pour nourrir les improductifs attachés à la couronne. Autrement dit, la naissance de l'agriculture a été l'élément déclencheur qui a permis au Sahel d'entrer dans l'antichambre de l'histoire, c'est-à-dire dans la protohistoire. C'est pourquoi on place en limite haute du cadre chronologique pour la protohistoire du Mali et du Niger la date d'apparition de l'agriculture, d'autant qu'avec elle s'opère un important virage sociétal qui a déterminé en grande partie l'organisation de la ruralité ouest africaine. L'économie de production de nourriture végétale implique en effet un attachement accru à la terre, une gestion nouvelle des sols, des rituels en accord avec les cycles agraires, des préoccupations religieuses visant à favoriser la régénération de la végétation. Elle nécessite en outre des dispositions particulières pour la protection des cultures, la conservation des semences et des récoltes, la consommation différée des produits vivriers et leur préparation alimentaire. Quand ce tournant a-t-il été pris ? Suivant quels enchaînements sociopolitiques la royauté a-t-elle fini par s'affirmer ? Quelles avancées technologiques l'ont favorisée ?

Le III^e millénaire av. J.-C. (fig. 1)

Les examens sous fort grossissement de tessons exhumés de plusieurs sites archéologiques du Bas Tilemsi – un affluent de la rive gauche du Niger à hauteur de Gao –, ont révélé des empreintes d'épillets de mil* de morphologie domestique (Manning et *al.* 2011). Leur présence résulte de l'ajout de balle de céréales dans l'argile qui était destinée au montage des pots. La quantité de ^{14}C émise par les résidus organiques non consumés présents dans ces tessons et, parallèlement, les mesures OSL effectuées sur les petits cristaux inclus dans l'argile, permettent de dater cette production céramique de la fin du III^e millénaire av. J.-C. L'agriculture du mil se trouve ainsi démontrée dès cette époque. Précisons d'autre part que la pratique de l'élevage est attestée dans le nord du Niger à la charnière des VI^e-V^e millénaires av. J.-C. par des sépultures de taurins (Paris 1998) et dans le nord du Mali à un moment ou à un autre entre les VI^e et IV^e millénaires av. J.-C. par l'art rupestre de l'Adrar des Iforas* (Dupuy 1989 et 1999). L'élevage précèderait donc l'agriculture à ces latitudes. Le conditionnel

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Songhai

Ethnic group of West Africa; also known as Songhay, Songhoi, Songrai, Sonhrai, and Sonhray.

The Songhai primarily inhabit southeastern MALI, along the bend of the NIGER RIVER, and western Niger. Others live in BENIN, BURKINA FASO, and NIGERIA. Some have migrated to TOGO and CÔTE D'IVOIRE, and to GHANA, where they are known as the Zabrama or Gao. They speak a unique Nilo-Saharan language, also called Songhai. The ancestors of the Songhai established a kingdom on the Niger bend as early as the seventh century C.E. Its ruling dynasty would last until 1491. The Songhai trace descent patrilineally, or along the father's line. Traditionally they inherited a distinct social position as noble, commoner, griot (professional bard), or slave.

Today the Songhai are mostly subsistence farmers. They grow rice along riverbanks, as well as millet, sorghum, peanuts, black-eyed peas, sorrel, and other crops. Many Songhai also live in cities such as TOMBOUCTOU (or Timbuktu), NIAMEY, and BAMAKO, where they engage in a wide range of trades and professions. Paramount chiefs from noble lines hold office and continue to exert at least symbolic authority in rural regions. The Songhai include a number of regional subgroups, including the Fono, the Gabibi, the Gow, the Kado, the Kortey, the Sorko, and the ZERMA (also known as Djerma or Zaberma). Over 1.5 million people consider themselves Songhai.

See also LANGUAGES, AFRICAN: AN OVERVIEW; MUSIC, AFRICAN; SONGHAI EMPIRE.

ARI NAVE

Songhai Empire

Former West African empire.

As early as the seventh century C.E., a polity known as Songhai existed in the area of the great northward bend of the NIGER RIVER. In the thirteenth century it was part of the empire of ancient MALI, but in 1335 the SONGHAI people broke away from Mali and began to conquer the surrounding area with a well-trained army and cavalry. Like the empires before it, the wealth of Songhai came largely from the Saharan trade in salt and gold, mostly through the great trading cities of Gao, DJENNÉ, and TOMBOUCTOU.

In the late fifteenth century the empire was led by Sunni Ali (1462–1492), a military commander, who defeated armies of the MOSSI to the south and the TUAREG to the north. Soon after the death of Sunni Ali, control of the empire was taken by Askia MUHAMMAD, who was from a MANDE-speaking family. The new rulers, whose ancestors had governed ancient Mali, were Muslims who opposed the pagan Songhai rulers. Under Askia Muhammad the Songhai empire reached its greatest expanse. It stretched from the borders of Kanembornu and the HAUSA STATES in the east to the upper SENEGAL RIVER in the west and included the salt-mining area of Teghaza in the desert to the north. The capital was Gao, a town in modern Mali that still contains part of the mosque where Askia Muhammad was buried in 1538.

Late in the sixteenth century the empire began to decline because its area was too large to control effectively. Other states began to compete for the rich Saharan trade. In 1591 Songhai was attacked by an army from MOROCCO, which captured the salt-mining areas of Teghaza and Taodeni and defeated the Songhai at the battle of Tondibi. The small number of musket-bearing mercenaries defeated the much larger force armed with spears and bows; supposedly the guns caused the cattle to stampede. The Songhai rulers retreated southward to the region of DENDI on the Niger, to the northwest of the present border of NIGERIA. There they continued to rule over their own people although their economic and military power in the SUDAN was broken.

Meanwhile, the Moroccans could not control the many different peoples of the Sudan and the desert, and in the seventeenth century a number of smaller states took the place of the empire. But none of them was powerful enough to bring peace and prosperity to the Sudan region.

Today there are still several hundreds of thousands of Songhai who claim descent from the people of the historic empire. They are mainly farmers and fishermen who live along the great north bend of the Niger in Mali.

Songye

Ethnic group of the Democratic Republic of the Congo; also known as the Songe.

The Songye primarily inhabit the Kasai-Oriental region of south-central Congo-Kinshasa. They speak a Bantu language and are closely related to the LUBA people. Approximately 1.67 million people consider themselves Songye.

See also BANTU: DISPERSION AND SETTLEMENT.

Mali (130246)

Soninké

Ethnic group originating in Mali, Senegal, and Mauritania that has dispersed to other West African countries and is known by a variety of names, including Sarakole, Diankanke, and Wangarawa.

Soninké oral history traces their descent from BERBERS, but both their traditional MANDE language and archaeological evidence suggest that their ancestors have lived in present-day MALI and MAURITANIA for thousands of years. They were the founders and rulers of ancient GHANA, centered in KOUMBI SALEH. Straddling the desert and the SAHEL, Ghana developed into a center of trans-Saharan exchange, and the Soninké became famous

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İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

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21 Ocak 2016

3281 GRÉMONT, Charles. Villages and crossroads: changing territorialities among the Tuareg in northern Mali. *Saharan frontiers: space and mobility in Northwest Africa*. Ed. James McDougall and Judith Scheele. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012, pp. 131-145. 18th-20th centuries.

Mali
130246

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Djebar then stopped writing for several years, citing discomfort from writing about subjects too close to her own life—especially in a traditional society where women did not speak of the self. Instead, she concentrated on filmmaking, creating *Walid Garn* (1977), which deals with women's responses to liberation struggles. She then made a controversial feminist film, *La nouba des femmes de Mont Chenoua* (The Festival of the Women of Mount Chenoua, 1979), for Algerian state television. The film weaves together what Djebar called "a polyphony of women's voices." In her next film, *La Zerda et les chants de l'oubli* (Zerda or the Songs of Forgetting, 1982), Djebar superimposed Algerian women's songs over French newsreels of World War I (1914–1918) to document women's participation in the war.

Djebar resumed writing with a collection of stories and an essay, *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* (1980; translated as Women of Algiers in Their Apartment, 1992). Her next novel, *L'amour, la fantasia* (1985; Fantasia: An Algerian Cavalcade, 1985), alternates two women's voices as they explore historical boundaries. With this work, Djebar began challenging the assumption that women's private lives should never become public—the symbolic act of unveiling becomes a recurring theme. *Ombre sultane* (1987; A Sister to Scheherazade, 1989), the second work in a quartet that begins with *L'amour, la fantasia*, alternates narratives from two women, one emancipated and one traditional. *Loin de Medine: filles d'Ismael* (Far From Medina, 1991) addresses questions that Islam and its holy book, the Qu'ran (Koran), pose for women. Djebar's novel *Vaste est la prison* (Vast is the Prison) was published in 1995. The following year she received the Neustadt International Prize for Literature.

Djebar is one of several Algrian writers who have looked to the country's pre-Arabic, pre-Islamic past as a way of interpreting its present multiculturalism. In the novel *Algerian White*, published in 2002, she continued to explore the themes of memory and the links between private and public life. Among her more recent work is *La femme sans sépulture* (2002), *La disparition de la langue française* (2003), and *Nulle part dans la maison de mon père* (2008). In 2005 she was admitted into the Académie Française.

See also FEMINISM IN ISLAMIC AFRICA; LITERATURE, FRENCH-LANGUAGE, IN AFRICA.

Djenné

City in Mali.

Located 400 kilometers (about 250 miles) north-northeast of BAMAKO and 354 kilometers (220 miles) south of TOMBOUCTOU (Timbuktu), Djenné was once a major commercial and intellectual center. Djenné was originally a small fishing village inhabited by the Bozo people, located near the ancient trading center at DJENNÉ-JENO. In the early thirteenth century, as Djenné-Jeno fell into decline, the SONINKÉ founded a trading town at the present-day Djenné. The town soon became a major market for trade between Tombouctou and the southern forest regions. Trade with Tombouctou followed the Bani and NIGER RIVERS. Djenné provided the desert city with food and cotton as well as gold, ivory, slaves, kola nuts, and spices in exchange for salt and North African goods.

As a trading center, Djenné offered traders security against bandits: the city is completely encircled by the Bani and Niger rivers for nearly half of the year. However, the city's protected location did little to deter conquerors lured by the city's wealth. In the fourteenth century the city was absorbed by the MALI EMPIRE. In 1491, after the fall of Mali, the SONGHAI ruler SUNNI ALI built a naval fleet that allowed him to conquer the city. During the sixteenth century, Djenné fell briefly to Moroccan invaders. The Moroccan soldiers later abandoned the city to the BAMBARA kingdom of Ségu, which occupied it from 1670 to 1810. It was during this period that Djenné became a center of Islamic learning renowned for its distinctive mud-brick mosque. In the nineteenth century, Djenné was conquered by both Cheikou Amadou (who ruined the city's great mosque during the attack) and the religious leader UMAR TAL. In 1893 the French occupied the city; they rebuilt the mosque in 1905. Under French COLONIAL RULE, Djenné lost its commercial importance to nearby Mopti. Today the town is a local trade center for fish, coffee, and kola nuts. It has an estimated population of 21,200.

See also GOLD TRADE; ISLAM IN AFRICA; IVORY TRADE; MALI; SALT TRADE.

TARİDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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ELIZABETH HEATH

Mali (130246)

Djenné-Jeno, Mali

Ancient city whose ruins lie in present-day Mali; also known as Jenné-Jeno and ancient Djenné.

The ruins of a city now known as Djenné-Jeno lie in the central NIGER Valley in MALI approximately 3 km (2 mi) from present-day DJENNÉ. According to archaeological evidence, Djenné-Jeno was founded before the second century B.C.E. It developed into a major trading center before its decline after the eleventh century C.E. and its desertion in the fourteenth century C.E., when urban life and trade shifted to present-day Djenné. At its pinnacle, between 700 and 1000 C.E., the town had a population of at least 10,000 people; it encompassed an area of around 33 hectares (82 acres).

Encyclopedia of Africa, vol. I, edit. Kwame Anthony Appiah, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., New York, Oxford University Press, 2010, İSAM DN. 234299.

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Throughout the next two decades, a number of other poetry volumes followed and received critical acclaim both for their vivid language and imagery and for their broader themes. Senghor published less during the years of his presidency. However, he won the Apollinaire Prize for Poetry in 1974, and he published volumes of poetry in 1979 and in 1980.

As Senegalese president during the 1960s and 1970s, Senghor implemented a moderate (pro-Western) form of African socialism, in which the state played a major role in the economy in alliance with the established indigenous elite. He also replaced Senegal's multiparty democracy in the early 1960s with a one-party authoritarian state. In the so-called "passive revolution" of 1976, Senghor responded to economic and political stagnation by introducing greater political and economic freedom. Senegal's economic crisis persisted, however, and bowing to popular discontent, Senghor retired from office in 1981, one of the few African rulers to voluntarily relinquish power. He left a legacy of relative stability and freedom of expression in Senegal. Senghor had monopolized power and discouraged debate and opposition, perhaps contributing to the stagnation of Senegalese politics.

After his retirement, Senghor resettled in Verson, France, his wife's hometown. In 1988 he published a philosophical memoir entitled *Ce que je crois* (What I Believe). During the 1990s he published poetry, and he lived in quiet seclusion until his death in 2001.

See also PAN-AFRICANISM.

DAVID P. JOHNSON, JR.

Mali (130246)

Senufo

Ethnic group of Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, and Burkina Faso; also known as the Siena and Sene.

There are more than three million ethnic Senufo. Many of them live in the Middle Volta valley, between the Bagoe, Bani, and Mouhoun (formerly Black Volta) rivers in West Africa. The Senufo ancestry is not entirely known. Some, at least, are believed to have migrated north from the area around Odienne (in modern-day Côte d'Ivoire) sometime prior to the seventeenth century C.E. As farmers, they adapted techniques for growing corn and millet on the region's poor soil.

The peoples now known as the northern, central, and southern Senufo had distinct histories. In the early seventeenth century, DYULA traders migrated from the collapsing SONGHAI empire into the Middle Volta valley and settled among the southern groups. The merchants called their peasant neighbors Senufo, a MANDE term for "those who speak Senari." The Dyula also converted many Senufo chiefs to Islam, and in the eighteenth century the Dyula traders took control of the KONG empire.

Islam made relatively few advances among the northern Senufo (also known as the Supide or the Kenedougou) and central Senufo, at least not until the increased urban migration after World War II (1939–1945); traditional Senufo religion has always emphasized the worship of ancestors and earth spirits. The Senufo's secret societies—Lo for men, Sandogo for women—provide for the transmission of ritual knowledge from one generation to the next. Elder Lo members also serve as consultants to village chiefs.

During the colonial era many Senufo migrated to work on cash-cropping schemes in more fertile areas to the south and west; today many Senufo youth still seek wage employment outside their rural homelands. Senufo farmers grow a variety of cash crops, depending on the local ecology. Certain towns in Senufo regions, such as Sikasso, Mali, have become important commercial centers

While the Senufo play relatively minor roles in the national governments of the countries in which they live, they have won international renown for their art and music, using horns, flutes, different drums, marimbas, and tuned iron gongs. The most spectacular pieces are the wood sculptures of hornbill birds, which display long beaks and outstretched wings and stand more than four feet high. In recent years many Senufo artisans have begun producing for tourist markets, mainly masks and figures.

See also RITES OF PASSAGE AND TRANSITION.

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ELIZABETH HEATH

Serengeti National Park

Park in northern Tanzania.

Established in 1941, Serengeti National Park covers about 14,750 sq km (about 5,700 sq mi) and consists mainly of flat, open grassland, with a few rocky kopjes (small hills) and some areas of woodland and bushy savanna in the western part of the park. The Serengeti is the only national park in Africa where seasonal migrations of plains animals take place.

Serengeti National Park is inhabited by more than 200 species of birds and thirty-five species of plains mammals, including cheetahs, leopards, lions, and giraffes. Zebras, gnus (large African antelopes also called wildebeests), gazelles, and elephants did not exist in large numbers in the park until the 1960s, when the rising human

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Malawi's soil had been depleted by over-farming and drought years that resulted in loss of topsoil to wind erosion. Deforestation by individuals selling firewood continues to destroy the ecosystem.

See also BANTU: DISPERSION AND SETTLEMENT; CHRISTIANITY: MISSIONARIES IN AFRICA; DECOLONIZATION IN AFRICA: AN INTERPRETATION; DROUGHT AND DESERTIFICATION; GOLD TRADE; HUNGER AND FAMINE; IRON IN AFRICA; ISLAM IN AFRICA; IVORY TRADE; SLAVERY IN AFRICA.

ARI NAVE

Malawi, Lake

Also called Lake Nyasa, it is the third largest and southernmost of the African Rift Valley lakes and home to hundreds of species of fish.

The ninth largest lake in the world, Lake Malawi is 580 kilometers (360 miles) long and 16 to 80 kilometers (about 10 to 50 miles) wide, with a total area of 22,490 square kilometers (8,683 square miles) or about 19 percent of the total area of MALAWI. It has a maximum depth of 707 meters (2,320 feet). Most of Lake Malawi is located in Malawi, although some extends into TANZANIA. It forms most of Malawi's northern border with Tanzania and its eastern border with MOZAMBIQUE. Lake Malawi is integral to the Malawian economy. Malawi, a landlocked state, depends on the lake for water, transportation, electricity, irrigation, tourism, and fish. Lake Malawi is home to more than 750 species of fish, most from the Cichlid family, and many of them found nowhere else. Hippopotamuses also inhabit the lake. Fishing has long been an important industry in Malawi. An estimated 300,000 Malawians are employed by fishing or fishing-related industries. However, overfishing and illegal fishing during breeding season have greatly reduced the lake's fish population. In 1987 the commercial fish catch was 88,586 tons, of which 101 tons were exported. By 1991 the commercial fish catch was 63,000 tons, of which only 3 tons were exported. In 1992, although the catch was 69,500 tons, Malawi exported no fish. By the end of the twentieth century, the annual catch had dropped to 50,000 tons. Fish consumption among the average Malawian dropped to six kilos per person. In the 1970s, when fish provided approximately 70 percent of the animal protein consumed by Malawians, fish consumption averaged fourteen kilos per person. In 2003 the Malawi Fisheries Department launched a ten-year plan to restore depleted fish stocks in the lake.

See also RIFT VALLEY.

ROBERT FAY

Mali (130246)

Landlocked country in West Africa bordered by Senegal, Mauritania, Algeria, Niger, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, and Guinea.

Mali, formerly the FRENCH SUDAN, is a country best known for its ancient kingdoms and empires. Controlling the rich trans-Saharan trade in gold and slaves, kingdoms such as Ghana, Mali, and SONGHAI achieved prosperity and cultural advancement. During the period of colonialism, however, the French imposed an economic dependence on cash crops that left the country vulnerable to drought and the vagaries of the world market. Since independence, successive governments have attempted development strategies ranging from Marxist state-led development to market-oriented liberalism. However, the structural weakness of the country's overwhelmingly agricultural economy has left Mali one of the poorest countries in the world. In recent years, economic liberalization has attracted new foreign investment to Mali. It remains to be seen whether this investment will bring renewed prosperity to modern Mali, whose history is surely one of the richest in Africa.

EARLY HISTORY

Evidence of the human presence in Mali dates back to the Neolithic period, when lush savanna and grasslands covered the area. Detailed rock paintings portray the life of the early hunters and pastoralists and their adaptations to the climatic changes that began around 6000 B.C.E. Over subsequent centuries, the whole region became more arid, while the north became a desert. Much of the population shifted south and gradually began cultivating crops. By 500 B.C.E. the agriculturalists of the NIGER and SENEGAL RIVER valleys had developed the ability to work metal, including copper, iron, and gold. The production and exchange of these metals was the basis of prosperity in ancient trading centers such as DJENNÉ-JENO and the kingdom of Ghana (not to be confused with the modern nation of GHANA).

Around 400 C.E. the SONINKÉ, a MANDE people of the upper Senegal Valley, established trade contracts with the northern nomads. During the following centuries their kingdom, Ghana, extended from present-day southeastern MAURITANIA into western Mali and northern GUINEA. It controlled the exchange of southern gold for northern salt and copper as well as luxury goods from North Africa. The empire, with a capital at KOUMBI SALEH, reached its peak in the eleventh century but declined after 1076 as a result of attacks by the ALMORAVIDS. These Muslim invaders converted the Soninké to Islam and seized control of their

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Tubman's cabinet members after parading them naked through the capital city of MONROVIA. Despite his reputation for brutality, Doe maintained Liberia's traditionally close ties to the United States, including a state visit in 1982. After future president Charles Ghankay TAYLOR and other rebel leaders launched a civil war in 1989, Doe spent months trapped inside the presidential palace, and was ultimately killed by rebel forces.

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KATE TUTTLE

Mali (130246) MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Dogon

Ethnic group of south-central Mali.

According to oral tradition, the Dogon were originally members of the Keita, a MANDE-speaking group from the headwaters of the NIGER RIVER who fled their homes sometime between the tenth and thirteenth centuries because they refused to convert to Islam. The oral tradition may show that the Dogon absorbed Mande-speaking refugees from the centralized Islamic kingdoms of the Niger Basin. However, the Voltaic (or Gur) language of the Dogon suggests a more ancient presence in their present-day homeland in south-central MALI. They inhabit the rugged and isolated Bandiagara escarpment and surrounding regions southwest of the Niger bend. The cliffs at the edge of the escarpment protected the group from outside invaders. Dogon settlements concentrate around isolated pockets of arable land, where they farm millet as a subsistence crop. Traditionally, the Dogon have shared this territory with the pastoral FULANI, who exchanged their dairy products for Dogon grain and produce. Though exact numbers are difficult to come by, today as many as 800,000 people consider themselves Dogon.

The Dogon's rugged and isolated territory left them relatively unaffected by French colonialism and missionary work, though the French did introduce the cultivation of onions as a cash crop during the 1920s. By maintaining their precolonial cultural traditions, the Dogon have attracted the attention of numerous ethnographers, including the French anthropologist Marcel Griaule and the French ethnographic filmmaker Jean Rouche. In recent years, however, the Dogon have increased their participation in the cash economy. Some villages have specialized in traditional crafts and performances in order to attract commercial tourism. Some Dogon have even left their homeland in search of wage labor, particularly in BAMAKO, MALI, and the mines of CÔTE D'IVOIRE. The Dogon have also recently faced animosity from their Fulani neighbors, with whom they compete for scarce mineral resources and mining jobs.

Traditionally, the extended patrilineal family forms the basic social unit of the Dogon, who lack strong centralized authorities. A *hogon*, or headman (traditionally the oldest man in the area), provides spiritual leadership and arbitrates disputes for one or more villages. The hogon performs rituals and safeguards the religious masks for which the Dogon are famous. The power of the hogon, however, is relatively weak; a council of elders holds decision-making power within each village. The Dogon fall into at least four smaller groups: the Dyon, Arou, Onon, and Domno. Like neighboring Mande groups, the Dogon maintain a kind of caste system based on occupation. Farmers rank at the top of the system, while blacksmiths and hunters, who perform "polluting" work, are lower on the caste scale.

Unlike their Muslim neighbors, most Dogon still practice a traditional religion with a complex mythology. This has received considerable anthropological attention. Dogon cosmology considers every being a combination of complementary opposites; elaborate rituals are necessary to maintain the balance. Ancestor worship is another importance facet of Dogon religion. Members of the Society of Masks perform rituals to guarantee that a person's "life force" will flee from his or her corpse to a future relative of the same lineage. One of the most famous Dogon rituals is the *Sigi*—a series of rituals performed once every sixty years—recorded by filmmaker Jean Rouche. Islamic missionaries, however, have had some success among the Dogon, and approximately 35 percent of the Dogon population are now Muslim.

See also ISLAM IN AFRICA; TOURISM IN AFRICA.

ELIZABETH HEATH

Dogon Art and Architecture

Artwork and buildings of the Dogon people who live in present-day Mali.

Much of DOGON art consists of striking ritual masks made with carved wood and other materials. Dogon architecture conveys symbolic relationships in Dogon society and is considered one of the most distinctive styles in West Africa.

The Dogon live in the rugged yet beautiful Bandiagara escarpment of south central MALI. They migrated to this remote cliff area around the fifteenth century C.E. in part to preserve their cultural beliefs and institutions when the Islamic MALI EMPIRE was at its height. When the Dogon arrived at the Bandiagara escarpment, they found architectural and other remains of earlier civilizations, among these the Toloy (third century to second century B.C.E.) and the Tellem (eleventh century to fifteenth century C.E.). Dogon building, weaving, iron working, and pottery traditions reflect both an interest in these and other earlier regional art forms, and an influence from contemporary regional political and cultural centers such as DJENNÉ and TOMBOUCTOU (Timbuktu).

Encyclopedia of Africa, vol. I, edit. Kwame Anthony Appiah, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., New York, Oxford University Press, 2010, İSAM DN. 234299.

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Mali (130246)

Chiefs occasionally governed some Balanta groups, but in general egalitarianism prevailed among these rice-cultivating peoples. Consequently, the Portuguese colonialists found it difficult to govern the Balanta. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Portugal mounted "pacification" campaigns against the resistant Balanta, and subjected them to appointed Fulbe chiefs. Because of this Portuguese repression, the Balanta enlisted in great numbers as soldiers in the nationalist struggle during the 1960s and 1970s. When the nationalists assumed power after independence, however, they found it difficult to establish village committees and other organizations among the Balanta because of their decentralized social organization. Many Balanta resented their exclusion from the government; their prominence in the military spurred a series of Balanta-led coup attempts in the 1980s.

See also COLONIAL RULE; GUINEA-BISSAU; SENEGAL.

ERIC YOUNG

Balewa, Abubakar Tafawa

1912–1966

First prime minister of independent Nigeria.

Unlike other members of the northern Nigerian elite that he was to join, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was born into a low-status, non-Fulani family. He attended primary and secondary school in Bauchi State and then enrolled at Katsina Higher College. In 1933 he became a schoolmaster, and in 1934 he published *Shaihu Umar*, a novel.

Balewa's political career began in 1943 when he cofounded the Bauchi General Improvement Union, a group that promoted modernization and criticized British colonialism in NIGERIA. Less radical than his cohorts, Balewa won election in 1946 to the northern legislature and became vice president of the Northern People's Congress (NPC). The government appointed him minister of works in 1952 and minister of transport in 1954. In September 1957 Balewa became the prime minister of Nigeria under British control, a position he held until 1959. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth II of England the following year.

When Nigeria gained its independence in 1960, Balewa served a second term as prime minister. Although he could act independently, Balewa's power depended on the support of a stronger politician, Ahmadu BELLO, a traditional leader of northern Nigeria in Sokoto. Presiding over a new, volatile, and deeply divided political landscape, Balewa's moderate positions probably saved Nigeria from disintegration during its early years. Despite his diligence and integrity, Balewa was assassinated on January 15, 1966, during a coup.

See also FULANI.

ERIC BENNETT

Bamako, Mali

Capital and largest city of Mali.

The administrative, economic, and cultural center of MALI, Bamako lies on the left bank of the NIGER RIVER in the southwestern part of the country. Little is known about Bamako before the eleventh century, when it achieved prominence as a center of Islamic scholarship in the MALI EMPIRE. After the fall of Mali in the sixteenth century, the BAMBARA occupied the town, which became a fishing and trading center. In 1806 Scottish explorer Mungo Park estimated Bamako's population to be less than 6,000. By 1880 the town had fallen under the domination of the MANDINKA warrior Samory TOURÉ, whose kingdom covered an expanse of territory to the south.

In 1883 French Lieutenant Colonel Gustave Borgnis-Desbordes occupied Bamako and used it as a base for military campaigns against Touré. Bamako took on new importance under the French, who valued the town's position on the navigable portion of the Niger River—an asset that had long facilitated Bamako's trade with other towns along the river. The French planned a railroad to connect the town with the navigable section of the SENEGAL RIVER and DAKAR. After securing the region, the French completed the railroad as far as Kayes in 1904. In 1908 the French moved the capital of FRENCH SUDAN from Kayes to Bamako.

Since the colonial era Bamako has served as a regional crossroads; it connects many of the country's smaller towns with the Atlantic coast and Dakar. Roads fan out from the city to every province of Mali, and also to the ports of CONAKRY, GUINEA, and MONROVIA, LIBERIA. Bamako is an also an important trade center for the gold mined in the west and the kola nuts and rice crops of the south and east. It is Mali's primary shipping port for its major exports—cotton, peanuts, livestock, and fish—and it is the country's main financial and administrative center. The economy of Bamako includes manufacturing plants that produce motor vehicles, textiles, and pharmaceuticals.

In recent years the city's prosperity has attracted many migrants from rural areas. As a result, the city has been expanding to accommodate the influx and has recently absorbed some of the small villages on the right bank of the Niger River. Despite the influences of colonialism, Bamako has retained much of its precolonial structure. It is distinct among West African capitals for the mud-brick architecture of its residential areas. According to a 2006 estimate, Bamako had a population of approximately 1,690,471.

See also COLONIAL RULE; EXPLORERS IN AFRICA SINCE 1800; GOLD TRADE.

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ISLAMIC UNITY CONVENTION Founded in 1994 Umbrella body of different local organisations, former Qibla-members	Islamist-radical	Question the legitimacy of the state, appeal to boycott the elections, claim that South Africa must become an Islamic State
PAGAD (People Against Gangsterism and Drugs) Formed in 1995	Islamist-militant	Act against supposed criminals, state representatives, dissenters, Considered to be a terrorist organisation

22 Mayıs 2015

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

5

Islamic Higher Education in West Africa: Some Examples from Mali

Mali (130246)

TAL TAMARI[1]

Throughout West Africa, two basic phases are distinguished in traditional Islamic education: the elementary phase, which usually culminates in the recitation and writing out of the Qur'an from memory; and a second phase involving study of the religious sciences, Arabic language and literature through the careful reading and commentary of recognised texts. Whereas elementary education has been the subject of several in-depth, empathetic studies[2] and a fair number of memoirs by former pupils,[3] advanced-level instruction has been relatively neglected. For the earlier part of the 20th century, information is largely limited to the terse notations of Paul Marty about the French colonies.[4] However, a scattering of articles and book chapters broach the topic from the 1960s to the 1980s,[5] and a subsequent spurt of interest resulted in several

[1]Tal Tamari, URA 221 du CNRS, Systèmes de Pensée en Afrique noire, 27, rue Paul Bert, 94204 Ivry sur Seine Cedex, France; email: spafrican@ivry.cnrs.fr.

[2]Particularly worthy of note are: Santerre 1973; Ndiaye 1985: 38-57, 72-74; Mommersteeg 1991; chapter 3, "*Koranscholen*", in Mommersteeg 1996, and the corresponding passages of Mommersteeg 1998. Kaba 1974 (particularly pp. 154-166) includes some information on traditional forms of elementary education, as well as much pedagogical and historical information on the first modernising schools. Saul 1984, Sanankoua 1985 and Fortier 1997 are other significant studies, however it is not feasible to provide a full bibliography here.

[3]Including Kane 1961, a partially autobiographical novel that recounts the experience of a young Fulfulde-speaking (Tukulor) Senegalese; Samb 1973 (set in Senegal); Sanneh 1975 (set in the Gambia); Cissé 1999, written in 1941 (set in Mali). Diarra 1999 recounts the experience of a Jula-speaker from Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso, who studied for several years at a traditional Qur'anic school, moved on to a *madrasa* in the same town, then to a secondary school in Qatar, before enrolling at the University of Ouagadougou and, finally, at the University of Paris.

[4]1916: 29-33, annexes 29, 30; 1920: vol. 2, pp. 85-89, 251-258, annex 10; 1921: 337-356; 1922: 265-285; 1926: 40-41; 1931: 190-194.

[5]Wilks 1968 and Ndiaye 1985: 56-67, 73-74 are major contributions. Santerre 1973, 1975 (1982), 1982, and Skinner 1976 also provide some information on advanced education. Chamberlin 1975 is a perhaps not altogether convincing attempt to reconstruct the nature of Islamic education among the Hausa and Fulfulde speakers of Kano, Nigeria, in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Launay 1982: 34-39 and 1992: 149-178 provide considerable insight into

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د. محمد الغربي

بداية الحكم المغربي في السودان الغربي

إشراف :
الدكتور نقولا زياده

615

مملكة السونغاي :

يرجع تفكير قبائل السونغاي المتباينة المحتد ، المتعددة اللغات في اقامة دولة مستقلة الى القرن الخامس أي الى الوقت الذي أتى فيه برابرة صنهاجة الى شرق النيجر وأسسوا مملكة بيضاء حول مدينة كوكيا ، وعلموا السكان طرق استخدام الحديد وتحويله الى أدوات للزراعة والقتال في هذه الجهة[1] وتجعل بعض المصادر ذلك في القرن السابع[2] ، ولكن الثابت أن أميرا بربريا عاش في كوكيا ، اسمه ضياء بن قس أو ضياء اليمن (أوزا الأول) هو الذى فكر فى احداث هذه الدولة ، واعتنق زا الرابع عشر في تلك الأسرة واسمه كنكن الاسلام سنة ١٠٠٩ أي قبل مجيء المرابطين ، وتغلب على السراكولي بتأييد من برابرة كوكيا ومهاجرين آخرين ، وفي عام ١٠١٠ استولى على غاو[3] .

ان سواد شعب السونغاي أصله من دندى شمال الداهومي ، صعد مع مجرى نهر النيجر ، حتى وصل الى منطقة كوكيا الوفيرة الخيرات ، فاستقر حولها ، وبعد أن كانت القبائل الطارئة تأتمر بأوامر (زا) ، وتسير وراءه في حروبه ، طمحت الى الحكم والسيادة ، فخضع لها البربر بنصيحة من التجار المسلمين ، وبدا أن مدينة كوكيا تخلت عن أمجادها للسونغاي[4]

ولقد انتهت المرحلة الأولى في حياة هذه الدولة مع ظهور واتساع قوة مالي

الاقليم ، فاحتوت بذلك مصادر الثروة أجمع : النحاس ، والملح والذهب بجانب احتلالها طريق القوافل بين شطري الاقليم . . . . أصبحت وقد ازدهر الدين في مساجدها محجة العلماء العرب والمسلمين ، فقد كانت آمنة رخية تضفي على العلماء ما يريدونه من سكينة وسلام وانقطاع للدرس ، ونمت الثقافة المكتوبة التي عرفها السودان الغربي منذ قرون طويلة فاتت ثمراتها يانعة في تنبوكتو في الوقت الذي اجتاحت فيه أوروبا حرب المائة عام » .

(١) بازيل دافيدسون ـ افريقيا تحت اضواء جديدة ص ١٥٧

(٢) نقولا زيادة ـ المغرب والسودان في ايام المنصور الذهبي / بيروت ١٩٦٧ ص ٣٠ و Grand LAROUSSE incyclopediqui 1962 (V. Koukya)

(٣) بازيل دافيدسون ـ افريقيا تحت اضواء جديدة ص ١٥٧

(٤) J.S. canale Afrique noire p. 160

اسلامه وعدوه مسلما بالاسم ، أو وثنيا متظاهرا بالاسلام[1] .

وتنسب لسنى على جميع الفتوحات حتى كامبي وكورما وأراضي صنهاجة غربا ، ولكن كان هناك فاتحان قبله هما يا طانغا نابا الذي قاد حملات ناجحة الى بحيرة ديبو (١٤٠٠) ومامادوتوري الذي حاول عبثا أن يعيد الحكم الى مالي باعتبار أصله السراكولي[2] . وعلى العموم فان امبراطورية السونغاي أخذت شكلها الكامل في نهاية القرن الخامس عشر ، بعد الاستيلاء على ولاته (١٤٨٠) شمالا وبلاد التكرور حتى ساحل المحيط غربا[3] .

واشتهر سنى على بانزاله اشنع أنواع العسف بالطبقة المثقفة عموما ، ونتجت عن ذلك هجرة واسعة للعلماء والطبقة النيرة الى بيرو وتيكيدة والمغرب ، وبالمقابل كان يجامل التجار والأعيان حفاظا على الوضع الاقتصادي لبلاده ، وقد رفع الحجاج المسلمون في وقفة عرفات لعام ٨٩٢ (١٤٨٧) الدعاء على سنى على وقال صاحب تاريخ السودان في حديث طويل عن هذا الملك وأعماله أنه لم ترفع له راية منذ تلك السنة .

وبعد موت سنى على ، قام احد قواد الجيش محمد بن أبي بكر التورى ، وهو من أصل سولانكي ، بانقلاب ضد أبي بكر داعو بن سنى علي ، وبعد معارك طاحنة استولى على غاو (٣ مارس ١٤٩٣) ، ولقب نفسه بالأسكيا محمد التورى ، وبعد ادائه فريضة الحج أصبح يسمى الأسكيا الحاج محمد ، وهو من أعظم ملوك السونغاي ، وقد « فرج الله به على المسلمين الكروب وأزال به عنهم البلاء والخطوب ، حيث اجتهد في اقامة ملة الاسلام واصلاح أمور الأنام وصاحب العلماء واستفتاهم فيما يلزمه من أمر الحل والعقد وميز الخلق »[4]

(١) نقولا زياده ـ المغرب والسودان في عهد المنصور ص ٣٣ ـ بازيل دافيدسون ـ افريقيا تحت اضواء جديدة ص ١٦٠ .

(٢) J.S. canale Afrique noire p. 161

(٣) المصدر السابق .

(٤) عبد الرحمان السعدي ـ تاريخ السودان ص ٧٣

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Songay (300-326)

07 ARALIK 1994

UNESCO International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa

GENERAL HISTORY OF AFRICA · V

Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century

EDITOR B. A. OGOT

Volume V of the *General History of Africa* is accompanied by a corrigendum reproducing some corrections which could not have been made for technical reasons. The publishers believe that this is necessary to maintain the historical, political and academic accuracy required of such a *History*

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11 The end of the Songhay empire

M. ABITBOL

The collapse of the Songhay empire

Reasons for the Moroccan invasion

Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, who was installed in power after the battle of Wādī al-Makhāzin in 1578, could not have come to the Sa'ādī throne in more propitious circumstances. The victory over Portugal had placed him among the great defenders of Islam, and the money paid to ransom his Christian captives had made him one of the most influential figures on the world scene.

As Caliph, *Imām* and Prince of the Faithful his ambition was to bring all Muslims together in a 'single same way of thought' and to revive the tradition of the *djihād*. Thus the profits he planned to derive from the Saharan salt deposits at Taghāza would be devoted to replenishing the *Bayt al-Māl* (Treasury) and slaves won in the conquest of Songhay would be set to work in the navy that would eventually fall on the infidel.

But al-Manṣūr's more lofty motives far from excluded others less intangible – gold and slaves from the Sudan.[1]

The slaves were to be used especially in the sugar industry in the south of Morocco, where installations had suffered greatly in the fighting of the previous decades.[2] As for gold, supplies had dwindled rapidly since the rise of the Songhay empire in the Niger Bend. Al-Manṣūr's predecessors had twice tried to change this situation: once, between 1537 and 1547, by raiding Wazzān, and again, in 1556–7, by seizing Taghāza. But, clearly not wanting to jeopardize the supply of salt to Black Africa, al-Mahdī, al-Manṣūr's grandfather, had made an agreement with *Askiya* Dāwūd of Songhay over the immediate sharing-out of dues collected.[3]

But there were still threats to Morocco's trade with the Sudan: the Portuguese, who in 1565 tried to reach Timbuktu via Senegal,[4] and above all the Turks, some of whose moves suggested that they aimed at extending their supply lines to the southern Maghrib. Examples of the latter include Ṣālaḥ Ra'īs's expedition to Wargla in 1552, Djа'far Pasha's conquest of the Fezzān in 1557 and Ḥasān Veneziano's expedition to Tūwāt in 1578–9.[5]

The Sa'ādīs' hopes of benefiting from Taghāza faded as the Songhays developed the new salt desposits at Taghāza al-Ghizlān (Taoudéni).[6]

In 1582 al-Manṣūr seized the oases of Tūwāt and Gurāra. Their occupation was officially presented as a measure to restore order in an area where 'the royal yoke had been thrown off'. But the real objective was to conquer the Sudan and build up a huge empire on the southern flanks of the Ottomans' African possessions.[7]

In 1583 the King of Borno, May Idrīs Alaōma, gave al-Manṣūr an unhoped-for opportunity to realize his ambitions. Fearing a Turkish advance into his territories from the Fezzān, May Idrīs asked al-Manṣūr for fire-arms with which to fight the non-Muslim groups 'on the borders of the Sudan'. Al-Manṣūr agreed after extracting from the King of Borno a *bay'a* (an act of allegiance) which was duly drawn up and signed.[8]

The following year a Moroccan expeditionary force entered the Atlantic Sahel in the direction of Senegal, but was obliged to turn back in circumstances which are not clear.[9]

The order to attack the Songhay empire was almost given in 1586, but in view of the difficulties presented by the operation, al-Manṣūr put it off for five years. He used the interval to train and equip his army, to obtain all possible intelligence about the *Askiya* empire, and to persuade his own leading citizens – merchants, '*ulamā*' and army officers – of the soundness of his plan.

Tondibi and the causes of Songhay's collapse

On 30 October 1590 a Moroccan column of between three and four thousand soldiers, together with several hundred auxiliaries, set out from Marrakesh under the command of Djūdar Pasha. The force crossed the High Atlas and went down the Dar'a valley to Ktawa, where it entered the Sahara. On 1 March 1591, after a forced march of sixty days, it reached the banks of the Niger and eleven days later arrived at Tondibi, only some

1. The main sources of this well-documented phase of the history of relations between Morocco and Sudan are: Sudanese: al-Sa'di, 1964; M. Ka'ti, 1913–14; and O. Houdas, 1966; Moroccan: al-Fishtali, 1964; al-Slawi, 1936; al-Wafrani, 1888–9; European: see H. de Castries, 1923, for a full account of the Moroccan invasion by an anonymous Spaniard.
2. P. Berthier, 1966.
3. al-Sa'di, 1964, pp. 163–4; al-Fishtali, 1964, p. 55.
4. A. Teixeira da Mota, 1969.
5. E. Rossi, 1936, pp. 74–5; A. G. P. Martin, 1908, pp. 119–23.
6. al-Fishtali, 1964, p. 55.
7. ibid., pp. 36–40.
8. ibid., pp. 61–3; A. al-Nāṣirī, 1954–6.
9. al-Fishtali, 1964, pp. 60–1; E. Fagnan, 1924, pp. 415–16; al-Sa'di, 1964, p. 194.

Songay (213-235)

07 ARALIK 1994

İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi

Comité scientifique international pour la rédaction d'une Histoire générale de l'Afrique (Unesco)

HISTOIRE GENERALE DE L'AFRIQUE

IV

L'Afrique du XII^e au XVI^e siècle

DIRECTEUR DE VOLUME
D. T. NIANE

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi
Kütüphanesi
Demirbaş No: 12126-2
Tasnif No: 960 HIS, G
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l'or. Le commerce a donné naissance à des villes, marchés très importants le long du fleuve Gambie : Sutuco, Jamna Sura, fréquentées par les négociants portugais qui y vendaient des chevaux, du vin, des toiles de Bretagne, des verroteries, des perles, des clous, des bracelets. Les marchands manden qu'ils y rencontraient les ont impressionnés par l'expérience qu'ils avaient du commerce[48]. Le commerce de l'or rapportait des bénéfices considérables. Il a donné naissance à une couche de riches négociants, les *wangara*. Ces précurseurs des *Jula* (« dioulas ») joueront un rôle très important dans la diffusion de la culture manden, singulièrement vers les régions forestières du Sud (Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinée).

Aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles, l'influence de l'islam demeure faible à l'ouest[49]. Diego Gomes rencontrera bien à la cour du *nioni mansa* un marabout originaire des provinces orientales du Mali, mais son influence est si faible que le voyageur portugais n'aura pas de mal à convaincre le *mansa* à se convertir au christianisme[50]. C'est seulement à partir de la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle que l'islam commencera à pénétrer profondément le royaume de Gambie. Les chefs sont souvent musulmans mais ils n'en gardent pas moins les croyances « animistes ». Le Gabu sera le bastion de la religion traditionnelle en Sénégambie. Il barrera la route aux musulmans, aussi bien fulbe que soninke, jusqu'au XIX^e siècle[51].

Avec l'amoindrissement du commerce de l'or, les Manden se replieront vers le sud, attirés par le commerce de la cola[52]. La fin du XVI^e siècle verra de nombreuses migrations de Manden vers le sud et le sud-est[53]. Ils y fonderont des villages le long des routes de la cola. C'est sur ces noyaux que Samori Touré s'appuiera au XIX^e siècle pour bâtir son empire.

48. A. Alvares d'Almada, *op. cit.*, p. 29. Ils se servaient de balances pour peser leur or et maniaient parfaitement les poids.
49. Les habitants de la Gambie étaient « animistes » dans leur majorité. Voir J. Barros, trad. franç. et éd. G. R. Crone, 1937, p. 70.
50. D. Gomes, trad. franç. T. Monod, G. Duval et R. Mauny, 1959, pp. 42-44.
51. A. Alvares d'Almada, trad. franç. V. de Santaren, 1842, p. 28. Nombreuses études sur les traditions orales du Gabu : voir communications de S. M. Cissoko et de M. Sidibé au Congrès mandingue de Londres, 1972.
52. Une régression du commerce de l'or a accompagné l'intensification du commerce des esclaves sur la côte.
53. Y. Person, dans H. Deschamps (dir. publ.), 1970, p. 284.

CHAPITRE VIII

Les Songhay du XII^e au XVI^e siècle

SÉKÉNÉ MODY CISSOKO

Au bout d'une longue évolution de près de huit siècles, les Songhay (ou Songhoy), établis sur les deux rives du moyen Niger, érigèrent au XV^e siècle un État puissant, unifièrent une grande partie du Soudan occidental et permirent ainsi l'épanouissement d'une brillante civilisation en gestation depuis des siècles. Pour plus de clarté, nous envisagerons deux grandes périodes dans cette évolution, et nous tâcherons d'en dégager les grands traits de civilisation autant que nous pouvons les saisir dans les deux *Ta'rīḵh* de Tombouctou (Tinbuktū)[1], dans les sources arabes, européennes et dans les traditions songhay.

LE ROYAUME DE GAO DU XII^e SIÈCLE A L'AVÈNEMENT DE SONNI 'ALI BER EN 1464

L'histoire des Songhay avant le règne de Sonnī 'Alī Ber (1464-1492) est mal connue. Les rares sources arabes sur cette période posent plus de problèmes qu'elles ne donnent de renseignements. Les traditions orales ne peuvent que très imparfaitement saisir les réalités de ces temps anciens. L'étude de cette période sera donc critique. Elle posera plus de problèmes qu'elle n'en résout et les solutions proposées ne peuvent être que des hypothèses de recherche.

1. Voir Al-Sa'dī, trad. franç. O. Houdas, rééd. 1964 ; M. Katī, trad. franç. M. Delafosse, O. Houdas, rééd. 1964. Ces deux ouvrages écrits par des Soudanais vers le milieu du XVII^e siècle constituent les sources fondamentales de l'histoire des Songhay et du Soudan occidental pour notre période.

A HISTORY OF ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA

By

J. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM

Mesina - Sudan

08 MAYIS 1991

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though remaining pagans they adopted a liberal attitude towards clerics, allowing them to settle and form new groupings which often took their name.

The inhabitants of Tōro were the first to become Muslims but completely lost their Serer identity. From the seventeenth century Islam began to gain some of the people of Walo and Kajōr who were exploited by the ruling and warrior classes. The ruling class, whose filiation (except in the *būr-ba-Jolof* lineage) is by the maternal line, were particularly resistant to islamization, though they maintained clerics in their entourage and observed the festivals. The first attempt of a Muslim party to gain control was in 1682.[1] After it failed Islam was in eclipse politically until the eighteenth century. The Tōrodbē of Futa attempted to wage a *jihād* in Wolof country on two occasions. In 1720 they invaded Kajōr at the invitation of enemies of the *damel*. More formidable was the attack of 'Abd al-Qādir, *almāmi* of Futa, towards the end of the century. Invading Walo he captured the *barak*, Fara Penda, and his chiefs when they were engaged in a drinking orgy, and had their heads shaved as a sign of their obligatory conversion. Four years later the *barak* revolted and was killed in an encounter with the *almāmi*. Mungo Park gives an account of how 'Abd al-Qādir invaded Kajōr, was routed and captured by the *damel*, but released after a few months.[2] The history and progress of Islam is associated with a series of internal struggles which brought about the interference of neighbouring Muslims. As long as Islam represented the aggression of Moors and Tokolor, who tried to impose it on allies and foes alike, the religion progressed but slowly. The real influence at work was that of the clerics nurtured in the Mauritanian *zawāyā*. These events and the propaganda of the clerics led to many of the northern Wolof (the thinly populated Walo and many districts of Kajōr, e.g. Ndyambur) professing Islam,[3] though those of Jolof and the Serer states, including Baol whose ruling class was Wolof, were less influenced.

[1] J. Le Maire (*Voyages*, 1695) gives some information about the Wolof and their relations with Moorish clergy. A little before 1685 de la Courbe reports that the Moors profited from the discord reigning in the Wolof states to incite the people to kill the *barak* and expel the *damel* and the *būr-ba-Jolof* from their states. Afterwards Wolof rulers again gained the ascendancy. The *damel*, Ditchiu-Maram, dispossessed chieftainess Yasin, mother of his predecessor, and she offered herself in marriage to a cleric, Ndyay Sal, on condition that he incited his disciples against the *damel*. In the encounter the *damel* was killed and succeeded by his brother under the patronage of Ndyay Sal. The assassination of the new *damel* by the cleric's disciples led to the intervention of the *būr* of Salum and the destruction of the Muslim party.

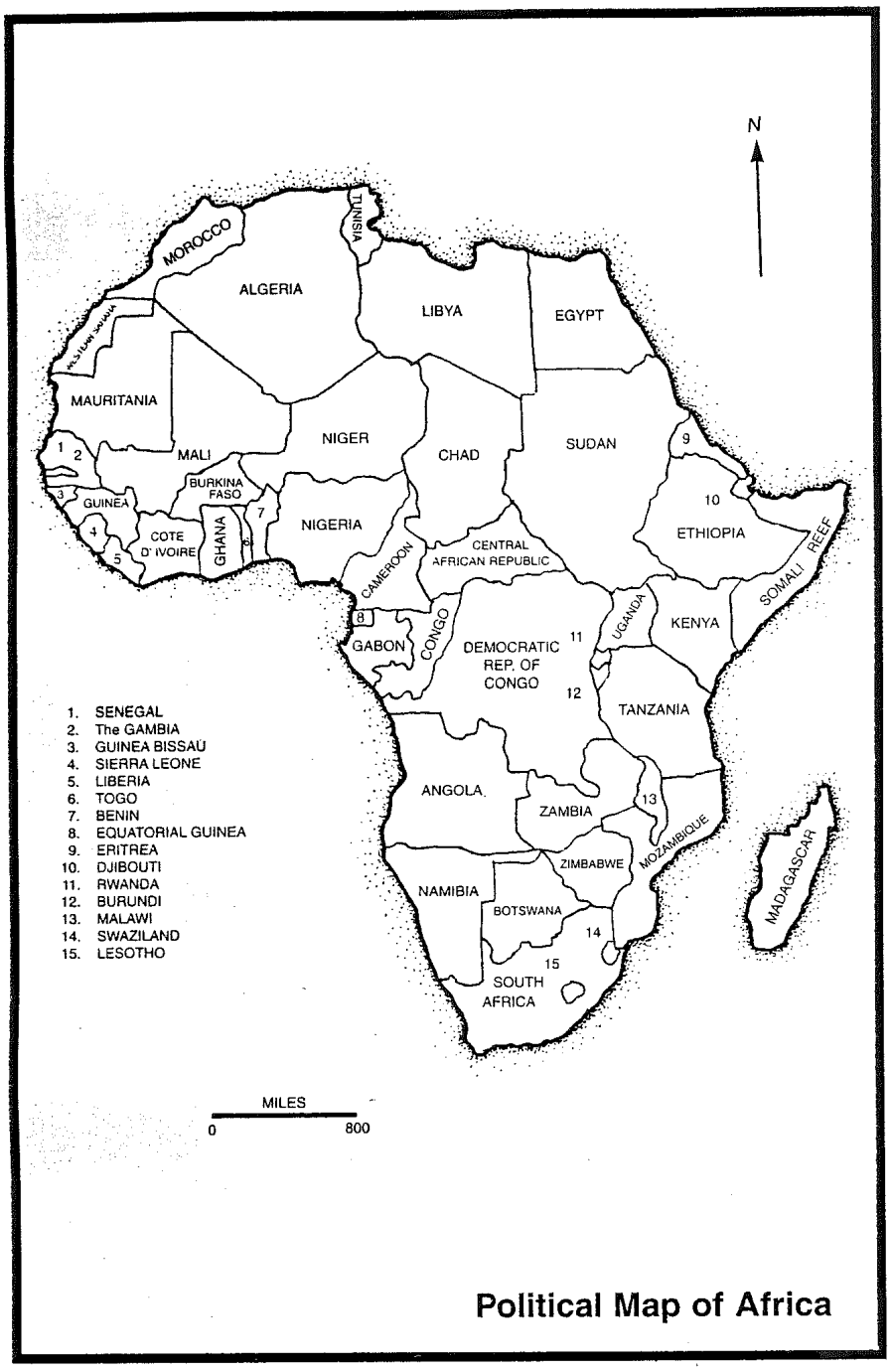
[2] Mungo Park, *Travels* (Everyman ed.), pp. 261–3.

[3] G. Mollien (*Travels in Africa*, London, 1820, p. 23) wrote in 1818 that, though the ruling class of Kajōr remained attached to their own religion, the masses had adopted Islam. F. Carrère and P. Holle (*De la Sénégambie Française*, 1855, pp. 59, 96) say that Islam had been adopted by the people of Walo and Kajōr.

With the arrival of Faidherbe as governor in 1854 and increasing French domination over the Senegal, the old religious foundations of the rulers was wrecked and Islam began to make rapid progress. The ruling class joined it as a basis of resistance to French domination. In this process the influence of Mā Bā (d. 1867), a Tokolor cleric from Futa who gathered around him the forces of resistance by exhortations to the *jihād*, was especially important. The domination of the Trārza Moors over Walo, now completely islamized, was brought to an end by the French in 1855. Makodu, *damel* of Kajōr (1859–62), a drunkard and oppressor of his people, welcomed their influence, but his successor, Lat Dyōr (*damel* 1862–3, 1871–82), a strong partisan of Wolof independence, with the greatest reluctance accepted Islam for the needs of his cause. After 1886, the year Lat Dyōr was killed, the dismembership of the Wolof states and the dispossession of their rulers by the French left the way open for the appearance of a new form of authority based upon devotion to a Muslim saint. Under the inspiration of Aḥmad Bamba Islam was adapted to the needs of the Wolof soul in such a way that it could claim their complete devotion.

5. THE STATE OF SHAIKH ḤAMAD OF MĀSINA

For four centuries since its foundation the ruling clan of the Fulbe of Māsina was that of the Dyālo or Dyālubē. The next most powerful clan was the Sangarē, who were rivals of the Dyālo. Ḥamadu (or Aḥmadu) was the son of a cleric belonging to the Bari family of this clan. After receiving his early education from his father he began his travels. About 1805 he assisted in the initial stages of the *jihād* of 'Uthmān ḍan Fodio in Hausaland. Then settling in a Pulo hamlet near Jennē he was expelled as a subversive element by the *arma*, the descendants of the Moroccan *qā'ids* then in control of the town, whereupon he settled at Sono in Sebera where he opened a Qur'ān school. One day some of his *ṭalaba* were plundered by a son of Gurori Dyālo (or Ḥamadi Dikko), *arḍo* of Māsina (1801–10). They complained to their master who advised them to kill the *arḍo*'s son. When they did this Ḥamadu had to remove his school to Soy to escape the vengeance of the *arḍo*. Ḥamadu's fame and arrogance was now getting out of bounds, therefore the *arḍo* sought the help of his overlord, Da Dyara, the Bambara ruler of Sēgu. Da sent one of his captains to capture Ḥamadu,



Political Map of Africa

The History of Islam in Africa

edited by Nehemia Levtzion & Randall L. Pouwels

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CHAPTER 6

Revolutions in the Western Sudan

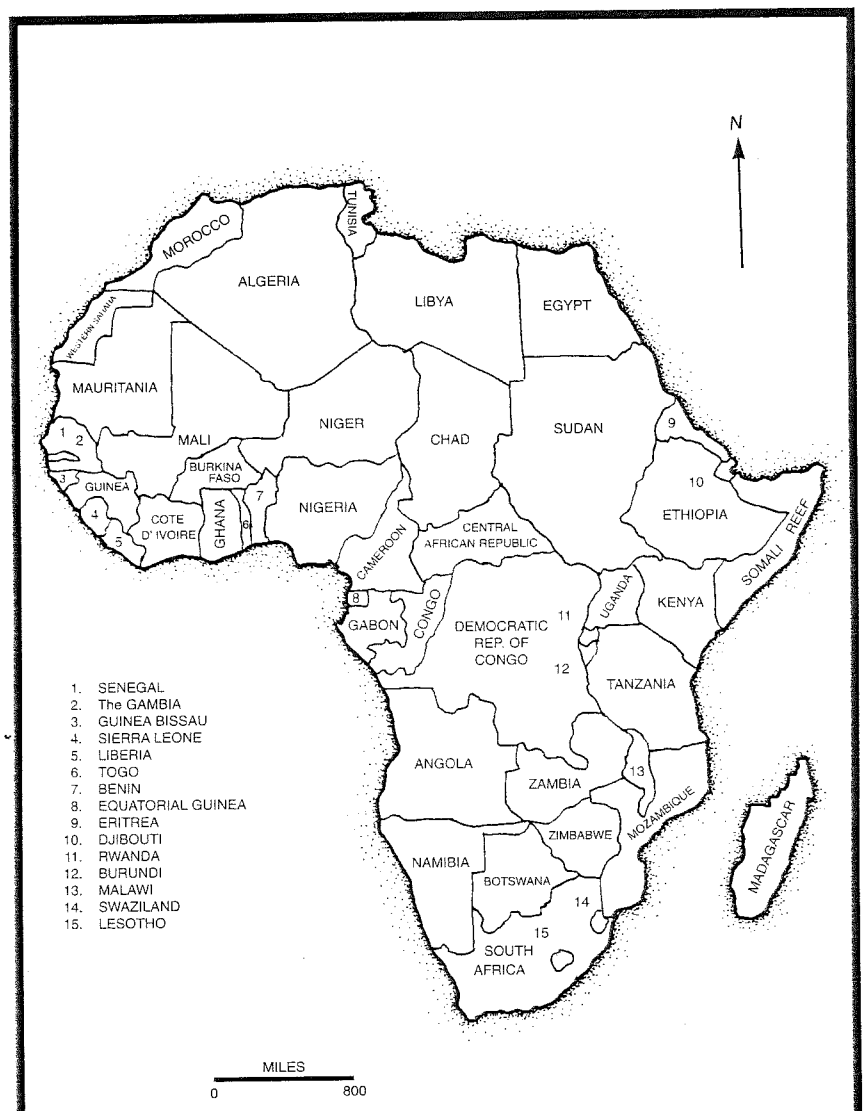
David Robinson

Over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a number of West African Muslim scholars and military leaders organized successful movements of reform and state-building. The reform movements they called *jihad;* the regimes, they characterized as Islamic states, under appellations such as imamate or caliphate. These reformers and builders formulated their experience in oral tradition and writing for themselves and future generations, and these accounts had a great impact on their contemporaries in other regions, who were sometimes inspired to follow a similar course. The most prominent scholars and leaders were Fulbe, and over this period they reconstructed their own ethnic identity to fit the dominant role they were playing—or at least thought they were playing—in the Islamization of the region.[1]

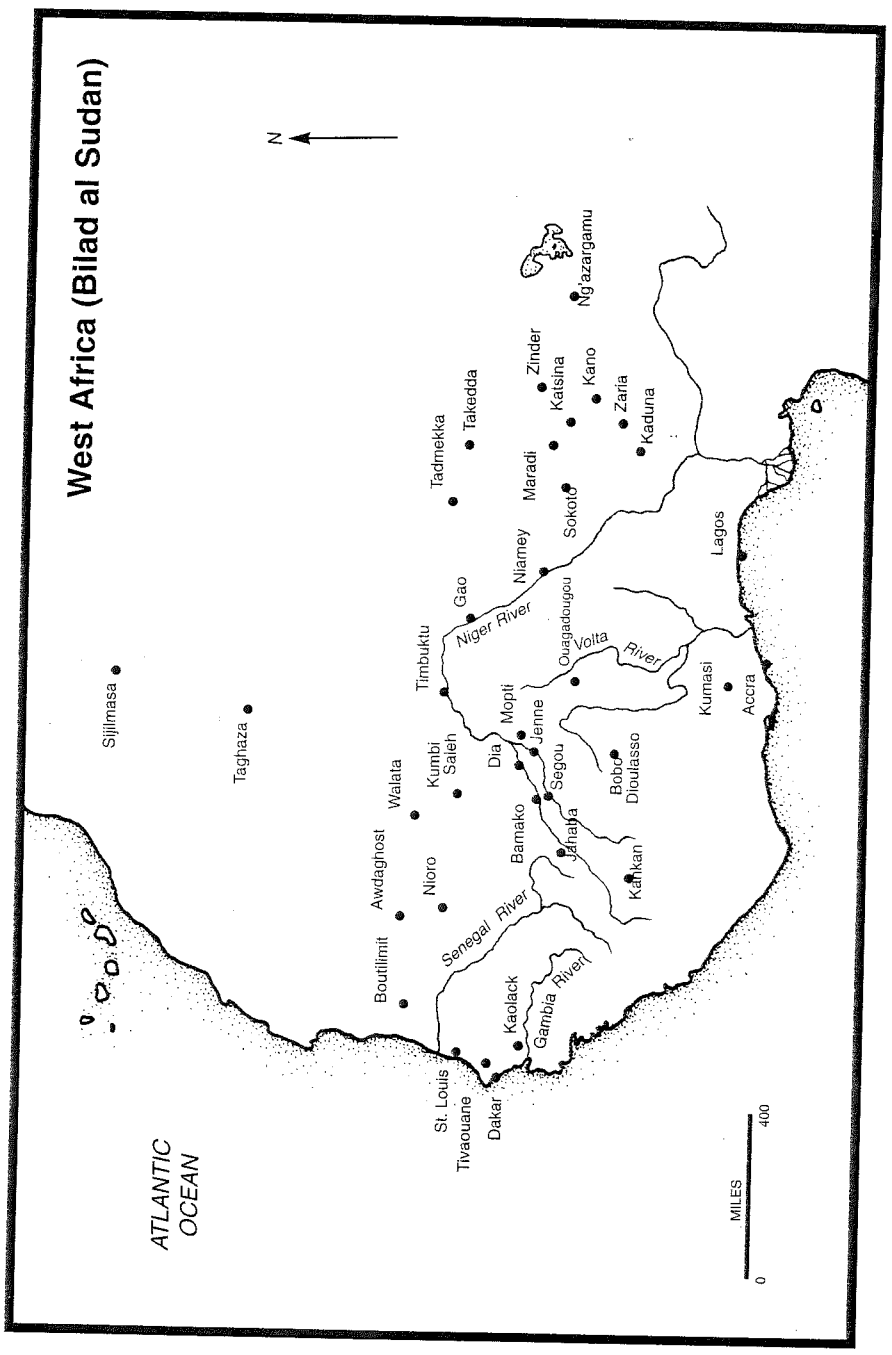
During the colonial period, these accounts were reinterpreted by Islamicists and historians and fashioned into an important chapter of West African history. By the 1960s, the subject of the "jihads of West Africa" was a kind of growth industry, overwhelming other less spectacular forms of Islamic practice and Islamization.[2] Since that time, a certain balance has been restored,[3] but these movements merit separate treatment because they constitute an important chapter of the history of the faith in West Africa. They were fundamental to the spread of Islam—often through the agency of Sufi orders—from town and capital to countryside and from elite to common people (as well as from Sunni code to sufi practice). They produced pedagogical systems that provided the tools to understand the faith in its original Arabic form but also in Pulaar (Fulfulde) and other languages.[4] They were instrumental in transforming West Africa into a part of the dar al-Islam.

The movement that led to the creation of the Sokoto caliphate in Hausaland in the central Sudan (today's northern Nigeria and adjacent areas) is by far the best

s. 131-152



Political Map of Africa



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CHAPTER 3

Islam in the Bilad al-Sudan to 1800

Nehemia Levtzion

The earliest Arab expeditions in North Africa in the seventh and eighth centuries penetrated into the Sahara in two directions, the one from Tripoli toward Fezzan and the other from the Sus in southern Morocco. The Arab expeditions must have made their way on beaten routes along which trade had been moving for some time. Trade across the Sahara was carried by nomad Berbers, who occupied both ends of the Sahara. By the tenth century, Muslim traders from North Africa had their base in the commercial centers of Awdaghust and Tadmekka in the southern Sahara. From these towns, they traded with the capitals of the Sudanic kingdoms of Ghana and Gao.

It appears that the North African traders preferred to have their southern entrepôt in the domains of the Berbers, which they considered as being within *Dar al-Islam.* These traders might have observed the injunction by Ibn Abi Zayd (d. 996), the authoritative jurist of Qayrawan: "Trade to the territory of the enemy and to the Land of the Sudan is reprehensible."[1] In the following centuries, with the progress of Islam, the boundary between the Berber domains of the Sahara and *Bilad al-Sudan* (the Land of the Black People) became blurred, and the southern termini of the Saharan trade—Walata and later Timbuktu—had a Muslim population of Berbers and Sudanese.

In the eleventh century, the two capital cities of Ghana and Gao were composed in part of a Muslim town, which was separated from the royal town. Both parties seem to have been rather cautious to expose themselves to the full impact and consequences of unrestricted commercial and social relations between the Muslims and those local people who adhered to their ancestral traditions. This residential separation allowed each group to maintain and practice religious rites that may have been offensive to the other group.

Writing in 1068, the Andalusian geographer al-Bakri was able to gather precious information about Islam in three contemporary African kingdoms—Gao,

s. 63-91

الفصل الثاني عشر :

فتح السودان وتاسيس الامبراطورية المغربية

تمتد بلاد السودان على مساحة واسعة من غربى القارة الافريقية ، بين منطقتين متباينتين طبيعيا وبشريا واقتصاديا ، هما : الصحراء الافريقية الشاسعة الاطراف فى الشمال حيث لا تتم الحياة الا فى الواحات وحيث تكثر انماط حياة الترحال والتنقل ، والغابة الاستوائية المكتظة الاشجار موطن القبائل الزنجية البدائية ، فى الجنوب ، وقد اشتهرت منذ القديم بنهرها العظيم (نهر النيجير) الذي يبعث الخصب والحياة فى جميع المناطق التى يمر بها (وحسبها ببلاد آثرها الله واثراها بنهر الجنة ومنبع مياه الرحمة . . وارض كرم الله ترتبها وابان فضلها) (1) ، وبزراعتها الواسعة (فقد طم بها بحر الحبوب والاقوات والادم وسال بها سيل النعم السائلة المنبثه للتناسل فى المرج النضر الممتد على ضفتى النيل جناحا اخضر موشى البرود بوشيح النبات مغدق السقيا بالفيض المتراكب المزج الى محاسن لا تحصى) (2) ، ثم بمعدن الذهب (الابريز وحد النضار الذي فغرت اليه اقطار الارض افواها) (3) ، علاوة على (اصناف الرقيق المنيف على الذر) (4) اذ ان السودانيين كانوا ينظرون جميعهم الى القبائل الزنجية بالغابات الاستوائية كوثنيين كفرة ، تجب مقاتلتهم وشن الغارات ضدهم ، فكان ان اتخذوا منهم بضاعة

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1) الثعالبى : مناهل الصفا فى مآثر موالينا الشرفا . ص 117
2) المصدر السابق . ص 118 .
3) المصدر السابق . ص 168 .
4) المصدر السابق . ص 117

المغرب فى عهد الدولة السعدية

دراسة تحليلية

لاهم التطورات السياسية ومختلف المظاهر الحضارية

بمناسبة

الذكرى الاربعمائة لمعركة وادي المخازن

(الاثنين 30 جمادى الاولى 986 هـ. / 4 غشت 1578 م.)

للدكتور عبد الكريم كريم

استاذ التعليم العالى فى التاريخ الحديث

بكلية الاداب والعلوم الانسانية

جامعة محمد الخامس

الرباط ـ المغرب

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الخليفة العثماني الذي ابتهج لهذا النبأ (71). ولم يلبث المنصور أن استقبل وفودا جاءت تهنئه باسم ملوكها من القسطنطينية ومصر والجزائر وتونس وفرنسا وإسبانيا.

وينبغي أن نشير هنا إلى أن أتراك الجزائر كانوا يدبرون هجوما جديدا على المغرب، بالرغم من التعاون الذي تحقق بينهم وبين المعتصم، ولكن مفاجئة هذا الانتصار في وادي المخازن، أوقفت كل اشتباك بين الجيوش المغربية وجيرانها لمدة قرن تقريبا حيث سيتجدد الاشتباك في بداية العصر العلوي.

وكان لانتصار وادي المخازن آثار أخرى بعيدة المدى. فبالنسبة للمغرب استعاد وحدته السياسية أقوى من ذي قبل، بالرغم من وجود جيوب بقيت تحت الاحتلال. واستطاع المخزن أن يفرض هيبته من غير صعوبة أو عائق، وينعم بسلم طويل المدى في عهد الملك الجديد (أحمد المنصور)، وبفضل هذا السلم حققت أشواط أخرى في الميدان الاقتصادي والفكري.

وبالنسبة للعالم الاسلامي، لو انهزم المغرب في وادي المخازن لتيسر توغل الجيش البرتغالي في أطراف المغرب وأصبح مستعمرة برتغالية لعدة قرون فضلا عن أن عملية تنصير أهله أو قسم منهم لابد أن تدخل في الخط السياسي للحكام البرتغاليين. وكل هذا بالطبع، ليس من مصلحة العالم الاسلامي في شيء.

وأخيرا فقد تحقق تحول ملحوظ في موقف الاحتقار الذي كان يبديه المسيحيون تجاه المغاربة، حتى إن الدول الأوربية تهافتت على عقد اتفاقيات مع المغرب تخوله كثيرا من التسهيلات التجارية. وتعددت سفاراتها محملة بالهدايا إلى الملوك المغاربة، كما توقف كل اعتداء على الأراضي المغربية طيلة عهد المنصور.

فتح السودان والصحراء، وأوج القوة
أحمد المنصور الذهبي 1012/986 (1603/1578)

شخصيته (72)

ولد أحمد المنصور سنة 1549/956 كما ذكر ابن القاضي (73). وكان مولده بفاس ثم

(71) أفرني، نزهة الحادي، ص.145.

(72) هناك عدة مراجع عن المنصور، نذكر منها : المنتقى المقصور لابن القاضي. مناهل الصفا، للفشتالي. روضة الآس للمقري. كما توجد ترجمته في عدة مراجع عامة، منها : نزهة الحادي، للأفرني. لمحة في تاريخ دولة الشرفاء لأبي زيد الفاسي. تاريخ السودان لعبد الرحمن السعدي. الاستقصا للناصري. الترجمان المعرب للزياني. الاعلام للمراكشي، 2، 46 — 49 .La petite histoire du Maroc, de J. Caille

(73) ابن القاضي، لقط الفرائد، ص.173.

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L'EMPIRE DU MALI ET LES MANDING

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IV

L'Afrique du XII^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle

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CHAPITRE VI

Le Mali et la deuxième expansion manden

DJIBRIL TAMSIR NIANE

Le peuple mandenka (« mandingue ») comprend plusieurs groupes et sous-groupes dispersés dans toute la zone soudano-sahélienne, de l'Atlantique à l'Aïr et avec de profondes incursions dans les forêts du golfe du Bénin. L'habitat des Manden au début du XII^e^ siècle était beaucoup plus restreint. A l'apogée du Ghana, à la fin du XI^e^ siècle, on pouvait distinguer trois grands groupes : les Soninke (« Sarakolle »), fondateurs du Ghana, peuplant essentiellement les provinces du Wagadu (Awker), du Baxunu (« Bakhounou ») et du Kaniaga ; au sud, s'appuyant sur les monts du Koulikoro, les Sosoe (« Soso »), avec la ville de Soso pour capitale ; et, encore plus au sud, les Maninka (« Malinkés ») du pays appelé Mande ou Manden, sur le haut bassin du Niger, entre Kangaba et Siguiri. Les Soninke, qu'on appelle aussi « Marka » ou Wakore (Wangara)[1], ont été les fondateurs de l'empire du Ghana, qui a été la première expression de l'expansion manden[2]. Au moment où l'empire tombait sous les assauts répétés des Almoravides, les Soninke avaient largement débordé le Wagadu natal pour se mêler aux populations des rives du Niger et fonder de nouveaux établissements. La recherche de l'or a pu les

1. Le mot Wangara (« Ouangara ») sert à désigner, chez les Fulbe et les Hawsa, les Manden (« Mandingues »). Wangara et Wakore ont la même origine, quoique Wakore s'applique plus spécialement aux Soninke (« Sarakolle »). Dans la forêt ivoirienne, les Manden sont désignés par le terme maninka Jula (« Dioula »), qui signifie commerçant. Wangara et Jula sont synonymes : ils désignent plus spécialement les Manden qui s'adonnent au négoce.
2. Maḥmud Katī (1964) nous dit que « l'empire du Mali ne se constitua réellement qu'après la chute de la dynastie des *Kayamaga*, dont le pouvoir s'étendait sur toute la région occidentale, sans en excepter aucune province ».

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في
صِنَاعَةِ الإِنْشَا

Mah (271-289)

تأليف

أحمد بن علي القَلْقَشَنْدي
المتوفى ٨٢١ هجرية - ١٤١٨ ميلادية

Islâm Ansiklopedisi Dîyanet Vakfı
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شرحه وعلّق عليه وقابل نصوصه
نبيل خالد الخطيب

الجزء الخامس

- ضُبِطَتْ وَقُوبِلَتْ عَلَى طَبْعَةِ دَارِ الكُتُبِ المِصْرِيَّةِ وَعَلَى المَصَادِرِ الأَسَاسِيَّةِ لِنُصُوصِ الكِتَابِ.
- مُذَيَّلَةٌ بِاسْتِدْرَاكَاتٍ وَتَصْوِيبَاتٍ وَهَوَامِشَ تَوْضِيحِيَّةٍ.
- مُسْتَفِيدَةٌ مِنَ الدِّرَاسَاتِ وَالأَبْحَاثِ الَّتِي كُتِبَتْ حَوْلَ هَذَا السِّفْرِ النَّفِيسِ مِنْ مَكْتَبَتِنَا العَرَبِيَّةِ.

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أفريقِيَّةَ وبَرْقة، ممتدّةٌ في الجنوب إلىٰ سَمْت الغَرْب الأوسط. قال: وهي بلادُ قحط، وشَظَف، وسُوءِ مَزاج مستولٍ عليها. وغالبُ عيشهم الأُرُزُّ، والقمح، والذُّرة، وببلادِهم التِّين، والليمون، واللِّفت، والباذِنْجان، والرُّطَب. وذُكِر عن أبي عبدالله السلايحي، عن الشيخ عثمان الكانميّ وغيره أن الأُرُزَّ ينبُتُ عندهم من غير بَذْر. ومعاملتهم بقُماش يُنْسَج عندهم آسمُه دندي، طول كلِّ ثوب عشرةُ أذرع فأكثر. قال: ويتعاملون أيضاً بالوَدَع، والخَرَز، والنُّحاس المكسور، والوَرَق، لكنه جميعه يسعر بذلك القماش.

وذَكَر ابنُ سعيد: أن في جَنوبِيِّها صَحَارىٰ فيها أشخاصٌ متوحِّشة، كالغُول أقربُ الحيوانات إلىٰ الشَّكْل الآدَميّ، تُؤْذي بني آدَمَ ولا يلحَقُها الفارس.

وذَكَرَ أبو عبدالله المَرَّاكُشيّ في كتابه «التكملة» عن أبي اسحاق إبراهيم الكانميّ الأديب الشاعر: أنه يظهر ببلادِ الكانم في الليل أمامَ الماشي بالقُرْب منه قُلَل نار تُضيء، فإذا مشىٰ بعدتْ منه، فلا يصل إليها ولو جرىٰ، بل لا تزال أمامَه. وربما رماها بحجَر فأصابها، فيتشظَّى منها شَرارات. قال في «مسالك الأبصار»: وأحوالها وأحوالُ أهلها حَسنةٌ، وربما كان فيهم من أخذ في التعليم، ونَظَر من الأدب نَظْرة النجوم فقال إني سَقِيم، فما يزال يُداوي عَلِيل فَهْمه، ويُدارِي جامحَ علمِهِ، حتَّى تُشرقَ عليه أشعتُها، ويطَرِّز بديباجه أمتعتها.

وقاعدتها (مدينة جِيمي). قالَ في «تقويمِ البُلْدان»: بكسر الجِيم وبالياء المثناة تحتُ الساكنةِ وكسر الميم ثم ياء مثناة تحتية في الآخر. حسب ما هو في خط ابن سعيد. وموقعها في الإقليم الأوّل من الأقاليم السبعة قال آبنُ سعيد: حيثُ الطولُ ثلاثٌ وخمسون درجة، والعرضُ تسعُ درج، وبها مَقَرّة سلطانهم. قال في «مسالكِ الأبصار»: ومبدأ هذه المملكة من جهةِ مصر بلدة آسمها (دلا) وآخِرُها طُولاً بلدة يقال لها (كَاكَا) وبينهما نحوُ ثلاثة أشهر. وقد تقدّم أن كَاكَا هي قاعدة سلطان البَرْنو. وبينها وبين جيمي أربعون ميلاً. قال وبها فواكهُ لا تُشْبِه فواكِهَ بلادنا، وبها الرُّمان، والخَوْخ، وقصَب السُّكَّر. قال في «مسالك الأبصار»:

وسلطان هذه البلاد رجل مسلم. قال في «تقويم البُلْدان»: وهو من ولد «سيف بن ذي[1] يزن». قال في «مسالك الأبصار»: وأوّل من بَثَّ الإسلامَ فيهم الهادي العثمانيّ، آدّعىٰ أنه من ولد «عثمان بن عَفَّان» رضي الله عنه وملكها، ثم صارت بعده لليَزَنِيِّين.

وذَكَرَ في «التعريف»: أن سلطانَ الكانِم من بيتٍ قديم في الإسلام، وقد جاءَ منهم من آدّعىٰ النسبَ العلويَّ في بني الحَسَن. ثم قال: وتَمذْهَب بمذهب «الشافعيّ» رضي اللهُ عنه. قال في «مسالك الأبصار»: ومَلِكهم علىٰ حَقَارة سُلْطانه، وسُوءِ بُقْعة مكانه، في غايةٍ لا تُدْرك من الكِبْرياء، يمسَحُ برأسه عَنَان السماء، مع ضَعْف أجناد، وقلةِ متحَصِّل بلاد، لا يراه أحد إلا في يوم العيدين بُكْرةً وعند العصر. أما في سائرِ السنة فلا يكلمُه أحدٌ ولو كان أميراً إلا من وراء حِجَاب. قال: والعدل قائم في بلادهم، ويتمَذْهبون بمذْهَبِ الإمام «مالك» رضي الله عنه، وهم ذَوُو آختصار في اللباس، يابسون في الدِّين، وعسكرهم يتَلثمون، وقد بنَوْا مدرسةً للمالكية بالفُسْطاط ينزِل بها وُفُودهم.

المملكة الخامسة
(بلاد مالِّي ومُضافاتها)

و (مالِّي) بفتحِ الميم وألف بعدها لامٌ مشدَّدة مفخَّمة وياء مثناة تحتُ في الآخر. وهي المعروفة عند العامَّة ببلادِ (التَّكرور). قال في «مسالكِ الأبصار»: وهذه المملكة في جَنُوب المغرب، متَّصلةٌ بالبحر المحيط. قال في «التعريف»: وحدّها في الغرب البحرُ المحيط؛ وفي الشرق بلاد البَرْنُو وفي الشَّمال جبال البَرْبر، وفي الجنوب الهَمَج. ونَقَلَ عن الشيخ سعيد الدَّكَّالي: أنها تقع في جنوبِ مَرَّاكُش ودواخل بَرّ العُدْوة جنوباً بغرب إلىٰ البحر المحيط. قال في «مسالك الأبصار»: وهي شديدةُ الحَرّ، قَشِفَة المعيشة، قليلةُ أنواع الأقوات، وأهلُها طِوَال

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(١) سبق التعريف به.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Mali (54-60)

المسلمون في السنغال

معالم الحاضر وآفاق المستقبل

عبدالقادر محمد سيلا

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Ansiklopedisi
Kütüphanesi

Kayıt No. :	10367
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سنة ، لكن هذا الحضور الخاطف ترك أثرًا طيبًا للإسلام في المنطقة كلها لمساهمته في توصيل صدى الإسلام إلى نواحٍ بعيدة من غربي أفريقيا لم يكن قد وصلها من قبل ، مما مهد الطرق أمام دعاة حققوا ما لم تحققه الحملة العسكرية . وخليق بنا أن نلمح إلى أن بعض المصادر تشير إلى أن ملك تكرور « وارانجاي WAR N'DIAYE » الملقب بأبي الدرداء قد أخذ نصيبًا وافرًا في حملات المرابطين بعد أن أسلم .

والخلاصة أن حملة المرابطين على غانا لم يترتب عليها ترسيخ مباشر لدعائم الإسلام بقوة السلاح في تلك البلاد ، إنما تمخض عنها أن طائفة من سكان المدن الذين لم يسلموا قبل الحملة المرابطية اعتنقوا الإسلام ؛ إضافة إلى تشبث شعب « سونينكي » بالعقيدة الإسلامية من ذلك العهد إلى يومنا هذا .

ورغم جهود المرابطين ومسلمي غانا بقي الإسلام محصورًا في رقعة جغرافية صغيرة إلى أن برزت مملكة مالي في الساحة السياسية في المنطقة والتي حملت الدين الإسلامي إلى أدغال ومجاهل غربي أفريقيا كله .

* مملكة مالي (MALI)[17] :

خلاف مملكة غانا ، ظلت أخبار إمبراطورية مالي راسخة في الذاكرة الجماعية من شعب « ماندين » مثلما نقل أحوالها سياح وتجار العرب والبربر المسلمين الذين جابوا الصحراء الكبرى واتصلوا بأنفسهم بشعوب وأمراء مالي . وتم وصول أخبار هذه المملكة السودانية إلى العالم الإسلامي خلال رحلات ملوكها نحو الأراضي المقدسة لأداء فريضة الحج ، وزيارة مسجد الرسول ﷺ بالمدينة .

(١٧) يبدو أن كلمة مالي تحريف لماندين ، وهذه الأخيرة تعني شعب مالي في لغتها الأصيلة .

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وكانت مملكة مالي واسعة ؛ حيث تصل حدودها إلى ما وراء « غاو » شرقًا ، والسنغال غربًا ، وسيكاسو جنوبًا ، وولاّتة شمالًا . وينتسب ملوكها إلى جماعة « ماندين أو ماندينكا ـ MANDING » التي تعيش حول نهر النيجر وبالأخص في الجزء الغربي منه ، وشرقي السنغال وجنوبيه ، وعلى ضفتي وادي غامبيا الذي يعتبر واديًا ماندنيكيًا ، وغينيا بيساو ، وغينيا كوناكري ، وبوركينا فاسو ، وساحل العاجل وسيراليون . . .

وقد يربو تعداد الناطقين بلغة « ماندين » بغربي أفريقيا على عشرة ملايين نسمة ، وقد انعكس تباعد مساكنهم على لهجاتهم ، لكنها لهجات متقاربة يتفاهم الناطقون بها دونما صعوبة .

ينتمي أربعة وتسعون في المائة من هذه الجماعة إلى الإسلام ، بينما تتمسك فئة منها بالديانات التقليدية الأفريقية ؛ وخليق بالملاحظة بهذا الخصوص أن هذه المعتقدات تحتوي على عناصر عديدة من أصل إسلامي ، الأمر الذي يدعو إلى الاعتقاد بأن الديانة الإسلامية عمت فعلًا شعب ماندين خلال فترة من تاريخه ، ثم تسرب إلى إسلامه التدني والضعف والفتور بفعل انقطاع بعض جماعاته عن موجات التجديد ، وبحكم انعزالها عن الحركات الإسلامية .

وتكمن أهمية جماعة ماندين في أنها قامت بنشاط دائب وحافل طوال عهود عديدة لنشر الإسلام في غربي أفريقيا ، وذلك على صعيدين :

* على مستوى السلطات الرسمية ، [ملوك مالي] .
* وعلى مستوى الأفراد [التجار المتجولين الدعاة « جولا[18]

(١٨) كلمة « جولا » هذه لا يحسن خلطها بكلمة مشابهة ؛ أعني « جولا DIOLA » التي هي اسم لإحدى الجماعات بجنوبي السنغال ، في حين أن « جولا » التي نحن بصدد الحديث عن دورها في نشر الإسلام بغربي أفريقيا تنتسب إلى جماعة ماندين ، وتتعاطى التجارة أساسًا في نشاطاتها .

K-15

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
Kütüphanesi
İslâm Ansiklopedisi

الإسلام

في ممالك وامبراطوريات

أفريقيا السوداء

Mali, 62-73

تأليف
جوان جوزيف

ترجمة
مختار السويفي

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
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J83 i

الناشرون
دار الكتب الاسلامية
دار الكتاب المصري — القاهرة
دار الكتاب اللبناني — بيروت

و « مالى » باللغة الماندية معناها : « حيث يعيش الملك » .. وكان الدين الرسمى لتلك الدولة الجديدة هو الاسلام .. !

ويرجع السبب فى اعتناق جميع قبائل « الماندينك » للدين الاسلامى ، الى اعتناقهم وايمانهم المطلق بتعاليم « المرابطين» .. الدولة المسلمة فى شمال افريقيا ...

ورغم ان قبائل الماندينك تعتبر أولاد عمومة لقبائل السونينك وقبائل السوسو حيث يتكلم الجميع لغة واحدة هى اللغة « الماندية » .. الا ان الاسلام لم يتغلغل بين السونينك والسوسو بنفس قدر تغلغله فى قبائل الماندينك ..

وكان الدين الاسلامى الذى اعتنقته امبراطورية « مالى » منذ البداية خير عون للملك سونديانا — وكان بدوره مسلما متعصبا الى اقصى حد — فى نشر السلام واستتباب الامن والنظام فى جميع ارجاء الامبراطورية حيث استعيدت الصلات مع التجار المسلمين الذين كانوا قد انتقلوا الى مدينة « والاتا » هربا من ظلم الملك سومانجورو كما أشرنا ..

وفى سنة ١٢٤٠ م ، قام سونديانا بغزو مدينة « كومبى » وضمها الى امبراطوريته ، وبذلك تمكن من القضاء نهائيا على آخر ذكريات امبراطورية غانا ، كما قضى تماما على المملكة قصيرة الاجل التى اقامتها قبائل السوسو ..

وتؤكد الشواهد التاريخية أن الملك سونديانا كان حاكما متنورا ، كافح وناضل من أجل مصلحة شعبه وأقام نهضة اقتصادية ، تمثلت فى نشر التجارة والصناعة ، كما شجع شعبه على الزراعة واستنبات محاصيل جديدة ، فأدخل زراعة القطن الذى أصبح دعامة اساسية فى اقتصاديات الامبراطورية .

وفى سنة ١٢٥٥ م ، مات الملك سونديانا بطريقة فجائية غامضة ، ولكنه ترك امبراطورية قوية تعتبر تاريخيا الامبراطورية الثانية من سلسلة الممالك والامبراطوريات الكبرى فى افريقيا السوداء ..

A HISTORY OF ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA

By
J. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM

MACI

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the ruler of Māli leaves it [semi-independent] and every year derives from it a large fixed tribute.'[1]

The Gāna referred to here is not in the old region but on the northern border of the gold-bearing area. When Ibn Khaldūn obtained information about Māli from 'Uthmān, *faqīh* of the people of Gāna, it was merely the name of a district.[2]

A widespread dispersion of Soninke ensued in consequence of these three successive disasters, the increasing desiccation of the region, and their commercial tendencies. They played an important role as propagators of Islam.[3] Those of Gāna spread it into dependencies such as Dyāra, Galam (Bakel), and Māsina, especially among the people of Dyā or Dyākha. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who passed through Zāgha (Dyākha) in 1352, remarks that 'its inhabitants are of long-standing in Islam; they show great devotion and zeal for study'.[4] From Dyā went out a movement of *dyula* who carried Islam eventually to the northern border of the forest region where they founded centres like that of Bēgo, not far from the southern winding of the Black Volta, from whence went out the founders of the trading village.states of Bonduku and Kong.

4. THE MANDINKA EMPIRE OF MĀLI

The renown of Gāna as a Sahilian gold-trading state has tended to confuse history, for south of it were the nuclei of what was to become a great empire far surpassing it in power and range of influence. The Mandinka plateau (Manding, Khaso, Bambuk, Gangaran, Wasulu, &c.) differentiated by its relief, intermediary position between the upper Senegal and upper Niger, and type of population, has played a great role in history. It was the centre of an indigenous Negro state called Māli[5] whose foundation owed nothing to the intrusion of whites.

[1] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, v. 292–3.

[2] Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, vi. 200.

[3] Although Soninke traders went into the Northern Territories of present-day 'Ghana' (Wangāra is the name by which *dyula* are known there) they had nothing to do with the migrations of the Akan. It is ironical that Gāna, title of a desert monarch, should have been adopted by Gold Coast politicians to provide a mythological tradition for the new state. The origin of this myth is due to the speculations of Europeans on the basis of local traditions that the Akan stock, to which the Ashanti and Fanti belong, is connected with the kingdom of Awkār, for which there is no historical foundation whatever.

[4] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, transl. H. A. R. Gibb, p. 323; French ed. iv. 394–5; cf. *Ṭ. as-Sūdān*, p. 10/19–20; *Fattāsh*, p. 52/100, n. 7.

[5] On the terminology M. Delafosse writes, 'Le mot *Mandé* est prononcé généralement *Manden* ou *Manding* ou encore *Manen* ou *Maning* par les gens de langue mandingue et *Mali* ou *Malli* par les gens de langue peule, d'où les deux noms de "Mandingues" (pour *Mandenga*) et de *Malinké* que nous donnons aux habitants du Mandé. De tout temps ce mot a servi à désigner le pays que nos cartes appellent encore "Manding" entre le Haut-Niger et la ligne de partage des eaux du Bakhoy et du Bafing.' Delafosse, 'Traditions historiques et légendaires du Soudan Occidental', *Afr. Fr. R.C.* 1913, p. 297; offprint p. 19.

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Its history as an empire, in the sense in which the term is employed for these states embracing large numbers of subject states of diverse populations, was one of the most glorious in Africa. Situated in full savanna it was firmly rooted in an agricultural population, well provided with natural resources, including control of the gold-bearing area, important for commercial relations with North Africa.

The dynasty which founded Māli was one of a number of Mande chieftaincies.[1] It appears to have begun as a small chieftaincy in the hills on the right bank of the upper Niger, upstream of modern Bamako, the region known as Jeliba, formerly Tubla. The date of its evolution from an agglomeration of independent family communities into a state with a ruling monarch surrounded by functionaries is unknown, but it was in existence in the tenth century A.D. An early capital was Jeriba situated near the junction of the Niger and the Sankarani. The Malel[2] mentioned by al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī was no doubt a Mandinka chieftaincy, but not necessarily the one which grew to become the Māli empire, for, as Monteil has shown, three lineages existed in northern Māli.[3] Its position is clearly west of Daw, between the Falemē and the Niger. Al-Bakrī, who was a contemporary, gives the following account of the conversion of the ruler of Malel which is of interest from many points of view:

> Behind it [the kingdom of the Daw] is a country called Malel, whose king is known as *al-Musilmānī*. The reason for his being so called came about in this way. Year after year his country was afflicted with drought. The people tried to obtain rain by making many sacrifices of cattle to such an extent that they almost exterminated the breed, but achieved nothing except dearth and distress. Now the king had staying with him as a guest a Muslim who passed his time reciting the Qur'ān and studying the *sunna* of the Prophet. The king complained to this man about his people's sufferings. He replied, 'O king, if you only believed in God almighty, acknowledged His unity and the mission of Muḥammad, and believed in all the articles of faith, then I would pray on

[1] Ch. Monteil writes, 'Traditions place the oldest known Mali on the right bank of the upper Ba-khoy with its capital at Dakadyala near the present-day Nyagassola. Again we are told that Narena was the capital of Naré fa Maghan, father of Sun Dyāta who was born there; that Tabu was the capital of *mansa* Konaté of Do-dugu; and, finally, that Sibi was the chief place of Séndugu or Siéndugu, fief of the Kamara.' *Bull. Com. Ét. A.O.F.* xii (1929), 305–6.

[2] 'Malel' is a Fulfulde term for 'Mande'.

[3] The Tara-urē with their seat at Dakadyala, the Konatē at Tabu in Do-dugu, and the Keyta in the same region at Narena.

اسماعيل العربي

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
Kütüphanesi
İslâm Ansiklopedisi

- Mali

Dr Ajun
Turath
Muhsin

الصحراء الكبرى وشواطئها

5302
965
ARA.S

المؤسسة الوطنية للكتاب
3 ، شارع زيروت يوسف
الجزائر

الفصل الثالث عشر

امبراطورية مـالي

مالي :

ظهرت مملكة الماندیج (أو مالي) في القرن الثالث عشر ، عقب سقوط امبراطورية غانة ، في المنطقة التي تمتد بين أعالي النيجر والسنيغال ، ودامت حتى القرن السابع عشر . وأصل هذه الدولة يحيط به كثير من الغموض ، ولكن الاعتقاد السائد بين المتخصصين في تاريخ افريقيا الغربية ، هو أن هذه المملكة التي بدأت صغيرة قامت على أكتاف عدد من روساء القبائل الافريقية في المنطقة .

ومن أهم الروؤساء والزعماء الاوائل الذين وصلتنا اسماؤهم والذين كان لهم شأن في النصف الثاني من القرن الثاني عشر نذكر الرواية ثلاثه ، وهم : همّانا وجيجوى بيلالي (1175 ـ 1200 م) وموسى كايّطا الذي قام بعدة حجّات الى الاماكن المقدسة ، مما يدل على أن الاسلام قد تمكن في هذه الأسرة الملكية التي كان على رأسها .

وأما ابن موسى ، ناري فامغان (1218 ـ 1230) ، فقد اشتهر خصوصا بحروبه وغزواته للمناطق الجنوبية والجنوبية الغربية وعلى الضفة اليمينية لنهر النيجر . وقد كان سُومونو من أهم الملوك الذين انتصر عليهم وخضعوا له في غضون هذه الحروب .

- Mali
- Ganа

مجلة كلية

الدعوة الإسلامية

مجلة إسلامية ثقافية تصدر سنوياً مؤقتاً

السنة الأولى - العدد الأول

1395 - 1394 - 1393

1985 - 1984

تصدر عن كلية الدعوة الإسلامية

طرابلس - الجماهيرية العربية الليبية الشعبية الاشتراكية

IMPACT OF ISLAM ON MEDIEVAL GHANA AND MALI (10th – 14th Century)

DR. AMIN TIBI

Makalenin devamı GANA sayfalarındadır

أثر القرآن الكريم في انتشار المكتبات الاسلامية

مفتاح محمد دياب

الإسلام ليس كما يدعي أعداؤه ديناً يحصر نفسه بين جدران المسجد الأربعة ، ولكنه طريقة منظمة وعلمية تهدف إلى أن يعيش المسلم حياة سعيدة في الدنيا والآخرة ، ولا يمكن أن تكون هناك حياة سعيدة بدون علم ومعرفة . ومن هنا كان اهتمام القرآن الكريم والأحاديث النبوية الشريفة بطلب العلم والجدّ في البحث عن المعرفة مهما كانت الظروف والصعاب . ويكفي دليلاً على اهتمام القرآن بالقراءة والبحث وطلب العلم أن أول كلمة أنزلت على الرسول الكريم كانت « إقرأ » . والأمر بالقراءة يحمل في طياته الحث على طلب العلم والمعرفة . وفي هذا البحث ، الذي بين أيدينا ، يتناول الكاتب بالشرح والتوضيح عدداً من الآيات المحكمات وعدداً من الأحاديث الشريفة التي تحث المسلمين وتحفزهم على طلب العلم والاهتمام بالمعرفة والجد في طلبها من المهد الى اللحد . كذلك يبين الكاتب كيف لبى المسلمون الأوائل نداء القرآن وانتشارهم في الأرض يطلبون العلم من الأمم التي سبقتهم في الحضارة مثل الهند وفارس واليونان وغيرهم ، وكيف تناولوا تلك الحضارات بالدراسة وما ترجموه من أعمالهم في ميادين العلم المختلفة كالطب والهندسة والفلك والكيمياء والفلسفة وغيرها ، ثم كيف بدأ نشاط العلماء العرب والمسلمين الأصلي في البحث والدراسة في مختلف العلوم والفنون والآداب التي كانت معروفة لديهم وما قدموه للحضارة الانسانية من نظريات في الطب والفلك والحساب والجبر والموسيقى والجغرافيا والرحلات لا تزال الى اليوم موضوع دراسة واهتمام كثير من العلماء والباحثين . ثم بيّن الكاتب كيف أن اثراء الحركة الفكرية والعلمية في العالم الاسلامي بعشرات الآلاف من الكتب والمخطوطات والبحوث كان له أثر كبير في النهوض بحركة الترجمة والنسخ (النشر) ، وكيف أدت هذه الحركة الى انشاء المئات من المكتبات العامة والخاصة والأكاديمية والمدرسية في مختلف مدن العالم الاسلامية المعروفة من الأندلس غرباً الى الصين شرقاً ، وما كانت توفره هذه المكتبات من المخطوطات في شتى فروع المعرفة الإنسانية . وقد استشهد الكاتب بعدد كبير من الكتاب وخبراء المكتبات المسلمين والأوربيين عن عظمة المكتبات الاسلامية ، وأثر هذه المكتبات في حفظ التراث الإنساني من التلف والضياع . كما يتعرض الكاتب للحديث عن عدد من المكتبات الاسلامية التي اشتهرت على مر العصور والتي كانت علامات مضيئة أنارت الحضارة الاسلامية وكانت أساساً من أسس بناء الحضارة العلمية الحديثة .

Mali (39-42)

المسلمون فى العالم

(٣)

المسلمون فى غينيا

تأليف

دكتور محمد عبد القادر أحمد

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
Kitaplık
7285
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ABDU

الطبعة الأولى
القاهرة
١٤٠٦هـ - ١٩٨٦م

للمسلمين فسهل علينا جواز هذا البحر ، وان كان غير ذلك فصعبه حتى لا أجوزه » وبهذا الايمان الراسخ نجح فى غوث المسلمين ولقب فى سنة ٤٤٦ هـ بأمير المسلمين فى المغرب .

وفى جنوب مملكة المرابطين كانت جيوش الدولة تنتقل من نصر الى نصر وتفتح ممالك وأقاليم السودان فى غانه ومالى وتكرور ولم يزل الأمير أبو بكر ابن عمر اللمتونى قائد الجيش يجاهد فى نشر الاسلام وتوسيع رقعة المملكة الى أن قتل فى احدى المعارك سنة ١٠٨٧ م . ولعدم وجود من يخلفه فى المحافظة على دولته بالسودان زالت دولة المرابطين فيها وبقيت فى مراكش والأندلس .

٣ ــ مملكة مالى :

من الممالك الاسلامية الكبيرة فى غرب افريقيا تأسست منذ زمن بعيد وملكها اثنان وعشرون ملكا من البيض ثم خلفهم السودان وخضعت مملكة مالى لمملكة غانا فترة طويلة من الزمن الى انه حررها من نير غانة الزعيم المسمى « مارى جاطة » الذى هاجم غانة سنة ١٢٤٠ م ودمرها وقضى على أمجادها وأقام دولة غانة فشملت مالى بلاد غانة وتكرور وسنغال ، ووسع نطاق فتوحاته الى الأقاليم المجاورة الى أن توفى سنة ١٣٠٠ م . ثم صار ملوك مالى وسلاطينها يحملون لقب منسا وأشهرهم منسا موسى حفيد مارى جاطة الذى حج الى مكة المكرمة بجيش مؤلف من ستين ألف رجل وخمسمائة عبد ، يحمل كل واحد منهم عصا من ذهب يقدر بنحو أربعة ملايين من الجنيهات .

ويروى أن منسا موسى استقدم من بلاد العرب مهندسا عربيا يدعى أبا اسحاق ليبنى له قصرا ضخما ومسجدا عظيما من الحجارة . ولما أتم البناء كافأه باثنى عشر ألف مثقال من الذهب .

ويروى أن هذا المهندس أقام فى غرب افريقيا ينشر فنه ويقيم المبانى

19

HANDBUCH DER ORIENTALISTIK

Herausgegeben von B. SPULER
unter Mitarbeit von
H. FRANKE, J. GONDA, H. HAMMITZSCH, W. HELCK, J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW
und F. VOS

ERSTE ABTEILUNG

DER NAHE UND DER MITTLERE OSTEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON B. SPULER

ERGÄNZUNGSBAND III

ORIENTALISCHES RECHT

LEIDEN/KÖLN
E. J. BRILL
1964

ORIENTALISCHES RECHT

MIT BEITRÄGEN VON

E. SEIDL • V. KOROŠEC • E. PRITSCH† • O. SPIES • E. TYAN •
J. BAZ • CH. CHEHATA • CH. SAMARAN • J. ROUSSIER •
J. LAPANNE-JOINVILLE • S. Ş. ANSAY

TUTA SUB AEGIDE PALLAS · EJB ·

2 ARALIK 1996

LEIDEN/KÖLN
E. J. BRILL
1964

KLASSISCHES ISLAMISCHES RECHT

von

O. SPIES und E. PRITSCH (†)

I. WESEN DES ISLAMISCHEN RECHTS

1. Das islamische Recht ist das im islamischen Staate geltende Recht. Will man sein Wesen erkennen, so muss man daher von der Idee des islamischen Staates ausgehen. Dabei ist unter „islamischem Staat" nicht ein aus der Vielfalt der heutigen islamischen Staaten abstrahierter Idealtypus zu verstehen, sondern konkret-historisch der ursprüngliche islamische Einheitsstaat, die *Umma*, die ideell noch heute als bestehend angesehen wird.

In der *Umma*[1] sind Staat und Religionsgemeinschaft identisch, sie ist also die politisch organisierte Gemeinschaft aller Muslime. Religionszugehörigkeit und Staatsangehörigkeit sind für den Muslim dasselbe. Identität von politischer und religiöser Gemeinschaft findet sich zwar auch in der Antike, der antike Staat ist aber primär eine politische Gemeinschaft, das religiöse Moment ist dem staatlichen untergeordnet, die Religion ist Staatsreligion. Der islamische Staat dagegen ist (ebenso wie der jüdische) ein Religionsstaat; er ist auf religiöser Grundlage erwachsen, die Religion ist das staatsbildende Prinzip. Der Staat ist Träger einer religiösen Idee und damit selbst eine religiöse Institution; er soll die Menschen dadurch, dass sie das religiöse Gesetz (*šar'*, *šarī'a*) beobachten, ihrem ewigen Heile zuführen. Ihm obliegt die Sorge für die Gottesverehrung, die religiöse Unterweisung und die Glaubensverbreitung. Der Staat erhält dadurch den Nimbus der Heiligkeit; seine Funktionen haben durchweg, auch soweit es sich nicht um religiöse Angelegenheiten im eigentlichen Sinne handelt, religiösen Charakter und sind Ausfluss religiöser Pflichten. Das Recht ist religiöse Satzung, die Sorge für die Rechtspflege ist religiöse Pflicht der Obrigkeit; Rechtsprechung und Verwaltung dienen der Verwirklichung religiöser Vorschriften und Aufgaben; der Krieg ist als Kampf der Muslime gegen Nichtmuslime Glaubenskrieg

[1] L. MASSIGNON, *L'Umma et ses synonyms: notion de „communauté sociale" en Islam*, *REI* 1941-46

s. 220 - 343
Tamam: "İslam Hukuku" posetinde

(*ǧihād*). Im Islam ist also nicht nur wie im antiken Staate die Religion eine staatliche, sondern der Staat selbst ist auch eine religiöse Angelegenheit.

2. Durch den Charakter dieser als Staat konstituierten islamischen Religionsgemeinschaft wird auch das Wesen des in ihr geltenden Rechtes bestimmt. Es ist staatliches, zugleich aber religiöses Recht, und zwar religiöse Satzung, die nach der ursprünglichen theokratischen Auffassung auf Gott als das monarchische Oberhaupt der Umma zurückgeführt wird; er ist der oberste Gesetzgeber (*šāri'*), sein Gesetz ist ein Teil der im Koran enthaltenen göttlichen Offenbarung. So ist das Recht seinem Ursprung nach *ius divinum*, als solches aber grundsätzlich unveränderlich und theoretisch dem Einfluss staatlicher Gesetzgebung entzogen. Da aber die wenigen koranischen Vorschriften nicht entfernt genügen konnten, um den praktischen Bedürfnissen gerecht zu werden, mussten die Lücken anderweit ausgefüllt werden; das geschah dadurch, dass man das in der Form von Traditionen (*ḥadīṯ* pl. *aḥādīṯ*) überlieferte Verhalten des Propheten und der ältesten Prophetengenossen (*sunna*) zur Richtschnur nahm und dem Consensus der Rechtsgelehrten (*iǧmā'*) rechtsschöpferische Kraft zuschrieb. So sind Koran, Sunna und Consensus die ursprünglichen Quellen des islamischen Rechts (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). Irrtümlich wird als vierte Quelle die logische Deduktion[1] (*qiyās*) angesehen, obwohl es sich bei ihr nicht um eine Rechtsquelle, sondern um eine Methode der Rechtsfindung handelt. Infolge der grossen praktischen Bedeutung dieser Methode erlangte der Qiyās in der islamischen Terminologie geradezu den Sinn von *ius strictum*, dessen Härten man (ausser bei den Schafiiten) durch Billigkeitsentscheidungen (*istiḥsān*) oder Nützlichkeitserwägungen (*istiṣlāḥ*) zu mildern suchte[2].

3. Die islamische Gesetzeswissenschaft (*fiqh*) wurde in den sich entwickelnden Schulen oder Richtungen (*maḏāhib*) gepflegt, von denen im sunnitischen Islam vier — Hanafiten, Malikiten, Schafiiten, Hanbaliten — als orthodox anerkannt sind und noch praktische Bedeutung haben. Ihre Verbreitung ist regional verschieden; die Hanafiten herrschen in Vorder- und Zentralasien und Indien, die Malikiten in Nordafrika und anderen Teilen Afrikas, die Schafiiten in Südostasien, Südarabien und Ostafrika; Hanbaliten, die an Zahl am schwächsten sind, gibt es hauptsächlich in Zentralarabien. Die Unterschiede in den Lehrmeinungen der Schulen sind

[1] Meist wird *qiyās* viel zu eng mit „Analogieschluss" übersetzt, tatsächlich aber ist es ein logisches Schlussverfahren, a fortiori, a maiore ad minus, a minore ad maius, per analogiam, e contrario. Vgl. die grundlegende Arbeit von Emile TYAN, *Méthodologie et Sources du Droit en Islam*, *Studia Islamica* X (1959), S. 79-109.
[2] TYAN, *a.a.O.*, S. 99 ff.



VIII 9-16

Thomas Krings

+ Mali
S. 251-324
16 ARALIK 1992

Sahel

Senegal, Mauretanien, Mali, Niger

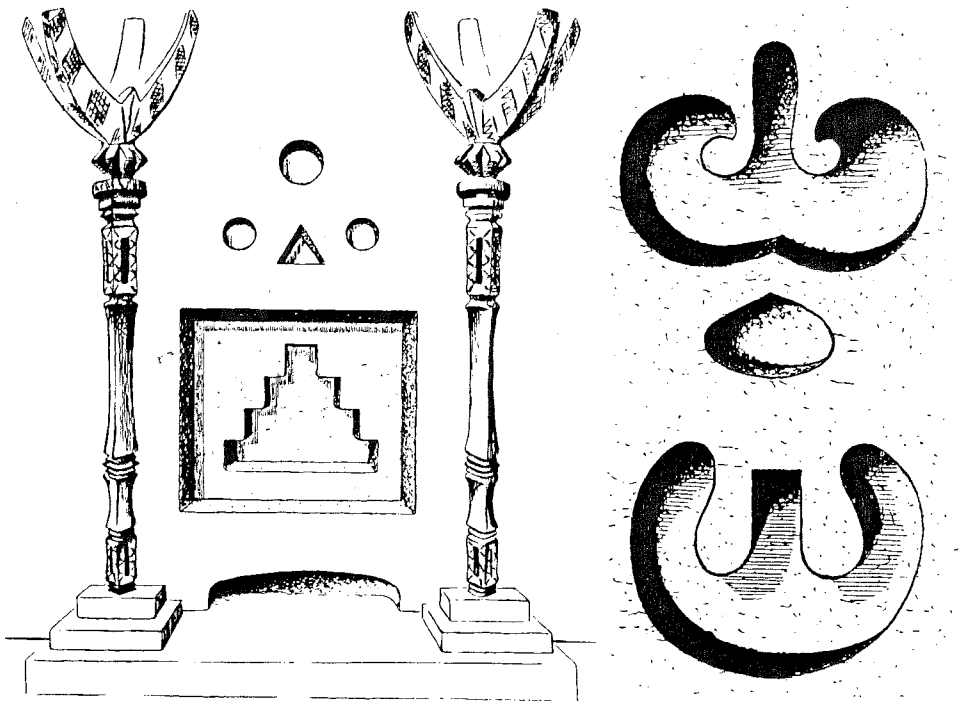
Islamische und traditionelle schwarzafrikanische Kultur
zwischen Atlantik und Tschadsee

Mit Fotos von Beatrice Frehn

İSLAM TARİH SANAT
ve KÜLTÜRÜ ARAŞTIRMA
MERKEZİ - İSTANBUL
5410

DuMont Buchverlag Köln

1982



Kalebassenständer vor Wandnischen (links), phallische und herzförmige Wandnischen (rechts)

nen selbst ist eine solche Symbolik nicht bewußt, sie verwenden die Symbole einfach deshalb, weil Tradition und Gewohnheit dies verlangen.

Beachtenswert in den Wohnhäusern sind auch die eigenartigen Lampennischen, deren Formen an bestimmte Elemente der Wandmalereien erinnern. Es treten herzförmige und phallische Nischen auf. Zur Inneneinrichtung gehören auch die aus weichem Holz kunstvoll geschnitzten Kalebassenständer mit ihren Kerben, Etagen und ausladenden Haltearmen für die Gefäße.

Die **Moschee** von Oualata soll der Überlieferung nach sehr alt sein. Die weitläufige, stark vom Wüstensand überwehte Anlage umgibt eine Umfassungsmauer. Außerhalb des Gebäudes befindet sich ein riesiger Gebetsplatz, über dessen westliche Verlängerung man in die Moschee gelangt. Der niedrige innere Gebetsraum besteht aus vier parallelen, durch quadratische, schmucklose Säulen voneinander abgetrennten Schiffen. Die Säulen stützen Bogenreihen, die durch Holzkonstruktionen verstärkt sind. In der Mitte der östlichen Mauer ist ein halbkreisförmiger Mirhab (Gebetsapsis) eingelassen, einen weiteren findet man im nördlichsten Teil der selben Mauer und einen dritten im Innenhof der Moschee. Das Minarett besteht wie bei vielen anderen altmauretanischen Moscheen aus einem großen quadratischen, leicht konisch zulaufenden Steinturm, der oben mit einem doppelten Mauervorsprung und kleinen Eckbauten abschließt.

Mali

Das Land und seine Bewohner

Mali ist mit 1 240 000 km² das flächenmäßig größte der vier westafrikanischen Sahelländer. Sein Territorium umfaßt das Kerngebiet des ehemaligen französischen Kolonialbesitzes in Westafrika, der unter dem Namen ›Soudan français‹ bekannt war. Der Staat hat sich in Rückbesinnung auf das mittelalterliche Großreich Mali, das vom Atlantik bis zum Nigerknie reichte, diesen geschichtsträchtigen Namen gegeben. Auf der Landkarte gleicht Mali zwei riesigen, an ihrer Spitze zusammengesetzten Dreiecken. Die teilweise wie mit dem Lineal gezogenen Staatsgrenzen sind das Ergebnis willkürlich aufgeteilter Verwaltungseinheiten aus der Kolonialzeit. Der nördliche Teil Malis erstreckt sich zwischen 16° und 24° nördlicher Breite weit in die Sahara hinein und überschreitet sogar den Wendekreis des Krebses, im Süden reicht das Land bis an den Rand der tropischen Feuchtsavanne. Dazwischen liegen breitenkreisparallel die verschiedenen Klima- und Vegetationszonen, von der Wüste über den Sahel und die Trockensavanne bis zur feuchten Waldsavanne. Das Land stellt somit einen Übergangsraum zwischen Wüste und tropischem Regenwald dar.

Mali ist ein Binnenland; die Hauptzugänge zum Meer bilden die Bahnlinie nach Dakar im Senegal und die Asphaltstraße über Sikasso in die Elfenbeinküste. Das Land teilt mit sieben Staaten gemeinsame Grenzen, mit Algerien und Mauretanien im Norden, mit Guinea und dem Senegal im Westen, mit der Elfenbeinküste und Obervolta im Süden und dem Niger im Osten. Wie in den Nachbarländern bestimmen weite Ebenen den Landschaftscharakter, jedoch treten in verschiedenen Regionen Reste älterer Massive und Landoberflächen als Tafelberge, Kegel und steile Landstufen auf. Im Zentralteil Malis ist es die nach Süden 150 m steil abfallende Stufe des Bandiagara-Plateaus (›Falaise von Bandiagara‹), das sich mit seinen Felsabstürzen und Hochplateaus im Osten in den Gandamia-Bergen bis nach Hombori fortsetzt und zu den landschaftlich schönsten Gebieten im Sahel zählt (Abb. 45), im Westen erheben sich zwischen Kayes und Bamako die Tafelberge des Mandingo-Plateaus bis zu 800 m, und im Nordosten ragt schließlich das zerklüftete Hochplateau des Adrar der Iforas empor. Der bestimmende Landschaftstyp bleiben aber die großen Flußebenen im Binnendelta des Niger, dem wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Kernraum des Landes. Der Niger, die Lebensader Malis, durchströmt das Land auf mehr als 1500 km in einem weiten Bogen.

Das Klima ist nördlich von Timbuktu und Gao wüstenhaft; hier treten nur sehr selten Regenfälle auf. Nach Süden zu, im Sahel und noch stärker in der Sudanzone, nehmen die sommerlichen Regenmengen von 250 mm (Gao) bis auf 1500 mm (Sikasso) zu. Der größte Teil des

مسالك الأبصار
في ممالك الأمصار

تأليف

ابن فضل الله العمري

شهاب الدين أحمد بن يحيى

(توفي ٧٤٩هـ)

السفر الثالث

Mali
S-33-49

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يصدره

فؤاد سزكين

بالتعاون مع

علاء الدين جوخوشا، إيكهارد نوبياور

١٤٠٨هـ ـ ١٩٨٨م

معهد تاريخ العلوم العربية والإسلامية

في إطار جامعة فرانكفورت - ألمانيا الاتحادية

110.251

ومن بواسنطاط مصر مدرسة لما يكبه ووفود هم ينزل بها

الفصل الثاني في النوبة ثم مصر إلى نهاية حدودها

على ضفتي النيل الجاري إليها منصرفا عدتها دنقله ومدنها اسبه بالقرب والضياع من المدن نيله الخير والحطب يابسه الهواء ولذلك رهد فيها بنو أيوب في مدة السلطان صلاح الدين لما تقهقر اخوه شمس الدولة لاحرها فعدل عن اليمن لا نهم حاقوا من الشهيد نور الدين محمود بن زنكي أن يقصد هم إلى مصر وينتزع المملكة من أيديهم فأرادوا فتح بلاد من والا يهم تكون ملجأ لهم فقصدوا النوبة فلما رأوها بلادا لا تصلح للمقام عدلوا إلى اليمن وأديان أهل هذه البلاد دين النصرانية وملكهم كانه واحد من العامة ومن بلادهم لفسان الحكيم وقد ذكره البيهقي في مفاخر النوبة ثم سكن مدينة ايلة مع اليهود ورحل إلى بيت المقدس ورأى أنبياء بني اسرائيل وجالس داود عليه السلام قال ابن سعيد رآه يصوغ الحديد ويصنع منه حلقا ولا يعرف ما يوول اليه أمره فصحبه على ذلك سنة ولم يسأله عما يصنعه إلى أن حمل داود الدرع ولبسها فقال لقمان درع حصينة ليوم قتال فسمي عيسى موونه لسانا فسمت حكمه وقيل إنما علمه قال وسمها ذو النون المصري أبو الفيض ثوبان بن إبرهيم كان أبوه عبدا نوبيا وقد تقدم ذكره في الشعراء وقال صاحب كتاب الابرار ومحاسن منه:

أموت وما مات الذي بك صابتي ولا نفيت من صدق خلك أوطاري
وأنت مني بسول وغاية مقصدي وموضع شكواي وكتمان أسراري
وحدثه رجل على أن يعلمه اسم الله الأعظم فطلبه زمانا ثم أمره أن يحمل من عنده طبقا مغطى إلى شخص بالفسطاط فلما حمله استخفه فقال

لا يعرف ما فيه فكشفه فخرجت منه نارة فاغتاظ وقال ضحك علي ذو النون فرجع إليه مغضبا فلما رآه ذو النون تبسم وقال يا مجنون أتمتنك على نارة لختني فكيف إتيانك على اسم الله الأعظم فعلى عنى فلا أراك بعدها وقيل له المصري لأنه سكن مصر ومات بها وتبره بالقرافة رحمه الله تعالى وملكها الآن مسلم من أولاد كنز الدولة وهو لا أولاد الكنز أهل بيت تأرت لهم فيما تقدم ثوابر سرات ولا يملك الآن بها سلك الأمن الأبواب السلطانية بمصر وعلى ملوك دنقله حمل مقرر لصاحب مصر بهذه الأنا وه لا ذهب فيها ولا فضة بل هي عدد من العبيد والإماء والحراب والوحش النوبية وحدثني غير واحد ممن دخل النوبة أن دنقله مدينة ممتدة على النيل وأهلها في شظف من العيش وأهلها أصلح من كثير من سواهم من السودان وبها مسجد جامع تأوي إليه الغرباء وتجري لهم الملك النهر لسنة عليهم اليه فإذا جاءوا أمنوا فيقرون ويجبرون ويكرمهم هو وأسرته وأكبر عطيا لهم اما عبد او جارية واما أكثر عطيا لهم فهي دكادك وهي أكسية غلاظ قالبها سود والصوم والألبان والسمك عندهم كثيرة والحبوب قليلة إلا الذرة وأعز أطعمتهم ما يعمل باللوبيا في سرو الحم ويترد ويصف اللحم واللوبيا على وجه الثريد ويتبل اللوبيا بورقها وعلقها وهم نهمة على السكر بالمرة ولهم ميل شديد إلى الطرب وحدثني أحمد بن المعظمي وكان قد دخل مع أبيه إلى هذه البلاد وما وراءها في الرسلية مرات أن ملوك السودان يتخذون كلابا معلمة تنام على التخوت حولهم هي كالحراس طول الليل وبالنهار ينهمر على ضعف نواهم وقلة باسهم

الباب العاشر في ملكه مالي وما معها

K-12

جامعة القاهرة - فرع الخرطوم
كلية الآداب
قسم التاريخ

العلاقات بين المغرب الأقصى والسودان الغربي في عهد السلطنتين الإسلاميتين مالي وسنغي

رسالة أعدها
الشيخ الأمين محمد عوض الله
لنيل درجة الماجستير في الآداب

باشراف
الأستاذ الدكتور مصطفى محمد سعد
أستاذ التاريخ الإسلامي بجامعة القاهرة

١٣٩٦هـ - ١٩٧٦م

الناشر: دار المجمع العلمي بجدة
١٣٩٩هـ - ١٩٧٩م

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
Kütüphanesi
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Kayıt No. : 5612
Tasnif No. : 961 A72.A

Mahr
49-64

(١) مملكة مـــالي (*)

قيام الدولة :

قامت مملكة مالي على أنقاض مملكة غانة ، والمعروف انه تنافس على عرش مملكة غانه مملكتان ، افريقيتان هما مملكتا كانياجا وكانجابا ، وقام ملك كانياجا بقتل احد عشر اخا من اسرة كانجابا المالكة وابقى على واحد منهم بسبب مرضه هو سندياتا[١] . وشاءت المقادير أن يقوم هذا الطفل العليل بوراثة عرش ابائه ، وبدأ يوسع مملكته . وفي عام ١٢٣٥ م (٦٣٣هـ) استطاعت جيوش سندياتا أن تهزم جيوش كانياجا - الصوصو - وقام سندياتا بالثأر لاخوته فقتل ملك كانياجا . وبعد خمس سنوات استطاع سندياتا أن يغزو غانة والممالك المجاورة ، وأن ينشئ مملكة مالي احدى الامبراطوريات العظيمة في غرب افريقيا.[٢] .

وقام سندياتا - الذي يلقب بماري جاطة[**] - بنقل العاصمة التي كانت في جريبا إلى نياني ، التي يقال بانها قد أسست سنة ١٢٣٨ م[٣] والتي يشار اليها في بعض الاوقات باسم مالي أو ماندي ، واظهرت الحفريات التي اجريت في

(*) راجع خريطة مملكة مالي . ملحق رقم (٢).

(١) يشير ابراهيم طرخان في كتابه (دولة مالي الاسلامية) . طبعة ١٩٧٣م . القاهرة . ص ٣٩ : أن لهذه الرواية وجهاً اسطورياً . ويضيف بأن هذه الرواية هي المتداولة وان سندياتا هو المؤسس الحقيقي لدولة مالي.

(٢) Singleton, F.S. & Shingler, J.: Africa in Prespective P.34

(**) يقول ابن خلدون : العبر . ج ٦ . ص ٤١٣ -- ٤١٤ : «معنى ماري عندهم الأمير الذي يكون من نسل السلطان وجاطة الاسد».

(٣) دائرة المعارف الاسلامية . مادة مالي.

MALI
(46-49)

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د. محمد الغربي

بداية الحكم المغربي في السودان الغربي

إشراف :
الدكتور نقولا زياده

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أقطار السودان الغربي ـ لم يكن لهم مطمع سياسي أو تفكير في غزو أو إلحاق ، كما إن النية في نشر الإسلام أو الجهاد كانت ضعيفة لديهم وبالمقابل فإنهم رغبوا في تنشيط التجارة ، ولم يدخروا جهداً في توفير أسباب الأمن لها ، كحماية القوافل من هجمات الأعراب ، وتجهيز الأسواق على أبواب الصحراء[1]

والعنصر الهام الذي برز أثناء حكمهم ، ولم تكن لهم يد فيه ، هو وصول قبائل عربية إلى أطراف السودان إيذاناً بقيام عهد التعريب بعد أن ساكن بنو حسان قبائل صنهاجة ، واختلطوا بها ، ولقنوها التقاليد العربية واللغة[2] .

المرينيون ومالي :

نشأت دولة مالي في جهات الشرق والغرب من نهر النيجر ، فهنا وهناك تنافس الأمراء الغانيون الذين تركهم المرابطون قبل قرنين في حالة من الفرقة والانقسام ، في أن يعطوا روحاً جديدة لمملكة زنجية قوية . وقد عمل كل منهم ضمن مدينة أو مقاطعة لبلوغ ذلك الهدف ، وجرت عملية تصفوية رتيبة ، قادت في الأخير إلى بروز بطل إسمه (كواي كيتا)[3] بسط حكمه انطلاقاً من مدينة ماندوغو على أكثر أقاليم غانا القديمة . وكان على الأمير المؤسس أن يحارب قبائل الصوصو في الجنوب ، وصنهاجة والأعراب في الشمال ، ولم يستطع إلا خليفته سانديانا (١٢٣٠ ـ ١٢٥٥) أن يخضع أولئك المناوئين ويؤسس مملكة قوية حملت اسم (مالي) .

(١) يصف ابن خلدون مدينة تمنطيط الواقعة جنوب شرق سجلماسة التي كانت مفتاح التجارة إلى السودان في عهد المرابطين ، فقد اهتم بها الموحدون أيضاً ولعبت دورها في التجارة مع غاو شرقاً وولاته غرباً ، وبينما كان سكانها في السابق من بني يالدس وغيرهم من برابرة عبد الواد ومصاب وبني مرين وغيرهم ، أصبح عرب المعقل (قبيلة عبيد الله) عند نهاية عهد الموحدين يمتلكون بعض أجنتها من النخيل يسكنونها في فصل الشتاء (ابن خلدون ـ العبر ـ مجلد ٧ ص ١١٨ و١١٩) .

(٢) E.F Ga utier. le passe de l'Afrique du nord nouvelle edition. Rays. Paris 201. 229

(٣) بداية القرن الثالث عشر

قامت مالي على أساس تجانس عنصري وروحي ، فأغلب قاطنيها من قبائل السراكولي ، وأقوى الأديان كان الدين الإسلامي على المذهب المالكي الأوزعي ، والقوة الرئيسية فيها رجال الدين ذوو الكلمة النافذة في البلاط وفي أوساط القبائل[1] .

وفيما امتد نفوذ سانديانا على بلاد النيجر الأوسط والصحراء ، بعد إخضاعه أراضي غانا القديمة سنة ١٢٤٠ وتخريب عاصمتها التاريخية كومبى صالح ، وتخطيط عاصمة جديدة هي نياني[2] ، كانت اقتصاديات الدولة الوليدة تقوم على الزراعة ونسيج القطن نظراً لتسط الأعراب على طرق القوافل المتجهة إلى الشمال والشمال الشرقي .

ومضى ساكورا (١٢٨٥ ـ ١٣٠٠) في نفس الوقت الذي اجتهد المرينيون في استلام مقاليد حكم المغرب والشمال الإفريقي وإسبانيا ، يضيف إلى مملكته بلاد مسينا التي كانت على الوثنية ، وبلاد التكرور التي حافظت حتى ذلك الوقت على الولاء للمرابطين[3] .

ولم يستقم الحكم المركزي بمؤسساته السياسية الواضحة إلا في عهد الملك كانكو موسى[4] (١٣٠٧ ـ ١٣٣٢) .

وقد تولى في نفس السنة التي تولى فيها عرش المغرب يوسف الناصر بن يعقوب أحد كبار ملوك بني مرين . وهذا الملك اشتهر في التاريخ شهرة مدوية ليس لأنه بلور التقاليد السودانية ، ونظم البلاد والحكومة وعين العمال على الأقاليم ، بعد أن أضاف إليها بحد السيف تنبوكتو وغاو ، وليس لكونه استخرج

(١) الحلل الموشية لابن السماك العامري ص ٩

(٢) كانت العاصمة قبل ذلك هي ديبريبا ، أما نياني فكانت تقوم بالقرب من مدينة كونيا الحالية ، وتحيط بها البساتين والجنات ـ محمود كعتو ، تاريخ الفتاش في أخبار البلدان والجيوش وأكابر الناس ـ تحقيق هوداس ودولافوس / باريس ١٩٦٤ / ص ٣٨ وما بعدها .

(٣) J. Suret - canal. Afrique noire P154

(٤) يسميه مؤرخو المغرب كانكان ، ومنسى

Mali

جغرافية الشعوب الإسلامية

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بقلم
يسرى عبد الرازق الجوهرى
أستاذ الجغرافية وعميد كلية الآداب
ونائب رئيس جامعة المنيا

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Tasnif No. : 910.297
CEV. C

Sudan bir cer

الناشر
منشأة المعارف بالاسكندرية
جلال حزى وشركاه

غينيا بيساو

غينيا بيساو دولة صغيرة لاتزيد مساحتها عن ٣٦١٢٥ ك.م٢ وتضم حوالى ٧٠٠ ألف نسمة وهى تقع بين السنغال فى الشمال وغينيا فى الجنوب. وأهم القبائل التى تعيش بها البربر والماندنج والبالانت والجماعات الأخيرة جماعات زنجية تعيش فى السهول الساحلية والخلجان والمستنقعات. أما الماندنج والفيل أو البربر فيعيشون فى الاجزاء الداخليه ويعتمد السكان على زراعة الفول السودانى ونخيل الزيت. وقد كانت غينيا بيساو آخر معاقل الاستعمار البرتغالى فى إفريقية.

مالى

تشغل الصحراء أكثر من نصف مساحة مالى التى تعتبر إحدى دول غرب إفريقية الحبيسة والتى يبلغ عدد سكانها حوالى ٥,٥ مليون نسمة. وأهم ظاهرة طبيعية فى مالى هو نهر النيجر الذى يخترق البلاد من الجنوب الغربى إلى الشمال الشرقى فى حوض مستو ملىء البحيرات الضحلة والمستنقعات ولاسيما فى أقليم ماسينا.

ونظراً لوقوع مالى بين خطى عرض ١١° ش، ٢٥° ش لذا فيوجد مناخ مدارى بين خطى عرض ١١°، ١٩°، وصحراوى بين خطى عرض ١١٨°، ٢٥° ش. ومن ثم تسقط الأمطار فى جنوب مالى فى فصل الصيف وتقل كلما اتجهنا صوب الشمال.

أما عن اقتصاد مالى فنلاحظ أن مع وفرة الأمطار تتوافر المراعى وتقيم أود عدد كبير من رؤوس الأغنام والماعز بينما الانتاج الزراعى يتمثل فى بعض الزراعات

١١

ابن بطوطة ورحلاته

تحقيق ودراسة وتحليل

Mali (230-234)

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تأليف

د. حسين مؤنس

أستاذ التاريخ الإسلامى
كلية الآداب – جامعة القاهرة

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Tasnif No. : 292.7 İBN.İ

دار المعارف

٤٣
فى مملكة مالى

ويمضى ابن بطوطة فى التعبير عن استيائه من أهل أيوالاتن فيقول : إن نساءهم لايحتشمن من الرجال ولايحتجبن مع مواظبتهن على الصلوات «والنساء هناك يكون لهن الأصدقاء والأصحاب من الرجال الأجانب ، وكذلك للرجال صواحب من النساء ، ويدخل أحدهم داره فيجد امرأته ومعها صاحبها فلاينكر ذلك ! » (ص ٦٦٢) .

وهذا الكلام – إذا صدق – فإنه من بقايا طور سيادة المرأة فى الأسرة أو مايسمى بالماتريباركات Matriarcat وهو دور مرت فيه أمم كثيرة ؟ لأن الرجل فى الجماعات الإنسانية الأولى كان يقوم بالصيد والحرب فحياته معرضة للخطر . والعنصر الثابت فى الزوجية هى الأم .

ولهذا فقد كانت هى المسئولة عن الأولاد ، وفى حالة موت الأب ، وكان كثير الحدوث ، حل الخال محل الأب .

وما توهمه ابن بطوطة قلة غيرة من الأزواج إنما هو مظهر من هذا الطور الاجتماعى ؛ لأن الزوجة مادامت تحمل معظم المسئوليات فقد كانت تتمتع بحرية واسعة ، وظاهر أن أولئك القوم كانوا حديثى عهد بالإسلام .

فى مالى

وعلى أى حال فقد نفر ابن بطوطة من أولئك القوم نفوراً شديداً ، فقرر الخروج إلى مالى ، وبينها وبين أيوالاتن أربعة وعشرون يوماً ، فخرج فى نفر قليل من صحبته ومعهم دليل من غير مسوفة .

من

وهو يصف الطريق بأنه كثير الخضرة والأشجار ، ومن بين هذه الأشجار «شجرة قد استأسن داخلها واستنقع فيه ماء المطر فكأنها بئر ، ويشرب الناس الماء الذى فيها» (ص ٦٣٣) ، والمراد بذلك شجرة الباوباب واسمها العلمى (Adansonia Digitate)

وهى شجرة سريعة النمو تخزن الماء فى جذعها ، فيحفر الناس فى الجذع ليأخذوا الماء ، وتحل الشجرة بذلك محل البئر . وقد نقل الإنجليز إلى منقطة كردفان الكثير من هذه الأشجار لتوفير مورد ماء دائم للشرب فى تلك المنطقة .

أشجار غريبة أخرى

ويذكر ابن بطوطة أشجاراً أخرى منها واحدة يغلب أنها شجرة التابيوكا التى تخرج ثمراً فى هيئة الكمثرى إذا طاب انفلق عن دقيق يطبخ ويستعمل للغذاء ، وكذلك يذكر القرع الضخم الذى يفرغ مما فى داخله إذا طاب ويجفف الغلاف ويستعمل إناء ، وهذا هو أصل «القرعة» وهو إناء معروف كان مستعملاً فى مصر والسودان ، ويذكر نباتاً يسمى القونى «وهو كحب الحردل يصنع منه الكُسْكُسو» وهو الطعام المغربى المشهور .

وبعد مسيرة عشرة أيام وصل ابن بطوطة إلى زاغُزى ، وقد حققها دى لافوسى (Delafosse) وقال إنها ديورا وسماها بارت Barth تورى سَنفا ، يسكنها فيما يقول ابن بطوطة تجار السودان ويسمون وَنْجَراتة ، ويسكن معهم جماعة من البيضان يذهبون مذهب الأباضية من الخوارج ويسمون صفنغو والسنيون المالكيون يسمون عندهم تورى ، «ومن هذه القرية يجلب أنلى إلى أيوالاتن» (ص ٦٦٤) .

والونجراتة هم الونجارة أو الوانقورى ، وهو الاسم الذى أطلقه شعب الغولا وصُنْغى على شعب السويتكى والمالنكى ، وهو شعب يغلب على الظن أنه هاجر من المغرب إلى بلاد السودان ، وأخذ الطابع السودانى ، وعلى أكتاف هؤلاء قامت دولة صُنْغَى .

ومن هناك وصل إلى نهر النيجر ويسميه النهر الأعظم وهو النيل ، وكلامه يدل على أنه كان يعتقد أنه فرع من نيل مصر ، فهو ينحدر إلى بلاد النوبة ، ويقول : إنهم «على دين النصرانية» ثم إلى دنقلة ، وهى أكبر بلادهم ، وسلطانهم يدعى بابن كنز الدين أسلم على أيام الملك الناصر .

ثم ينحدر إلى جنادة ، وهى آخر عمالة السودان وأول عمالة أسوان من صعيد مصر (ص ٦٦٤) .

وفيما عدا ما يقوله عن اتصال النيل بالكونغو – كل ما ذكره ابن بطوطة عن السودان النيلى وأهله صحيح ، ولكن كنز الدين هو كنز الدولة الذى ينسب إلى بيته عرب الكنوز ، وهم كانوا الطليعة التى قضت على دول النصرانية فى شمالى السودان .

Mali - 230-334

ابن بطوطة ورحلاته

تحقيق ودراسة وتحليل

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
Kütüphanesi
İslâm Ansiklopedisi

تأليف

د. حسين مؤنس

أستاذ التاريخ الإسلامى
كلية الآداب – جامعة القاهرة

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
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Kütüphanesi
Kayıt 5629
Tasnif No. 292.7 İBN.İ

دار المعارف

٤٣
فى مملكة مالى

ويمضى ابن بطوطة فى التعبير عن استيائه من أهل أيوالاتن فيقول : إن نساءهم لايحتشمن من الرجال ولايحتجبن مع مواظبتهن على الصلوات «والنساء هناك يكون لهن الأصدقاء والأصحاب من الرجال الأجانب ، وكذلك للرجال صواحب من النساء ، ويدخل أحدهم داره فيجد امرأته ومعها صاحبها فلاينكر ذلك ! » (ص ٦٦٢) .

وهذا الكلام – إذا صدق – فإنه من بقايا طور سيادة المرأة فى الأسرة أو مايسمى بالماتريارکات Matriarcat وهو دور مرت فيه أمم كثيرة ؟ لأن الرجل فى الجماعات الإنسانية الأولى كان يقوم بالصيد والحرب فحياته معرضة للخطر . والعنصر الثابت فى الزوجية هى الأم .

ولهذا فقد كانت هى المسئولة عن الأولاد ، وفى حالة موت الأب ، وكان كثير الحدوث ، حل الخال محل الأب .

وما توهمه ابن بطوطة قلة غيرة من الأزواج إنما هو مظهر من هذا الطور الاجتماعى ؛ لأن الزوجة مادامت تحمل معظم المسئوليات فقد كانت تتمتع بحرية واسعة ، وظاهر أن أولئك القوم كانوا حديثى عهد بالإسلام .

النساء فى مالى

وعلى أى حال فقد نفر ابن بطوطة من أولئك القوم نفوراً شديداً ، فقرر الخروج إلى مالى ، وبينها وبين أيوالاتن أربعة وعشرون يوماً ، فخرج فى نفر قليل من صحبته ومعهم دليل من غير مسوفة .

غرائب من الأشجار

وهو يصف الطريق بأنه كثير الخضرة والأشجار ، ومن بين هذه الأشجار «شجرة قد استأسن داخلها واستنقع فيه ماء المطر فكأنها بئر ، ويشرب الناس الماء الذى فيها» (ص ٦٣٣) ، والمراد بذلك شجرة الباوباب واسمها العلمى (Adansonia Digitate)

وهى شجرة سريعة النمو تخزن الماء فى جذعها ، فيحفر الناس فى الجذع ليأخذوا الماء ، وتحل الشجرة بذلك محل البئر . وقد نقل الإنجليز إلى منقطة كردفان الكثير من هذه الأشجار لتوفير مورد ماء دائم للشرب فى تلك المنطقة .

أشجار غريبة أخرى

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-H-G-

CULTURE ET CIVILISATION ISLAMIQUES

LE MALI

IRCICA: 21290

PUBLICATIONS DE L'ORGANISATION ISLAMIQUE POUR L'EDUCATION, LES SCIENCES ET LA CULTURE – ISESCO –

1408 – 1988

Mali

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SÉRIE B, SCIENCES HUMAINES

Tome XXX N° 4 Octobre 1968

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rubriques, les études menées sur place par des observateurs
tents et avertis, qui ne bénéficient pas toujours d'une for-
n scientifique très poussée, mais qui ont su exprimer avec
onne foi et une grande conscience ce qu'ils avaient observé.
ls documents, où il ne faut chercher aucune prétention littéraire ou scientifique, constituent des matériaux de base précieux,
uels les spécialistes pourront se référer en toute confiance.

C. H. E. A. M.
1962

M. CHAILLEY, A. BOURLON,
B. BICHON, F. J. AMON D'ABY,
F. QUESNOT
Notes et Etudes sur l'Islam
en Afrique Noire.
Paris - 1962, s. 9 - 51.
ON: 13750
Dergi / Kitap
Yardımcı Kaynak Merkezi

ASPECTS DE L'ISLAM AU MALI

par M. CHAILLEY
Chef de bataillon d'Infanterie de Marine
Stage 1958-1959

15 NISAN 1994

city to them. The Mossi sultan entered Timbuktu, and sacked and burned it, killing many persons and looting it before returning to his land. Then the Malians went back to the city and ruled it {9} for a further hundred years.[17] The learned scholar and jurist Aḥmad Bābā[18]—may God Most High have mercy upon him—said: 'Timbuktu has been sacked three times: the first time it was at the hand of the sultan of Mossi; the second at the hand of Sunni ᶜAlī, and the third at the hand of Pasha Maḥmūd b. Zarqūn, which was less severe than the first two'.[19] The bloodshed during Sunni ᶜAlī's sack of the city is said to have been greater than that occasioned by the ruler of Mossi.

Toward the end of Malian rule, the Maghsharan Tuareg,[20] under their sultan Akil Ag-Amalwal,[21] began to raid and cause havoc on all sides. The Malians, bewildered by their many depredations, refused to make a stand against them. [The Tuareg] said: 'The sultan who does not defend his territory has no right to rule it'. So the Malians abandoned Timbuktu and returned to Mali. The aforementioned Akil ruled Timbuktu for forty years.[22]

translated and edited by John O. Hunwick
Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire,
Leiden - 1999, s. 13 - 16 DN: 63204

17 This would place the Mossi attack on Timbuktu in about 1343.

18 On this celebrated scholar of Timbuktu, see below, pp. 49-50.

19 On Sunni ᶜAlī's sack of Timbuktu, see below, pp. 93-4; on that of Pasha Maḥmūd, see p. 221.

20 The exact identity of these Tuareg remains a mystery, but their name may, perhaps, be related to the Tamasheq word *imoshagh*, meaning 'nobles'.

21 In *TS* the first element in this name is variously spelled: Akil, Akal, and Akilli.

22 On Malian rule in the Middle Niger in general, see Levtzion (1973) and (1977), Cissoko (1975) and Ly-Tall (1977).

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CHAPTER FOUR

MALI AND ITS PROVINCES

Observation. Mali is a very large and extensive region in the far west, extending toward the Atlantic Ocean. The first ruler to establish a state there was Qayamagha,[1] the seat of his sovereignty being Ghana,[2] a large city in the land of Bāghana.[3] It is said that the state (*salṭana*) was founded before the Prophet Muḥammad's mission, and that twenty-two kings ruled before that event, and twenty-two after, making a total of forty-four in all.[4] They were *bīḍān* in origin,[5]—

1 See *TF*, 41, where Kayamaᶜa (trans, 75, Kayamaga) is given as the name of a dynasty which ruled Ancient Ghana, and the name is explained as meaning 'king of gold' in Soninke. Delafosse (1955), lists *kaya*, which he glosses as 'scrotum (*sac testiculaire*)', while *mā/maṛā/maghan* means 'ruler'. His explanation of the title *kaya-magha* is: 'titre donné aux souverains de l'empire du Ghana en raison du privilège qu'ils s'étaient arrogé de faire castrer quiconque leur résistait ou leur déplaisait'. There is no historical evidence for this assertion. It may be suggested that *kaya* means 'sac' in a more general sense, and was perhaps extended to mean 'purse of gold dust', just as the French 'bourse' may mean scrotum as well as money-bag/bank/scholarship. Al-Bakrī (1857), 174 (trans. in *Corpus*, 79), says the king's title is 'Ghāna', a statement for which the anon. *K. al-istibṣār* (*Corpus*, 146) provides support.

2 Al-Bakrī, loc. cit., also speaks of the 'town of Ghāna' which is, in reality, two towns—the king's town being called, according to al-Bakrī, al-Ghāba (Arabic: 'the thicket'). *TF*, loc. cit., gives the name of the capital as Qunbi, and modern research has identified a site at a location known as Kumbi Saleh in SE Mauritania (15° 50' N—8° 00' E) where a site—evidently a Muslim merchant settlement— dating back to the 9th century A.D. has been excavated. See Mauny (1951 and 1954); Mauny & Thomassey (1951, 1956); Robert & Robert (1972); Robert (1980a and 1980b); Evan & Robert (1982); Berthier (1983). On al-Bakrī's West African geography, see Hunwick, Meillassoux, & Triaud (1982). See also *Vallées du Niger*.

3 Bāghana or (*TF*, 76, n. 5) Bāghunu (perhaps to be pronounced Bakhunu) was the name given to a large region which became incorporated into the Malian empire, situated to the west of Mema and covering an area that is now in SE Mauritania - N Mali. At the present time Bakhunu is the name given to a much more restricted area in the Malian Sahel centred on Ballé (15° 20' N—8° 35' W), and lying between the villages of Maconga and Binew; see Ardouin (1988). The *K. al-istibṣār*, loc. cit. supra, says Ghana was situated in Awkār, a region which is marked Aouker on modern maps, in the northern area of the Ḥawḍ ESE of Tidjikdja. Soninke oral tradition locates Ghana in 'Wagadu'; see Delafosse (1913); Ch. Monteil (1953).

4 *TF*, 41, says that there were twenty rulers before Islam and that the last ruler was a contemporary of the Prophet Muḥammad (d. 632). The origins of Ancient Ghana are obscure, but the state certainly lasted well into the 11th century, according to al-Bakrī's evidence. Indeed, there is evidence for 'Ghana' existing into the 13th century. See Conrad & Fisher (1982, 1983).

5 The term *bīḍān* is used in the western Sahara and the Timbuktu region to encompass both Berbers and Arabs. *Bīḍān* literally means 'white people', but the term has cultural rather than

[continues]

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Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire

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Les chroniqueurs musulmans et Sonni Ali ou un aperçu de l'Islam et de la politique au Songhay au XVe siècle

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Mali

Les chroniqueurs musulmans et Sonni Ali ou un aperçu de l'Islam et de la politique au Songhay au XV[e] siècle

par Lansiné KABA (1).

Dans l'histoire du Soudan nigérien avant le XVI[e] siècle, il n'y a pas de souverains ni de chefs militaires et politiques dont les actions, d'après les traditions, aient suscité autant de controverses que celles de Sonni Ali. Les Peuls, les Touareg et les Mossi ont dû longtemps garder un mauvais souvenir de son long règne écoulé en expéditions militaires victorieuses contre eux. En effet, il attaquait et conquérait sans cesse. Selon la chronique,

> il fut toujours victorieux et saccagea tous les pays sur lesquels il avait jeté son dévolu. Aucune de ses armées, lui présent, ne fut mise en déroute : toujours vainqueur, jamais vaincu. Il ne laissa aucune région, aucune ville, aucun village, depuis le pays de Kanta jusqu'au Sibiridougou, sans l'attaquer à la tête de sa cavalerie, guerroyant contre les habitants et ravageant leur territoire (2).

Sa « cruauté était hors pair » (3) ; et il opprimait ses sujets. Les lettrés musulmans des villes marchandes de Tombouctou et de Djenné l'ont vilipendé, ont jeté l'opprobre sur son nom et maudit

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L'auteur tient à remercier tous ses amis qui ont bien voulu lire la première version de cet article, et les organismes de l'Université de Minnesota et du Social Science Research Council qui ont subventionné ses recherches. Évidemment, il est seul responsable des opinions exprimées ici.

(2) Mahmoûd Kâti. — *Tarikh el-Fettach*, traduction O. Houdas et M. Delafosse. *Paris*, A. Maisonneuve, 1964, p. 82.

(3) El-Hadji Bavane Mbaye (trad.). — Un aperçu de l'Islam Songhay ou Réponses d'Al-Magili aux questions posées par Askia El-Hadj Muḥammad, Empereur de Gao. *Bull. IFAN*, t. 31, sér. B, n° 2, 1972, p. 250.

11 OCAK 1997

81356

الإسلام والمجتمع السوداني

إمبراطوريـــة مالـــي

١٢٣٠ - ١٤٣٠م

تأليـف

أحمـــد الشـــكري

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi
Kütüphanesi

Dem. No:	81356
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Abu Dhabi 1999

Emin Teufik et-Tibi
Dirasat ve Buhus fi Tarihi Magrib vel-Endülüs
Libya, 1984, s. 301-337. IRCICA: 21094

ب — مراجع غير عربية :

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EI^2 = *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New Edition—English). Leiden—London 1965. Vol. II pp. 352–3 s.v. Djabal, Tārik.
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23 HAZİRAN 1994

Mali

الحضارة العربية الإسلامية

وأثرها الإيجابي في السودان الغربي

في القرون الوسطى

ممالك غانة ومالي وسنغاي

تمهيـــد :

يتناول هذا العرضُ التاريخيُّ تأثيرَ الحضارة العربية الإسلامية في رقعةٍ تقع عند التخوم الجنوبية من الدولة العربية ألا وهي السودان الغربي — حوضا نهري السنغال والنيجر المعروفان باسم الساحل والحوض — التي تعاقبت فيها حتى نهاية القرن السادسَ عشر ثلاثُ ممالكَ عريقة هي على التوالي غانة ومالي وسنغاي . وقد شهدت هذه المنطقةُ بدايةَ تأثيرات الحضارة العربية الإسلامية منذ أن توطَّد الحكم العربي في الشمال الإفريقي أي منذ مطلع القرن الثامن للميلاد ، وظلَّت هذه التأثيراتُ في ازدياد بفضل نشاط التجار المغاربة عبر الصحراء الكبرى ، حيث كان لنشاطهم واستقرارهم أكبرُ الأثر في انتشار الإسلام بين قبائل الصحراء الكبرى (صنهاجة الصحراء) وفي الجهات التي ارتادوها من إقليم السودان الغربي . ومما يجدر التنويهُ به أن المصادرَ العربية — كتب الجغرافيا والرحلات وكتب الطبقات والتراجم — هي المصادر المكتوبة الوحيدة المتوفرة عن تاريخ السودان الغربي في القرون الوسطى ، وذلك لأن قبائلَ السودان الغربي لم تكنْ تعرف الكتابةَ آنذاك . وهذه

D. 2516

cilt:4, Say.:15, Safer 1986

طبيعة العلاقة بين الملك والشعب ، كما تصورها المسرحيات ، نجد انعكاسا للصراع الذي كان يقوم في الواقع بين البرلمان والسلطة المطلقة التي كان يمارسها الملك جيمس . كذلك نشهد احتفاء بالدور الفاعل الذي اكتسبته المرأة وأخذت تضطلع به ، وأيضا نزوعا الى تغليب دور البطلة على البطل وهو ما تصادف حدوثه مع اهتمام بالغ بمكانة المرأة ودورها في واقع المجتمع المعاصر .

لقد كان لمثل هذه السمات والقضايا ، أيضا ، أبلغ الاثر في جذب المثقفين من رواد المسرح إذ ذاك .



أثر الإسلام في غانة ومالي في العصر الوسيط

(من القرن العاشر الى القرن الرابع عشر الميلادي)

أمين توفيق طيبي

يتناول هذا العرض التاريخي أثر الاسلام في السودان الغربي ، حيث ازدهرت حتى نهاية القرن الرابع عشر الميلادي مملكتان افريقيتان عريقتان ، هما غانة ومالي . وقد شهدت هذه المنطقة بداية تأثيرات الحضارة العربية الاسلامية بفضل نشاط التجار المغاربة في المقام الاول .

ان المصادر العربية هي المصادر المكتوبة الوحيدة المتوفرة عن تاريخ السودان الغربي في القرون الوسطى ، وذلك لان قبائل غرب افريقيا لم تكن تعرف الكتابة آنذاك .

وقد كان انتشار الاسلام في السودان الغربي عاملا من عوامل الوحدة بين قبائله ، كما ان الفوارق العنصرية والقبلية في هذه المنطقة الشاسعة أضعف من حدتها انتشار الاسلام فيها .

بلغت مملكة غانة القديمة أوج قوتها في القرن العاشر الميلادي وكان رخاؤها يقوم في الدرجة الاولى على تحكمها بتجارة الذهب عبر الصحراء .

يذكر ابو عبيد البكري أن ملك غانة وغالبية رعيته كانوا وثنيين ، وان الملك أبدى تسامحا تجاه التجار المسلمين بحيث أذن لهم ببناء مدينة خاصة بهم ، وفيها مساجدهم ، كما انه اعتمد على المسلمين في تصريف شؤون مملكته .

والى الغرب من غانة كانت مدينة تكرور عند المجرى الادنى لنهر السنغال . ان التكارنة — التكارير كانو اول من اعتنق الاسلام من اهل السودان الغربي . وعملوا بنشاط على نشره بين القبائل المجاورة لهم .

كان طابع دولة المرابطين منذ نشأتها الجهاد في الاسلام ونشره ، والقضاء على البدع وعبادة الأوثان .وقد استولى المرابطون عام ١٠٧٦م على مملكة غانة الوثنية ، فأسلم أهلها المعروفون بالسوننكي وانتشروا في المناطق المجاورة يزاولون التجارة ، واليهم يعود الفضل في نشر الاسلام في مناطق كثيرة من السودان الغربي .

BRILL

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DIE WELT DES ISLAMS

15 SUBAT 2010

The Attempt to Reform Family Law in Mali

Benjamin F. Soares*
Leiden

Abstract

In this paper, I am concerned with understanding the recent efforts to reform the laws governing marriage and inheritance, the *code de la famille* or the Family Code in Mali. Since the advent of multiparty elections in the 1990s, prominent members of the Malian government and civil servants, Malian women's rights activists, secular NGOs, and international and bilateral donors have made efforts to promote various social reforms, including the advancement of women's rights and the promotion of gender equality, particularly through changes in the Family Code. While some observers have attributed the lack of reform to the increased influence of "Islamists" and/or to religiously conservative Muslims, I draw on historical research and ethnography to propose an alternative reading of the lack of institutional law reform. As I argue, the gap between Malian civil law relating to the family and the lived experiences and social practices of many Malians, who are overwhelmingly Muslim, has become even more apparent in this era of political liberalization and promotion of global human rights discourses. This has helped to make such proposed social reforms as the promotion of women's rights and family law reform more contentious and the ultimate outcome even more uncertain.

Keywords

Law, family law, law reform, gender, *fiqh*, *sharī'a*, Mali, West Africa, state, secularism, marriage

In this paper, I am concerned with understanding the recent efforts to reform the laws in the Republic of Mali governing marriage and inheritance, usually referred to as the *code de la famille* (the Family Code). Since the advent of multiparty elections in the *laïc* or secular state of Mali in the early 1990s, prominent members of the Malian government and civil servants, Malian women's rights activists, secular NGOs, and international and bilateral donors have made considerable efforts to promote various social reforms, including the advancement of women's rights and the promotion of gender equality, particularly through changes in the Family Code. Despite such efforts, at the time of writing, the proposed reforms had still not been made into law. While some, including Malians and western observers, have attributed this lack of reform of the Family Code to the increased influence of "Islamists" and/or to religiously conservative Muslims in Mali, I draw on historical research and some recent ethnography to propose an alternative reading of the lack of institutional law reform in Mali. As I will argue, the wide gap between Malian family-related civil law and the lived experiences and social practices of many Malians, who are overwhelmingly Muslim, has become even more apparent in this era of political liberalization and promotion of global human rights discourses. This has helped to make such proposed social reforms as the promotion of women's rights and family law reform even more contentious.

The Legal Realm

The Malian state, like the French colonial state that it replaced, is a *laïc* or secular state, which at least in theory means that the state does not intervene in matters of religion. Even though the Malian state, like most other contemporary states, uses largely European-derived codes of law, legal pluralism is an important, though little-studied feature of the

* Author's note: This article is dedicated to the memory of Professor Gerti Hesseling. It draws in part on various periods of field research in Mali between 1992 and 2007, as well as a brief visit in June 2009. I am grateful to Northwestern University's Melville J. Herskovits Library of Africana Studies for its collection of Malian newspapers and to Margot Badran, Barbara Cooper, Rosa De Jorio, Moussa Djiré, Gerti Hesseling, Roman Loimeier, Brinkley Messick, and Rebecca Shereikis for comments on earlier drafts. All internet links were verified on 16 July 2009. Since this article was first conceived and then subsequently completed in early 2008, there have been important developments around family law reform in Mali. In May 2009, the Malian *Conseil des Ministres* adopted reforms to the Family Code similar to those that President Konaré had proposed in 2002, and the National Assembly subsequently approved them in August 2009. Faced with considerable public opposition and large organized demonstrations, President Touré did not promulgate the law and instead returned the proposed reforms to the National Assembly for reconsideration

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05 NISAN 1997

Haviiyatu'l-Camiati'l-Islamiyye
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s. 37-41. D. 1678

الحياة العلمية لدولة مالي في عهد السلطان موسى بن أبي بكر

د. منصور فاي
عميد كلية اللغة العربية والدراسات الإسلامية
الجامعة الإسلامية بالنيجر

لعل من أوضح الأمور التي يلاحظها الباحث على هذه الدولة أن الحياة العلمية بمفهومها العلمي هي المجال الوحيد الذي تميز فيه عهد السلطان موسى بن أبي بكر على عهود حكام مالي السابقين له بصورة جلية لا غموض فيها. وذلك راجع إلى انتشار الإسلام في دولة مالي في عهده بدرجة كبيرة. فقبل هذا السلطان، لم تكن الحياة الروحية والعلمية في مالي على ما شاهدناها عليه في عصره. ولا كانت هناك جهود عمرانية يمكن للباحث أن يطيل الحديث حولها، حتى كان عهده، فرأيناه ينشئ العديد من المساجد والجوامع والقلاع في كبريات مدن الدولة : (تمبكتو - وجاو وجنى ومالي العاصمة) (1) ففي جوامع هذه المدن قامت الحركة العلمية المشهورة في منطقة بلاد السودان الغربي في عصره وفي العصور التالية، وهي الحركة العلمية التي أعطت لمدينة تمبكتو وجاو وغيرها مكانتها المعروفة في تاريخ هذه المنطقة، وذلك بسبب عناية السلطان موسى بشأن العلم والعلماء حيث عُرف عنه حرصه على استقدام عدد من علماء المشرق والمغرب والأندلس الذين درّسوا في جامعة، تمبكتو.

كما أحضر معه في رحلة حجه المشهورة عن طريق القاهرة، ومنها بالتحديد، عددا كبيرا من الكتب ليستفيد منها أهل بلاده (2). فامتلأت البلاد بالعلماء والكتب واشتهرت مدينتنا تمبكتو وجاو بخاصة، بكونهما مركزين للدين والتجارة فضلا عن الشهرة العلمية. (3)

وفي هذا تعليل لرواج الكتب في مدينة تمبكتو، إذ يقول ثوماس هود كين على لسان الحسن بن محمد الوزان الزياتي : إن تجارة الكتب في تمبكتو كانت أكثر جلبا للربح من أية

Sudan
Mali

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STUDIES AND TEXTS

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TIMBUKTU AND THE SONGHAY EMPIRE

Al-Sa'dī's Ta'rīkh al-sūdān down to 1613 and other Contemporary Documents

BY

JOHN O. HUNWICK



Tiflis Devlet Vakıf
Kütüphaneleri Merkezi
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1999

En Terre d'Islam
22e année 3e trimestre 1947 3 reix
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L'ISLAM EN AFRIQUE NOIRE

A la fin du XIXe siècle, un fait massif s'est imposé aux premiers conquérants européens de l'Afrique noire : la place immense que, depuis des siècles déjà y occupait l'Islam. On rencontrait des musulmans au Congo, on en trouvait encore plus au sud sur la côte orientale, et en grand nombre. Depuis, la première impression ne s'est pas démentie, elle s'est toutefois précisée. En réalité, l'Islam est bien la religion d'un grand nombre de noirs ; mais l'Afrique noire est un continent immense qui n'a pu être converti rapidement ; d'autre part, elle est peuplée de races multiples et fort différentes, qui n'ont pas accueilli de la même manière ni aux mêmes époques, tant s'en faut, les missionnaires de l'Islam. Pour dresser une carte assez exacte de l'Islam noir, il faut donc d'abord rappeler l'historique de sa pénétration à l'intérieur du continent ; il faudrait aussi étudier successivement les réactions des diverses races, ce qui serait presque indéfini ; quant aux statistiques actuelles si précises soient-elles, elles restent toujours très imparfaites, car elles ne traduisent pas la valeur de l'adhésion d'une race à l'Islam et elles donnent des résultats très différents suivant les points de vue auxquels on s'est placé pour les dresser.

Dans ces quelques pages, nous retracerons donc d'abord, à grands traits, l'histoire de la pénétration musulmane en Afrique noire ; nous donnerons ensuite les résultats fournis par les statistiques les plus récentes et les plus complètes ; pour préciser nous étudierons plus en détail telle ou telle région dont l'histoire et la situation actuelle sont plus significatives et mieux connues ; nous nous demanderons en terminant quels sont les motifs et les moyens du succès de l'Islam dans le continent noir.

◆

Du vivant même de Mahomet, au début du VIIe siècle, par suite des persécutions infligées par les Mecquois au Prophète et à ses disciples, quelques-uns des premiers musulmans cherchèrent refuge

A. KAUKS Rép.

en Abyssinie auprès du Négus, qui leur permit de s'y installer ; ils semblent ne s'être livrés à aucun prosélytisme. La véritable conquête de l'Afrique par l'Islam commença après la mort de Mahomet. Elle se fit dans deux directions principales. La voie maritime, le long de la côte est ; l'invasion guerrière au nord et de là, à travers le désert, au centre et à l'ouest.

A l'est, dès le IXe siècle, les marins arabes descendent le long de la côte orientale de l'Afrique ; ce sont des commerçants ômaniens, en quête d'esclaves et d'ivoire. Sans doute cette voie maritime était-elle déjà connue, car les Arabes avaient dû y être précédés par leurs ancêtres sémites qui auraient puisé dans ces régions l'or, l'ivoire, les bois précieux. Les nouveaux arrivants joignent à leurs ambitions commerciales un idéal religieux. Néanmoins, ils se préoccupent assez peu de prosélytisme et pour cause ; un musulman ne peut être l'esclave d'un autre musulman, les marchands d'esclaves n'ont donc aucun avantage à convertir les peuples qui alimentent leur trafic : ce serait en tarir la source. En conséquence, aucun grand empire musulman n'est fondé dans c tte région ; les Arabes préfèrent s'entendre simplement avec les chefs du pays. Cependant, pour rester sérieusement accrochés à la région, ils établissent sur la côte des comptoirs et des protectorats, d'où ils peuvent pousser des pointes vers l'intérieur et où ils peuvent s'abriter en cas d'attaque. Cette occupation du littoral aboutit à la création de sultanats dont la principale fonction sera d'assurer la récolte et le transit des esclaves. Au Xe siècle, les trafiquants s'appuient sur l'ilôt fortifié de Kiloa qui fut remplacé au XVIIe siècle, période du déclin de la puissance portugaise, par celui de Zanzibar. Au Tanganika, l'islamisation resta côtière jusqu'au XIXe siècle ; aux environs de 1860, elle pénétra jusqu'à Oudjidji, sur le lac Tanganika, mais, au nord, la progression fut arrêtée par les animistes bantous qui semblent avoir possédé, par suite de migrations, une structure guerrière plus résistante que leurs voisins. Vers 1852, des pionniers musulmans travaillaient déjà en Ouganda. Au Kenya, au contraire, l'islamisation a été beaucoup plus précoce ; commencée dès 860, elle a pu davantage pénétrer à l'intérieur. Le territoire qui a constitué les Somalies française, anglaise et italienne, plus facile d'accès, a été conquis à l'Islam dès le XIIIe siècle. Les régions du centre de l'Afrique, jusqu'au Congo belge, devaient recevoir plus tard, elles aussi, des musulmans venant de l'est, peut-être même certains remontèrent-ils jusqu'au Tchad ;

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Subject: ANTHROPOLOGY, CULTURAL (0326)
Abstract: This dissertation traces the economic history of the town of Sikasso in Southern Mali, and shows the nature of the current day trading community in that town. Before the 19th century, long distance trade in West Africa was monpolized by ethnic groups. In the region of Sikasso, Dioula traders controlled commerce in salt, gold, cloth, and other valuables. The emergence of the Kingdom of Kenedougou in the mid 19th century made Sikasso more central to regional trade than it had previously been. The French conquest brought increasing integration into the European centered international economy.

One result of Sikasso's increasing centrality to trade and connection with Europe was the breaking up of ethnic trading monoplies. However, while the ethnic makeup of Sikasso's merchants reflects the town's ethnic makeup, information collected through interviews and participant observation in 1985 shows that they still form a tight community. This community is held together both by marriage ties and bonds that cut across family lines, including membership in the Wahhabiyya sect of Islam, participation in voluntary social associations (called grins) and attendance at rites de passage.

While sons of merchants are more likely to become merchants than are those of non-merchants, being born into a commercial family does not assure business success. Rather, all individuals pass through roughly the same path to become merchants. Steps along this path are delineated by data from life histories. Virtually anyone can become a small scale merchant, but gaining wealth and prestige in the commercial community is crucially dependent on finding a patron within the community.

Data from this study are compared with data from other studies of African merchants and the problems and prospects of public and private enterprise in Mali discussed. Career paths and educational levels are noticeably different for Sikasso's merchants than for merchants in other studies. While private enterprise does not provide a panacea for development problems, within the Malian context it does have some advantages over development lead by state enterprise.

28 OCAK 1997

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NEHEMIA LEVTZION

Islam in West African Politics : Accommodation and Tension between the *'ulamā'* and the Political Authorities*

Early Islamic influences were more readily accepted in West Africa because Islamic beliefs and practices had at first been accommodated as a supplement to existing religious systems rather than as a substitute. Similarly, Islam and its early representatives—traders and clerics—presented no threat to social structures and values. Muslims were integrated into chiefly courts without undermining the political system. Islam which is a prophetic, and therefore an exclusive, religion maintained a symbiotic relationship with African religions and indeed adopted something of their tolerance and open-endness. Adaptation to the local environment in the process of Islamization emphasized parochial and particularistic aspects at the expense of Islamic universalism. During the early stages of the process there had been a greater emphasis on the magical and ritual than on the legal aspects of Islam, and there was little or no articulation of the political content of Islam.

The adaptability of Islam, however, was counterpoised by another basic feature of Islam, which helped maintain the unity of Islam in the presence of many local forms emerging as Islam spread across cultures of great diversity. Islam has a fixed stable core, engraved into the rock of doctrinal and legal literature. It reached the farthest Muslim communities through the widespread network of Islamic education. Trade, pilgrimage and affiliation to *ṣūfī* masters and brotherhoods contributed to continuous communications between the centre and the periphery and radiated the message of Islamic universalism, gradually reducing the parochial aspects of Islam in the periphery. Such influences increased the commitment of the individual and the community to Islam by renouncing traditional beliefs and rituals and by adhering more closely to the *sharī'a*. At the political level there was greater awareness of

* The present paper has been written at the University of Manchester during my appointment as a Simon Senior Research Fellow. This paper has been discussed at the African History seminars at SOAS (London) and the University of Birmingham. I am grateful to members of these seminars for their comments, and in particular to Dr. H. J. Fisher. Most of the references in the paper are to primary sources, and I have kept to minimum references to scholarly studies on related topics. These will be dealt with in greater detail in a forthcoming book on *Islam in African Politics: Past and Present.*

René Otayek
Le radicalisme islamique au sud du Sahara, Paris - 1993.
s. 161-195.
A. Kanas. Ctp.

12 AGUSTOS 1996

A. Gonzalez

7

La culture arabo-islamique au Mali

Louis Brenner*

L'Afrique et la culture arabo-islamique est le titre d'un ouvrage en arabe publié par l'ISESCO (Organisation islamique pour l'éducation, la science et la culture) en 1987 (1). Des exemplaires en furent distribués gratuitement à quelque quatre-vingts participants à un séminaire d'été destiné aux enseignants des *médersas* de Bamako, en août 1988. Ce type de diffusion de livres en arabe - la plupart ont un caractère religieux et, fréquemment, il s'agit de copies du Coran - n'est pas chose inhabituelle au Mali, au même titre, d'ailleurs, que les dons de matériel pédagogique en langue arabe.

Mais *L'Afrique et la culture arabo-islamique* semble représenter un phénomène nouveau dans le domaine idéologique. En effet, cet ouvrage collectif auquel ont contribué des universitaires de haut niveau étudie l'apport de la culture arabo-islamique à l'évolution histo-

* Je tiens à remercier la Fondation Nuffield, la *Leverhulme Trust* et la *Jordan Bequest* qui ont généreusement contribué aux recherches sur place au Mali et permis ainsi la réalisation de cette étude.

1) ISESCO, *Ifriqya wa'l-thaqafa al-arabiya al-islamiya* (l'Afrique et la culture arabo-islamique), Rabat, ISESCO, 1987. L'ISESCO a été créée en 1982 dans le but de promouvoir la coopération entre les pays islamiques dans les domaines de l'éducation, de la culture et la recherche scientifique. Ses activités en Afrique concernent essentiellement l'alphabétisation et la diffusion de l'enseignement de l'arabe. Depuis 1983, l'ISESCO publie une revue trilingue (arabe, français, anglais) intitulé *L'islam aujourd'hui*. Selon *Jamana* (oct-déc. 1985, p. 26), 24,3 millions de dollars furent débloqués en faveur de l'ISESCO au moment de sa création.

AUX ORIGINES DE LA QUESTION TOUARÈGUE AU MALI UNE EXCEPTION COLONIALE : L'OCCUPATION PACIFIQUE DE L'ADRAR DES IFOGHAS

Pierre Boilley

Depuis l'été 1990 qui marque le début de leur rébellion au Mali, les Touaregs n'ont pas fait la une des journaux, mais une certaine prise de conscience des difficultés que traverse ce peuple prend corps, dans une partie au moins de l'opinion. Cependant rébellions, massacres, guerres de libération, répressions se mêlent dans un contexte de sous-information générale.

Des affirmations réductrices, qui peuvent posséder une part de vérité, mais qui souvent puisent dans de vieux clichés, sont avancées au hasard des médias : répétition des mêmes tensions raciales de l'est à l'ouest du continent africain, sur cette bande sahélienne, point de contact entre les Blancs et les Noirs, résurgence de vieux démons guerriers et esclavagistes opposés aux revanches des anciens serviteurs...

Or, le problème est fort complexe, et résiste à toute tentative de schématisation. Nous sommes loin d'en connaître toutes les données, et de prétendre en trouver toutes les explications. Nous pouvons néanmoins tenter, tout d'abord, d'en isoler quelques traits particuliers :

– La rébellion commence dans l'Adrar des Ifoghas, et est menée au départ essentiellement par des Kel Adagh, avant de s'étendre à d'autres groupes touaregs et maures et à toute la zone sahélienne et saharienne du Mali et du Niger.

– Lutte armée, la révolte est structurée par une organisation politico-militaire dont l'expression est à l'origine issue d'un seul mouvement, le M.P.L.A. (Mouvement populaire de libération de l'Azawad).

– Après une première phase qui aboutit aux accords de Tamanrasset de janvier 1991, qui ne seront pas respectés par le gouvernement malien, ce mouvement se divise en plusieurs tendances possédant chacune sa spécificité en termes de recrutement et de ligne politique.

– La rébellion semble donc, en tout cas au Mali, être l'expression d'un mouvement double : affirmation externe d'une identité marginalisée par un Etat considéré comme oppresseur culturel, politique et économique,

Islam et sociétés au sud du Sahara n° 7 (1993) Paris, s. 143–181.

by leaders of the Union Soudanaise: the post of Deputy Prime Minister was occupied by JEAN-MARIE KONÉ,[1] and the office of the Minister of the Interior was taken by MADEIRA KEITA.[2] MODIBO KEITA was in charge of the country's external relations (relations with France and the other countries of French West Africa).

In the 1958 referendum the Sudan voted "yes". MODIBO KEITA and his party were led to this decision by a twofold consideration: on the one hand, the effort to preserve the unity of the countries of French West Africa and, on the other, the fear that in case of voting "no" the party could not poll the majority of the vote and would thus lose face and influence among the masses.

After the referendum, the Sudan became an autonomous republic within the French Community in November 1958. President of the Republic was JEAN-MARIE KONÉ, and MODIBO KEITA remained a member of the French cabinet.

In December 1958, upon the initiative of MODIBO KEITA, representatives of the Union Soudanaise, the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise and the Parti Progressiste Dahoméen held a conference at Bamako and decided to establish a Federation under the name of Mali.

In January 1959 MODIBO KEITA was elected President of the Grand Council of French West Africa by 15 votes with 11 abstentions. This seemed to indicate that the idea of federation got support from some of the countries of French West Africa. But leaders from Dahomey and the Upper Volta, upon pressure from HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY, changed their position and refused to join the federation. Nevertheless, the federation came into being: in April 1959 the Union Soudanaise and the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise merged to form the *Parti de la Fédération Africaine*, and the two countries, Senegal and the French Sudan, united in the Federation of Mali.

Prior to this, at the territorial elections held in the Sudan in March 1959, all seats were captured by the Union Soudanaise. After the elections the Parti Soudanaise Progressiste and all other minor opposition groups merged into the Union Soudanaise (SISSOKO himself had joined MODIBO KEITA's party already in December 1958), and thus the Union Soudanaise became the single political party of the country, whose government was taken over by MODIBO KEITA.

MALI

The Federation of Mali

The Federal Assembly of the new state met on April 4, 1959. It consisted of twelve representatives[3] of each of the two federal states, Senegal and the Sudan. SENGHOR was elected President of the Federal Assembly, MODIBO KEITA was appointed Prime Minister of the federal government, and MAMADOU DIA became Deputy Premier.

[1] JEAN-MARIE KONÉ was born of the Moslem Bambara tribe at Sikasso in October 1913. He went to school at Sikasso, Bamako and Dakar. From 1935 he taught in school at Gao and Koumandou. After 1942 he was active in the trade-union movement. From 1946, as secretary of a local R.D.A. branch, he was persecuted by the colonial authorities. In 1949 he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. Later the Court of Appeal in Dakar acquitted him, but the colonial administration in 1951 transferred him to a country girls' school. In the fifties he was one of the most active members of the Union Soudanaise.

[2] MADEIRA KEITA was born at Kita in the French Sudan in January 1917. He went to school in Dakar. In 1946 he founded the Democratic Party of Guinea. He was arrested nine times for his political activities, and the French authorities deported him on a number of occasions to different countries of French West Africa. Returning to the Sudan, he became a member of the Political Bureau of the Union Soudanaise.

[3] The Federal Constitution adopted on April 24 raised the number of the representatives of each federal state to twenty.

The government had six more Ministers, three from Senegal and three from the Sudan.

For the time being the French government simply ignored the establishment of the Federation of Mali.

The leaders of the new state, to demonstrate to the world the popularity of the idea of federation and the vitality of the Federation of Mali, summoned the congress of the Parti de la Fédération Africaine, which met on July 1, 1959. In addition to 50 delegates from Senegal and the Sudan each, the congress was attended by 29 delegates from other African countries, representing the parties which had embraced the idea of an association of African countries (10 from Mauritania, 7 from Dahomey, 6 from the Niger, and 6 from the Upper Volta).

The principal report to the congress was presented by SENGHOR. In his speech he developed his idea of federation, his concept of a unified African Negro nation in the making, which he set against the notion of "homeland" ("the homeland of the African is the land where the tribe he belongs to is living: that is, Serereland, Mossiland, and so on"); of the state, which in his view was nothing more than a sort of executive organ of the nation ("the state is to the nation what the contractor is to the architect"); of the federal state as the state formation most convenient to the Africans, and finally of what he called "African socialism".

MODIBO KEITA, in his report on questions of organization, tried to make the organizational principles of the R.D.A. prevail also in the Parti de la Fédération Africaine: this party being a co-ordinator of the parties functioning in the several countries, it should rely, not upon the leaders, but upon the membership, strict organization and moderate centralism; the territorial sections being realizers of the party's unified policy, divergences could be only in the tactical line; where the party was still in opposition the tactics might be different from that applied where it was in power or had a share in the government. (As will be seen below, it was mainly the disagreement just on organizational matters that led to the disintegration of the Federation of Mali one year later.)

The congress adopted a political resolution in which it took a stand in favour of the idea of national independence, of interdependence of the African peoples, and of African unity, and embraced the slogan about an "African road to socialism", which, however, it failed to outline concretely.

The congress elected the party's nine-member Executive Bureau, of which SENGHOR became President with the Dahomeyan ZINSOU and the Niger refugee BAKARY as Vice-Presidents.

In September 1959 Senegal and the Sudan informed the Executive Council of the French Community that the two countries wished to use their right laid down in the Constitution of the Fifth Republic and to become a sovereign state under the name of Federation of Mali without ceasing to belong to the French Community.

The 1958 Constitution introduced by DE GAULLE had offered every French colony the opportunity to decide, by way of referendum, to withdraw from the French Community and become a sovereign republic, but it denied them full independence within the Community. There was, however, a provision in the Constitution (Art. 78) which made it possible for any member state of the Community to enter into a special agreement with France on the transfer of some constitutional powers to the Community and vice versa. It was with reference to this provision that the leaders of the Federation of Mali demanded full independence within the Community. Their idea was that the Community should transfer the totality of sovereignty to the new

Endre Sik, The History of Black Africa, Budapest 1974, IV, 222-225
30 OCAK 1995

BA, AMADOU HAMPATE [Mali; 1901-]
Ecrivain et chercheur malien, né en 1901 à Bandiagara (Mali). Après avoir suivi l'école française et obtenu le certificat d'études, il occupe différents emplois de commis de l'administration coloniale, en Haute-Volta de 1922 à 1932, puis au Mali de 1933 à 1942.

Devenu suspect à cette époque en raison de ses liens avec la branche hamalliste de la Tijâniyya, il est affecté à l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire. C'est là qu'il entame la carrière d'écrivain et de chercheur qui l'a fait largement connaître.

De 1962 à 1966, A.H. Bâ est ambassadeur du Mali en Côte-d'Ivoire. De 1962 à 1966, il est membre du Conseil Exécutif de l'Unesco. Familier du Président Houphouët-Boigny, A.H. Bâ se retire ensuite en Côte-d'Ivoire et poursuit ses travaux.

Ecrivain de culture peul et française, A.H. Bâ appartient à cette première génération d'intellectuels africains placés en position d'intermédiaires entre leur culture d'origine et la culture française, et exerçant avec talent une fonction de médiateur et de révélateur réciproque entre les deux mondes.

Musulman convaincu et, à l'occasion, conseiller religieux de hautes personnalités, A.H. Bâ n'est pas, à proprement parler, un savant islamique. Il n'a pas suivi, en particulier, le cursus des écoles islamiques africaines. Il s'est cependant intéressé à plusieurs reprises, dans son oeuvre, à l'enseignement et à l'histoire islamiques. Il s'est fait connaître notamment par deux livres majeurs, l'un consacré à l'histoire d'un Etat islamique de la boucle du Niger au milieu du XIXème siècle (*L'Empire Peul du Macina*, 1955, rééd. 1984), l'autre à son maître en mysticisme islamique, Tierno Bokar Tall, un tijâni hamalliste dont il avait suivi l'enseignement en 1932 (*Tierno Bokar...*, 1957, révisé et réédité 1980). Dans les années 1950, A.H. Bâ s'est engagé dans la lutte contre les jeunes intellectuels arabisants revenus du Caire avec des positions réformistes. Il s'est également beaucoup intéressé à la transmission de l'enseignement islamique par la méthode orale en langue peul (le *kabbé*), ainsi qu'à la numérologie et à l'occultisme islamiques, et il a écrit de nombreux poèmes mystiques inédits.

A.H. Bâ s'est fait l'apôtre d'un islam tolérant, empreint de mysticisme et ouvert sur le monde moderne. Héritier de deux traditions islamiques adverses (ses parents par le sang étaient liés à l'«Empire Peul du Macina», son second père et son maître en mysticisme étaient issus de l'empire fondé par al-Hâjj ᶜUmar), A.H. Bâ s'est efforcé, en diverses occasions, de réconcilier ces deux héritages.

A.H. Bâ a beaucoup contribué à donner ses lettres de noblesse à la tradition orale comme matériau d'histoire. On lui doit une phrase appelée à un grand succès: «Quand un vieillard meurt, en Afrique, c'est une bibliothèque qui disparaît».

Oeuvres principales: *L'Empire Peul du Macina* (1955, rééd. 1984), avec J. Daget; *Koumen, texte initiatique des pasteurs peul* (1961), avec G. Dieterlen; *Kaïdara, récit initiatique peul* (1969), avec Lilyan Kesteloot; *L'étrange destin de Wangrin* (1973); *Vie et enseignement de Tierno Bokar, le Sage de Bandiagara* (1980).
Bibliographie: Hélène Heckmann, «Amadou Hampaté Bâ, écrivain et chercheur», *Nouvelles du Sud, arts, littératures et sociétés*, n° spécial *Islam et littératures africaines*, Ivry, nov. 1987-avril 1988, 207-238; «Amadou Hampaté Bâ, mémoire vivante de l'Afrique», *Calao* (Paris), juillet-août 1984. Sur les niveaux différents de production littéraire d'A.H. Bâ et «tous les déguisements qu'il a empruntés», voir aussi Alain Ricard, «La réappropriation de la signature: brèves réflexions sur Hampaté Bâ» (Colloque «Islam et Littératures africaines», ibid.). *Fonds Hampaté Bâ*, Alfâ Ibrâhim Sow, *Inventaire du Fonds Amadou Hampaté Bâ, répertorié à Abidjan en 1969 par* -, Paris, Klincksieck, 1970.

J.L. TRIAUD

Marc GABORIEAU, Nicole GRANDIN, Pierre LABROUSSE et Alexandre POPOVIC, DICTIONNAIRE BIOGRAPHIQUE des SAVANTS et GRANDES FIGURES du MONDE MUSULMAN PERIPHERIQUE, du XIX e Siecle a nos Jours, Fascicule I, 1992 PARIS. PP. 43

Hilal Görgün

Liste1 doc.

LISTE DES ETATS MEMBRES ET OBSERVATEURS DE L'ORGANISATION DE LA CONFERENCE ISLAMIQUE

	National Day
1. Royaume Hachémite de Jordanie	25th MAY 1946
2. République de l'Azerbaijan	
3. Etat Islamique de l'Afghanistan	
4. République de l'Albanie	
5. L'Etat des Emirats Arabes Unis	2th DECEMBER 1971
6. République de l'Indonésie	9 OCTOBER 1962
7. République d'Ouganda	
8. République Islamique d'Iran	
9. République Islamique du Pakistan	15th AUGUST 1971
10. L'Etat du Bahrein	
11. Brunei Darussalam	5th AUGUST 1960
12. Burkina Faso	
13. République Populaire du Bangladesh	15th AUGUST 1960
14. République du Bénin	29th OCTOBER 1923
15. République de Turquie	11th AUGUST 1960
16. République du Tchad	
17. République de Turkmenistan	20th MARCH 1956
18. République de Tunisie	
19. République de Tajikistan	17th AUGUST 1960
20. République GAbonaise	18th FEBRUARY 1965
21. République de la Gambie	3th JULY 1962
22. République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire	
23. République Fédérale Islamique des Comores	27th JUNE 1960
24. République de Djibouti	
25. Royaume d'Arabie Saoudite	4th AVRIL 1960
26. République du Sénégal	18th JANUARY 1956
27. République du Soudan	28th SEPTEMBER 1941
28. République Arabe Syrienne	27th APRIL 1961
29. République de Sierra Léone	26th JUNE 1960
30. République Démocratique de Somalie	14 JULY 1958
31. République d'Iraq	20th DECEMBER 1951
32. Le Sultanat d'Oman	28th SEPTEMBER 1958
33. République de Guinée	10th SEPTEMBER 1974
34. République de Guinée-Bissau	13th SEPTEMBER 1993
35. L'Etat de Palestine	
36. République de Kyrgyztan	3 SEPTEMBER 1971
37. L'Etat de Qatar	15th JANUARY 1960
38. République du Cameroun	19 JUNE 1961
39. L'Etat du Koweit	22th NOVEMBER 1943
40. République du Liban	15th SEPTEMBER 1969
41. République Arabe Libyenne Socialiste et Populaire	
42. République des Maldives	20th JUNE 1960
43. République du Mali	
44. Malaisie	23th JULY 1952
45. République Arabe d'Egypte	2th MARCH 1956
46. Royaume du Maroc	28th NOVEMBER 1960
47. République Islamique de Mauritanie	25th JUNE 1975
48. République du Mozambique	3th AUGUST 1960
49. République du Niger	15th OCTOBER 1960
50. République Fédérale du Nigéria	
51. République du Yémen	

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CULTURE ET CIVILISATION ISLAMIQUES

LE MALI

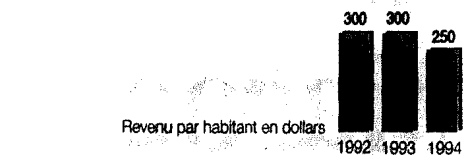
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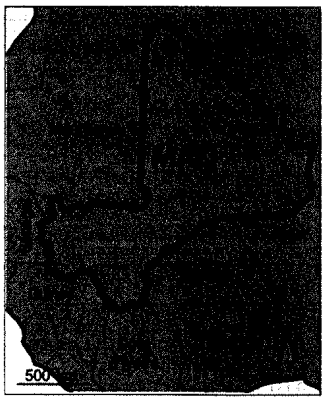
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PUBLICATIONS DE L'ORGANISATION ISLAMIQUE
POUR L'EDUCATION, LES SCIENCES ET LA CULTURE – ISESCO –

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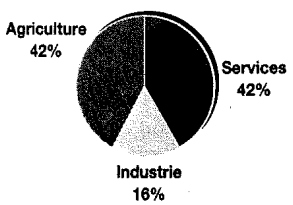
Mali





Nom officiel : République du Mali.
Capitale : Bamako
Superficie : 1 240 192 km².
Population : 10,8 millions d'habitants (1995).
Langues courantes : français (officielle).
Date d'indépendance : 20 juin 1960.
Nature du régime : présidentiel, multipartiste.
Produit national brut : 2,4 milliards de dollars (1994).
PNB par habitant : 250 dollars en 1994.
Croissance du PNB par habitant (1985-1994) : 0,9 % par an.
Dette extérieure : 2,8 milliards de dollars (1994).
Service de la dette : 198 millions de dollars (1994).
Exportations de biens et services : 477 millions de dollars (1994).
Importations de biens et services : 817 millions de dollars (1994).
Monnaie : franc CFA.
Taux de change : 1 dollar = 510 F CFA (avril 1996).

PIB PAR SECTEURS



LA TERRE ET LES HOMMES

Relief : plaines et bas plateaux avec reliefs isolés culminant à 1 155 m. Vaste cuvette alluviale du Niger.
Cours d'eau : Niger, Bani, Baoulé et Sénégal.
Climat et végétation : désertique au nord ; sahélien au centre ; soudanien au sud (savane arbustive et forêt claire). Bamako, 17-34°C en janvier, 22-32°C en juillet, 1 120 mm de pluie par an.
Démographie : taux moyen d'accroissement (1995-2000), 3 %. 24,6 millions d'habitants en 2025. Densité moyenne : 8,7 habitants au km² (1995).
Villes principales : Bamako 646 000 habitants en 1994, Mopti 65 000.
Répartition de la population : urbaine 27 % ; rurale 63% (1995).
Religions : musulmans 90 % ; croyances traditionnelles 9 % ; chrétiens 1 %

LE CADRE POLITIQUE

Pouvoir exécutif : président de la République, élu pour cinq ans.
Chef de l'Etat en exercice : Alpha Oumar Konaré, né en 1946, élu le 16 avril 1992.
Pouvoir législatif : Assemblée nationale (129 sièges, mandat de 5 ans).
Constitution en vigueur : 12 janvier 1992.

NIVEAU DE VIE

Espérance de vie à la naissance : 46 ans (1992).
Taux de mortalité infantile : 159 pour 1 000 naissances (1992).
Population ayant accès aux services de santé : n.c.
Population ayant accès à l'eau potable : 41 % (1993).
Population ayant accès à l'assainissement : 24 % (1993).
Taux d'alphabétisation des adultes : 27,2 % (1992)

DONNÉES ÉCONOMIQUES

Taux de croissance : 2,5 % (1994).
Taux d'inflation : 25 % à la consommation (1994).
Produit intérieur brut : 2,744 milliards de dollars en 1993.
Production agricole : millet/sorgho 1,627 millions de tonnes ; riz paddy 437 900 t ; maïs 245 500 t ; coton graine 304 000 t ; arachides (coques) 16 000 t (prév. 1994-95).
Elevage : 5,5 millions de bovins ; 5,4 millions d'ovins et 3,6 millions de caprins (1993).
Pêche (eau douce) : 64 400 tonnes de poissons en 1993.
Forêt : 5,95 millions de m³ de coupes en 1992.
Mines : or, sel, diamant.
Industries : textile, agro-alimentaire.
Hydroélectricité : 74 % de la production électrique en 1994.

DONNÉES FINANCIÈRES

Budget (estimation 1994 en milliards de F CFA) : recettes (297,8) ; dépenses (354) ; solde budgétaire (-56,2).
Aide extérieure totale : 443 millions de dollars (versements nets, 1994).
Solde de la balance des paiements : -95 millions de dollars en 1994.
Dette extérieure totale : 2,781 milliards de dollars (1994). 117 % du PNB.
Service de la dette : 198 millions de dollars. Dont 130 millions effectivement payés, soit 27,2 % des exportations de biens et services.

COMMERCE EXTÉRIEUR

Exportations de marchandises : 345 millions de dollars en 1994.
Importations de marchandises : 476 millions de dollars en 1994.
Principaux produits importés : combustibles (28 %), biens d'équipement (25 %), produits alimentaires (18 %).
Principaux produits exportés : coton, bétail, or.
Principaux fournisseurs : France, Côte d'Ivoire, Sénégal.
Principaux clients : Côte d'Ivoire, France, Sénégal, Thaïlande.

TRANSPORTS ET COMMUNICATIONS

Réseau routier : 18 000 km de routes en 1990, dont 6 000 km sont carrossables toute l'année.
Réseau ferroviaire : 642 km en 1991 (liaison entre Koulikoro et la frontière sénégalaise via Bamako).
Principaux ports : Bamako et Koulikoro, ports fluviaux.
Principaux aéroports : Bamako-Sénou, Tombouctou.
Téléphone : 12 800 postes en 1992 (13 pour 1 000 habitants).

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since 1153 when they were converted by a Berber known as Abu al-Barakat. The language of the islands is Dihevi which is related to Sinhalese although it is written in a script based on Arabic numerals.

The houses are made out of coral stone and coconut wood; the stone is used to build a platform and the wood is used for the superstructure. As experienced boat builders the Maldivians were able to build wooden houses without nails and make very tight joints. Ibn Battuta visited the islands twice in 1343 and 1346 and gave an account of the construction of houses. The house was built around a hall which opened on to the reception room, known as the malem, where the owner of the house would receive his male friends. At the back of the malem was another door which opened on to the rest of the house forbidden to guests.

There are many mosques on the islands; at present Male has thirty-three including the main mosque known as the Hukuru Meskit (Great Mosque). The standard mosque plan which seems to have remained the same since the seventeenth century consists of a stone building raised on a rectangular platform with an entrance at the east end and a rectangular recess at the west end. Near the entrance is a well set within a paved area with a path leading to the mosque entrance to keep feet clean after washing. Many of the mosques are built of stone although some are built out of wood like the houses. Each mosque is surrounded by a graveyard on three sides with tombstones made of finely dressed coral blocks (rounded stones represent women and pointed stones represent men). In general Maldivian mosques do not have mihrabs although they are oriented towards Mecca and have a square recess at the qibla end. Minarets are also unusual although the Hukuru Meskit has a thick cylindrical tower which functions as a minaret.

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Mali

Islamic West African empire which flourished during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The date of the first emergence of the kingdom of Mali is not known although there are references to it as early as the ninth century. However, it was not until the thirteenth century that the kingdom achieved the status of empire through the conquest of a number of rival states. The medieval empire of Mali was formed out of the unification of two distinct Manding groups, an established northern group and a more recent southern group. The unification was achieved by the famous Mali hero Sundiata who defeated Sumaguru Kante, lord of Susu in 1234 and then went on to conquer Ghana, Gangaran and the gold-producing area of Bambuko. The ruling clan, from which the king was selected, was the Keita clan of the northern group which traced its ancestry back to Bilal, the first black follower of the prophet. The empire had two distinct capitals: Kangaba, the religious capital, and Niani, capital of the Keita clan and birthplace of Sundiata. Although some branches of the Mali dynasty were Muslim fairly early on, it was not until the thirteenth century that the kings were Muslim.

After Sundiata the most famous king of Mali was Mansa Musa who made a legendary pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324–5. Although previous kings of Mali had made the pilgrimage to Mecca the journey of Mansa Musa made a particularly big impression because he dispersed large quantities of gold on the way. The amount of gold given away was so large that a contemporary account said that the value of gold in Egypt depreciated considerably after his arrival. In consequence of this the fame of Mansa Musa and Mali spread all over the Islamic world and beyond, so that Mali even appeared on contemporary European maps for the first time. When Mansa Musa returned to Mali he was accompanied by several North African travellers amongst whom was Abu Ishaq al-Saheli a poet from Andalusia who is credited with the introduction of a new style into West African architecture.

Mansa Musa was succeeded by Maghan I (1337–41) about whom little is known except that he had acted as regent for Mansa Musa during his absence on pilgrimage. In 1341 Maghan was succeeded by Mansa Musa's brother Sulayman who reorganized the empire and financial system in order to recover from the excessive expenditure of his brother. Sulayman was the ruler at the time of Ibn Battuta's visit in 1353 so that there is quite a detailed description of his rule including the king's friendly relations with the Marinid sultans of Morocco. Ibn Khaldun traced the careers of the next

26 MART 1996

Hilal Görgün

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AKBAR MUḤAMMAD

MALI. The region now within the Republic of Mali has been exposed to Islam for more than nine hundred years. In present-day Mali the Islamic presence has grown to the point where 80 to 90 percent of the population of approximately 9 million is Muslim, the most significant minority faiths being Catholic Christianity and so-called "paganism." Islam has always been more entrenched in the north, mainly because of its transmission from the Maghrib through trans-Saharan trade and the Moroccan invasion of Songhay in the sixteenth century.

By the early nineteenth century the major centers of learning—Timbuktu, Gao, and Jenne—had long been in decline in terms of Islamic scholarship, largely because of insecurities brought about by conquest and fluctuations in trade. More popular versions of the faith, based on rote recitation of the Qur'ān and adherence to the Qādirīyah brotherhood, were practiced in the northern countryside, especially among the nomadic Tuareg, Fulani, and Moors. The south remained largely resistant to Islam, with the Bambara and Dogon being known for their adherence to local polytheistic religious systems.

As in other parts of the Sahel in the nineteenth century, a social context that combined the expanded popularity of Islam with reduced scholarly rigor and frontier societies resistant to the faith became fertile ground for historically significant reform efforts. The *jihād* of Usuman Dan Fodio from 1804 to 1810 did not penetrate far into the territory, but it did lead to settlement by a vanguard of Fulani warriors on the eastern portion of the Niger bend near Ansongo. The *jihād* of ʿUmar Tal in the mid-nineteenth century had a greater effect on the Islamic heritage of Mali. Although ʿUmar Tal was defeated and killed in battle in 1864, his holy war did result in a widened influence of the Tijānīyah. Through much of the nineteenth century a more peaceful revival of the Qādirīyah was largely inspired by the Kunta jurists Sīdī al-Mukhtār (d. 1811) and Shaykh Sīdīyah al-Kabīr (d. 1868). With their close links with the Berber and Arab traditions of North Africa, Kunta jurists are largely responsible for the present-day dominance of Maghribi influence throughout West Africa. [*See* Tijānīyah; Qādirīyah; *and the biographies of Dan Fodio and ʿUmar Tal.*]

Like other parts of French West Africa, this region underwent an Islamic resurgence that increased in momentum through the period of colonial occupation. This was expressed in a number of reform movements, most notably the Hamallīyah and the Wahhābīyah.

The Hamallīyah was an offshoot of the Tijānī brotherhood that developed in the Nyoro region in the early 1940s. Aside from veneration of its founder Shaykh Hamallah, its main distinguishing characteristic was a revised formula of recitation *(wird)* that used an eleven-bead rosary. Despite Shaykh Hamallah's espousal of pacifism, his followers became involved in a massacre directed against a rival nomadic group, resulting in harsh suppression by the French. The scattering of the Hamallīyah resulted in two very different successors to the movement: a quietist Ṣūfī tradition exemplified by Cerno Bokar, and more overtly enthusiastic, short-lived uprisings, including the abortive *jihād* of Musa Aminu in his natal village of Wani north of Bourem.

In the postwar phase of colonization, more lasting reform efforts were initiated by West Africans who had been educated in the Middle East. One of the central platforms of these reformers was opposition to the perceived excesses of the brotherhoods, including veneration of holy men and dependence on "Islamic magic," such as the manufacture of amulets, for worldly aid. As with some medieval reformers of Christian Europe, their reforms have hinged on scriptural literacy and a basic understanding by the laity of the original sacred texts. This reformist trend was to become known as Wahhabism because the French saw a negative similarity between these reformers and the puritan followers of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb of the eastern Arabian Peninsula (d. 1787). One important West African reformer, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, a native of the Ansongo region, became a fulltime resident of Saudi Arabia, where he taught in the Islamic schools Dār al-Ḥadīth and al-Maʿhad al-Ilmī. Many of his students were West African pilgrims who returned to their natal areas with greater religious knowledge and commitment. More significant was the return to Bamako of a group of students from al-Azhar University in Cairo who established the Muslim youth organization Subbanu al-Muslimīn in the 1950s.

Trading groups were central to the development of the Wahhābīyah, particularly in Bamako, a strategically situated trading center. Since independence, however, there has been an expansion of reformed Islam into a wide range of social groups, including students, admin-

07 KASIM 1995

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ISLAM AND NATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN WEST AFRICA

By THOMAS HODGKIN*

MALI

THIS is a topic which I discussed in a series of five lectures given under the auspices of the Program of African Studies at Boston University, in April 1961. It had previously been the theme of a seminar conducted during two terms in 1960–1 at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal.

The question around which these lectures were constructed might be stated as follows—What has been the influence of Islam on national movements (defined roughly as 'movements seeking to modify or transform the colonial situation') in West Africa, and on political institutions and ideas in modern West African states? The region of West Africa with which I am primarily concerned is the *bilād al-sūdān* from Senegal to Chad. My purpose in raising this question is partly a general one: to explore the connexion between the pre-colonial history of the region (in the light of the work of Urvoy, Rouch, Mauny, M. G. Smith, Charles Smith, Hiskett, Bivar, Fage, Hampaté Ba, Boahen, and others to whom I am much indebted) and its modern political movements and institutions (which are being studied on an increasing scale by the political scientists).

The following propositions attempt to summarize, very provisionally, my conclusions:

The Almoravid movement, and its short-lived ascendancy in the Western Sudan, though simply an episode in the process of Islamization by methods of peaceful penetration during the eleventh century A.D., was of significance for the later history of the region in at least three ways: (i) It assisted the development of communications with the Maghrib and Andalus. (ii) It checked the possibility of the spread southwards from the Maghrib of 'deviant' forms of Islam, and transmitted to the emerging Muslim states of the Western Sudan its own particular conception of 'orthodoxy'—Maliki rigorism, respect for the *fuqahā'*, hostility to *kalām*. (iii) It created a precedent for later reforming movements seeking to bring about a total transformation of society in accordance with the prescriptions of the Sharī'a.

The relatively rich documentary sources for fourteenth-century Mali provide some basis for judging the extent to which, by this period, the impact of Islam had modified indigenous, pre-Islamic institutions: e.g. as regards court ritual, the observance of Ramadan and the 'Īds, the employment of *qāḍis* (in the towns), the establishment of Koranic schools, the use

* The author regrets that he has been unable to provide this paper with a full bibliography.

local and ethnic particularisms, held together by a common loyalty to its religious-political head (*Imām* or *Amīr al-mu'minīn*, not *Sulṭān*), common observance of the Sharī'a, and a common Islamic ideology.

It would seem that the extent to which effective reform of social and political institutions, in the light of these dominant ideas, was in practice achieved was markedly greater in Masina under Shehu Aḥmadu's régime than in the Sokoto Empire under 'Uthmān dan Fodio's—where, though the pre-Fulani systems were modified in a number of particulars, new Fulani *amīr* tended to become old Hausa *sarki* writ large.

What Gouilly has called the *empires combattantes* of the last quarter of the nineteenth century—of which the most significant were Samory Touré's in the western, and Rabeh Zubayr's in the central, sector of the Sudan—have not yet been adequately studied. They appear, however, to have presented certain interesting new features, in particular: (i) The emergence, during a period in which established systems and dynasties were tending to disintegrate under European pressure, of a number of 'upstart' political-military leaders, 'new men', whose claims to leadership depended primarily upon their personal abilities. (ii) The provision within the new political-military structures, within limits, of a career open to talents (e.g. Samory's *sofas*). (iii) The use of Islam (combined, in varying degrees, with 'national' sentiment) as an ideological basis for resistance to European penetration: hence a new phase of Islamization (reflected in the setting up of Koranic schools, etc.), and—partly as a consequence of (i) and (ii)—an emphasis upon the egalitarian, as well as the activist, aspects of Islam.

I know of no comparative study of French and British policies in relation to the former Muslim states which they included within their respective colonial systems and in regard to Islamic institutions in the region. In a superficial way it is clear that among the effects of both types of administration and policy were: (i) The loss by these states of their sovereignty (combined in some cases—e.g. the Fulani emirates of Northern Nigeria—with the preservation of a considerable measure of internal autonomy). (ii) The weakening of the historical connexions of *bilād al-sūdān* with the Maghrib and the Muslim world, and its reorientation—particularly as regards economic relations—towards the coastal ports and the West. (iii) The development—on a very restricted scale in most areas—of Western, predominantly secular, systems of education; with the survival, but gradual decline, of Islamic forms of education. (iv) The formation of political alliances between colonial Administrations and elements within the Muslim community favourable to a policy of collaboration—whether fief-holding nobility, traditionalist *'ulamā'*, or *ṭarīqa*-leaders; administrative support for quietist, and opposition to activist (e.g. Mahdist, Reformist, Modernist) interpretations of Islam. (v) Hence a tendency to arrest processes of social and political change taking place in pre-colonial Muslim society—with the preservation in a more or less modified form, within the

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-MALI

Muslims in 'MALI'

Location	:	**West Africa**
Area	:	**463,500 Square Miles**
Population	:	**4,300,000 (Muslims 60%)**
Head of the State	:	**Modibo Keita (President)**
Capital	:	**Bamako**

GEOGHRAPHY

STRETCHED over an area of 463,500 square miles the Republic of Mali is bound by Algeria in the north, Niger in the east and south-east, upper Volta and Ivory coast in the south and Guinea and Senegal in the west. It is a land-locked country drained by the Senegal and Niger Rivers. The climate is tropically Sudanic in the south with more than 25 inches of rainfall a year. The soil is fertile and supports a vast variety of crops. The middle region is known as Sahel. It is a steppe country with sparse prickly vegetation, peculiar to such regions. Though poor from agricultural point of view it serves as a rich pasturage for the abundant wealth of live stock. The north is a parched desert forming a part of the great Sahara.

ECONOMY

The economy of Mali is essentially agricultural and pastural. Dams built across the Niger ensure a steady flow of water the year round curtailing thus the alternative calamities of flood and shortage of water to the minimum.

The south is richer by far, from the agricultural point, than any other part of the country. It has a vast area, measuring over 77,000 square miles, of extremely rich and productive soil. The extensive system of irrigation enables the south to produce a vast variety of rich crops. Millet, maize and rice form the main food crops. Other crops include beans, yams, cassava, sweet potatoes and peanuts. Cotton is an important cash crop, sisal and kapok are crops of a secondary value. Gum is chiefly obtained from the north.

Agriculture takes a secondary position in the Sahel zone where stock raising occupies prime economic value. It provides the country with a considerable percentage of its foreign exchange by exporting hides and cattle. In 1956 cattle numbered 2,303,000; sheeps 3,200,000; goats 3,500,000: camels 80,000 and horses 60,000.

The land is poor in minerals. Once, it was believed to be considerably rich in gold deposits, but the production has now gone too low to be of economic value. A little alluvial gold is, however, produced yearly. Salt is obtained from the Sahara.

Industrially, the country is still under developed. Small scale industry includes leather work and textile.

Peanuts and cotton are the main commodities of export. Other articles of export include cattle, hides and skins, dried fish, etc.

PEOPLE

In view of the vast area of the country the population is considerably thin, In 1960 it was estimated at 4,300,000. Muslims constitute over 60% of the population. The percentage of Muslim population should have been still higher had not the French put forth obstacles in the way of Islamic missionary work.

The animists constitute 43.5% of the population and are centered mainly in the south. They are good agriculturists. Despite the artificially created barriers of the French, Islam is making a steady progress in animist quarters. The Bambara are the most numerous among the predominantly pagan tribes. They number a little over a million. Islam has been making a rapid progress among them of late and today more than 20% of them have found refuge in its fold.

The Christian population of Mali accounts for 0.5% of the total population.

Among Muslim tribes the most important are the Taureg 160,000; the Malinke 200,000; the Dioula 43,000; Bozo fishermen and the Songhai 200,000; the Toucouleur 50,000; the Sarakole 250,000, etc. The Moors who were the earliest Muslim conquerors of the country number 50,000. The Peuls are a stock raising people found scattered over the entire country.

A vast majority of the population lives in small villages. There are, however, a good many towns in the country, some of them have great historic importance. Bamako is the capital with a population of 102,000. It is situated along the banks of river Niger. Other important towns include Kayes, Segu, Mopti, Timbuktu, Gao and Sikasso.

HISTORY

The history of Mali can be traced back as far in the past as the 4th century A. D. when the Empire of Ghana established its sway over the entire Sahel zone between the Senegal and Niger rivers. This empire persisted right upto the 13th century A.D. While the Empire of Ghana was in its heyday another empire, the Empire of Gao was established in its neighbourhood. In later years a third empire, the Empire of Mali was founded after which the country is now named.

The 15th century A.D. witnessed events of great importance in the history of the country. The ancient empires were crumbling down to give way to a new power with the most advanced civilisation of the time and the most sublime ideology. This new power were the Moors who conquered the Empire of Goa and established a theocratic state of their own. The state of Mali was conquered by the Muslim Songhai under Their King Omar Askia.

The rays of Islam had penetrated the country even before the Muslim conquest by more than a century. The Marabout missionaries belonging to the sect of Quadriya brought the light of Islam to the banks of upper Senegal river in the early 14th century A.D. The unguided masses fumbling in the darkness for truth thronged to the divine light in thousands and embraced Islam.

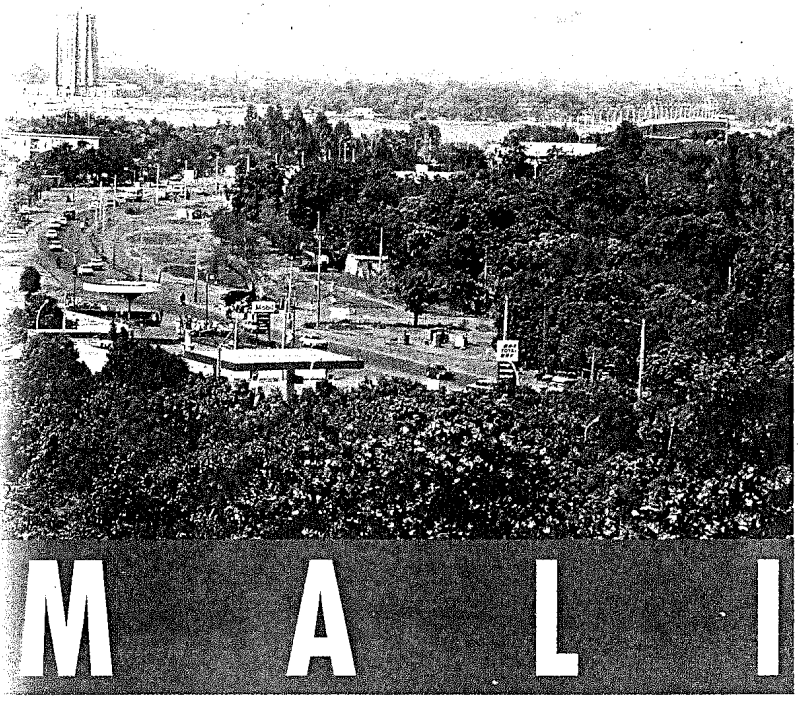
By the end of the 19th century the French had started to colonise the country. They found the north solidly Islamized and under various chieftaincies. The south was predominantly pagan but even in that zone Muslims had enjoyed political

Contd. on page 8

MALI

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

Tahran, Ş. 1376/1997
IRCICA: 36008



LOCATION, CLIMATE, LANGUAGE, RELIGION, FLAG, CAPITAL

The Republic of Mali is a land-locked country in West Africa, with Algeria to the north, Mauritania and Senegal to the west Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire to the south, and Burkina Faso and Niger to the east. The climate is hot throughout the country. The northern region of Mali is part of the Sahara, an arid desert. It is wetter in the south, where the rainy season is from June to October. Temperatures in Bamako are generally between 16°C (61°F) and 39°C (103°F). The official language is French but a number of other languages, including Bambara, Fulfulde, Sonrai, Tamashek, Soninke and Dogon, are widely spoken. About 80% of the population are Muslims and an estimated 18% follow traditional animist beliefs; about 1.2%are Christians. The national flag (proportions 3 by 2) has three equal vertical stripes, of green, gold and red. The capital is Bamako.

AREA, POPULATION AND DENSITY

Area (sq km)	1,240,192
Population (census results)	
16 December 1976	6,394,918
1-30 April 1987	
Males	3,760,711
Females	3,935,637
Total	7,696,348
Population (UN-estimates at mid-year)	
1993	10,135,000
1994	10,462,000
1995	10,795,000
Density (per sq km) at mid-1995	8.7

ECONOMY

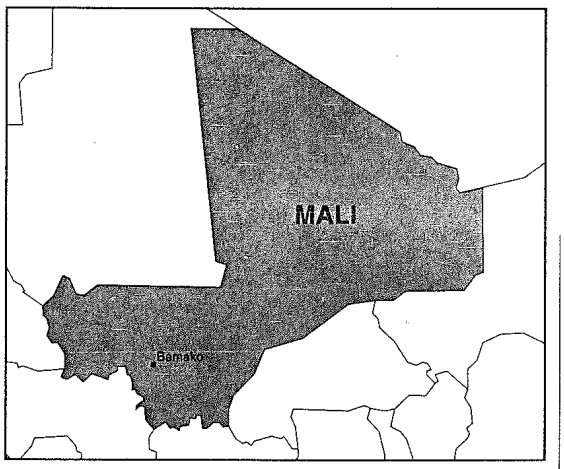
Monetary Units: 100 centimes = 1 franc (CFA)

*Revenue ('000 million francs CFA)	1993	1994	1995
Budgetary revenue	94.0	126.0	160.7
Tax revenue	83.7	103.2	131.5
Taxes on net income and profits	11.6	16.2	26.6
Payroll tax	2.1	2.6	2.5
property taxes	3.1	2.6	3.4
Domestic taxes on goods and services	12.4	15.0	17.0
Value-added tax	9.2	11.8	13.8
Taxes on international trade	47.4	55.1	73.0
Value-added tax on imports	11.5	13.3	20.8
petroleum import duties	14.5	19.2	17.3
Other tax revenue	7.1	11.8	9.0
Stamp duties	2.1	3.6	4.8
Payment of tax arrears	3.4	6.5	2.8
Other current revenue	10.3	20.0	21.9
Capital revenue	n.a.	2.7	7.3
Special funds and annexed budgets	10.7	12.9	16.6
Social security fund	9.7	11.8	15.0
Total	104.7	138.9	177.3

*Excluding grants received ('000 million francs CFA): 42.0 in 1993; 97.8 in 1994; 92.4 in 1995.

International Reserves (US $ million at 31 December)

	1993	1994	1995
Gold	7.0	7.0	7.3
IMF special drawing rights	0.1	0.2	0.5
Reserve position in IMF	12.0	12.7	13.0
Foreign exchange	320.3	208.5	309.5
Total	339.4	228.4	330.3



EDUCATION

(1993/94)

	Institutions	Teachers	Students Males	Females	Total
Pre-primary	151	503	8,298	7,610	15,908
Primary	1,728	8,363	305,662	192,207	497,869
Secondary:					
General	n.a.	4,854	65,353	34,026	99,379
Teacher training	n.a.	75	257	56	313
Vocational	n.a.	762	7,827	4,049	11,876
University level	n.a.	701	5,798	905	6,703

17 ARALIK 1992

MALI

جولة في جمهورية مالي

بقلم: عبدالباقي محمد شريقي

بعون من الله سبحانه وتعالى وتوفيقه قمت بجولة خامسة في بعض انحاء جمهورية مالي استغرقت شهرين وعشرين يوما اديت خلالها مهمات اسلامية متواضعة منها:

١ ـ التقيت بالاخوة الوفود الاسلامية القادمة من اقاليم جمهورية مالي للاشتراك بالدورة التدريبية التي اقامتها رابطة العالم الاسلامي الموقرة في العاصمة باماكو لمعرفة واجبات الداعية المسلم نحو المسلمين وغير المسلمين وقدمت لهم الكتاب الاسلامي العربي والمترجم للفرنسية والقرآن الكريم وكتب علم التجويد وبعض الخدمات الاسلامية الي هي من حقهم علي واغلاها النصيحة الاسلامية الاخوية للارتقاء الى المثل العليا للداعية المسلم المخلص وللعمل على توحيد الصف الاسلامي في وطنهم وفي كل وطن اسلامي.

٢ ـ سعدت بلقاء الاخوة الكرام المجاهدين الفضلاء ممثلي رابطة العالم الاسلامي اساتذة هذه الدور الموجهين لها والمشرفين عليها. كما سعدت بلقاء فضيلة الشيخ سليمان الراجحي الرجل المحسن المجاهد الداعية بعمله ومؤسساته الخيرية المهتم بأمر الدعوة الاسلامية والمسلمين وبصحبته الاخ الكريم المجاهد الدكتور احمد توتونجي حفظهم الله جميعا وحقق امانيهم الخيرة المخلصة وضاعف مثوبتهم. وقد انتفعت بتوجيهاتهم الاسلامية القيمة فجزاهم الله عني وعن المسلمين خير الجزاء واكرمه.

٣ ـ قمت بالوعظ والارشاد في بعض مساجد العاصمة وفي مدينتي سان وبارويلي وقرى باغندا وسيبوغو ونكانتموني وكاني وغيرها دعوت خلالها الاخوة المسلمين الى الالتزام بالكتاب والسنة والى وحدة الصف والى العلم والعمل والجد واتقان اعمال الصناعة والتجارة والزراعة ليكونوا اليد العليا في جميع مجالات الحياة. وسيرت بعض الدعاة المحليين للقيام بواجب الدعوة في العاصمة باماكو وبعض المناطق وكانت النتيجة حسنة والحمد لله.

٤ ـ تم التعاقد مع المهندس المقاول المسلم الامين محمد عبدالله كمارا على بناء ٢١ مسجدا و٢١ مدرسة لتحفيظ القرآن وحفر ٣٢ بئرا عاديا في القرى الاسلامية والمهتدية الخالية من المساجد والمدارس في اقاليم كولوروكو وسيفو وسيكاسو وكاي وموبتي وذلك بأموال المحسنين والمحسنات في المملكة العربية السعودية والكويت والامارات العربية. ضاعف الله ثوابهم وزادهم من نعمه ومنحهم سبحانه الامن في الحياتين. وقد ارفقت جدولا بأسماء المحسنين والمحسنات وكذلك جدولا بأسماء القرى المشمولة بالتعاقد الملمح اليه اعلاه.

٥ ـ تم بعون الله بناء ثلاث مدارس لتحفيظ القرآن وتعلم اللغة العربية في قرى دار السلام ومدينة الاسلام ونيكانتمو.

٦ ـ وتم بناء خمسة مساجد في جي رحمة الله في العاصمة باماكو وفي قرى دار السلام ومدينة الاسلام وبونة وتيكو.

Kuwait - el-BELAG

MALI

The untapped potential of Mali

Mali is a landlocked West African country with an area of 1.24m sq km. With a per-capita GNP of only $180 in 1979, it has been classified among the world's ten poorest countries. However, it boasts abundant natural resources that, according to a survey carried out by the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (Unido), make it a potentially rich state.

The resources remain largely unexploited, and the Malian economy is still predominantly based on agriculture. Whatever small industries exist are mainly connected with the processing of agricultural products. Most of the country is desert or semi-arid, with the 2.1 hectares under cultivation concentrated mainly in the Sahelian region, and the central and southern zones. The annual rainfall reaches 1500mm in the Guinean area.

Agriculture comprises two types of farming, food production and commercial cropping. The former produces millet, sorghum, maize, rice, "fonio" and sweet potatoes; commercial farming grows mainly cotton, peanuts and sugar cane, with some other items such as tobacco and tea. In 1978, total production of the main crops was 1.64m tonnes.

Of this, 1.23m tonnes consisted of local food crops—but Mali does not produce enough food for its 7 million people. It was close to self-sufficiency 10 years ago: the 1974-78 development plan looked to achieve it by 1978, but drought prevented it.

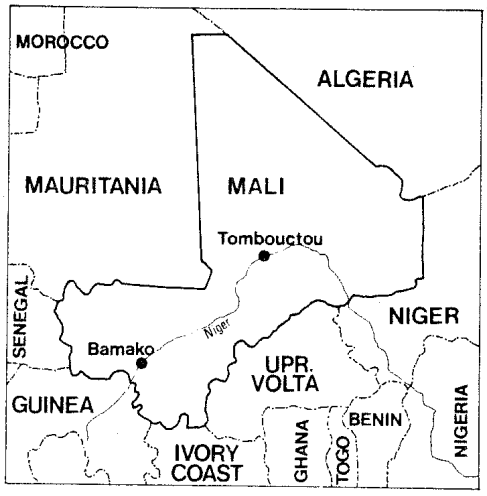
Drought hit Mali badly in 1971. Basic food crops later picked up and were doing well until 1976-77, when another long drought hit 1978-82 food output. Mali was obliged to import grain and accept international food relief.

Millet, sorghum, maize, rice, "fonio", and wheat are the country's main grain products. The first three, which depend on a high annual rainfall, are the staple foods: in 1979, some 1.54m hectares yielded 1.01m tonnes of them in total, of which only 26,000 tonnes were marketed because of low prices offered to producers.

Malian government policies have not, it seems, encouraged higher grain output until recently. Drying, threshing, stocking and other primary operations are still done manually, although mechanical grinding is said to have begun. Losses incurred in the traditional treatment of cereals mean that the flour produced is only 60-65 per cent of possible yield. Also, because of the high water content, flour does not keep longer than three days—and its production is time-consuming.

In commercial farming, cotton is the most important crop. It is grown on 123,000 hectares around the capital, Bamako, and in the Sikasso area. In 1979, raw cotton output was 151,000 tonnes, which yielded 56,700 tonnes of fibre cotton and 80 tonnes of seed cotton. Only 10 per cent of the fibre cotton produced is used locally, by cottage industry and two public companies (who produce textiles under-capacity). The rest of the fibre cotton is exported to Common Market countries, China and Japan.

Peanuts were once the second biggest export. But since 1978, in the wake of drought and lower prices paid to farmers, the area given over to peanut growing fell, as did export levels. In 1979, some 172,000 hectares yielded 118,000 tonnes of peanuts, only 36,000 tonnes of which were marketed. The rest is treated locally to make peanut oil.



Sugar cane has been cultivated on an industrial scale in Mali for the past 15 years or so. With an area of 300 hectares reserved for this crop, 1978 production was 213,000 tonnes of canes, which yielded 18,000 tonnes of sugar, 7,300 tonnes of molasses and 1,300 hectolitres of alcohol. Sugar production does not even cover domestic needs, and the 1981-85 plan does not provide for an increase on the 1981 output of 225,000 tonnes.

Mali also produces mangoes (30,000 tonnes annually), citrus fruits (6,000 tonnes) and gum arabic (nearly 4,000 tonnes), as well as haricot beans and green peppers (total 1980 production, 2,500 tonnes). Some of all these crops, except the mangoes, are exported to Western Europe. Mali also grows 25,000 tonnes of onions annually, but because of lack of preservation facilities it has to import more from Holland and Belgium. Some kapok (15,000 tonnes per year) and tamarinds are produced, but little is exported.

Malian agriculture has mainly suffered from a lack of modern equipment and from inappropriate agrarian policies. The lack of storage and conservation systems causes much wastage; the absence of incentives to farmers hampers marketing and encourages speculation. Moreover, most equipment is animal-drawn: between 1977 and 1979, the total number of tractors available, according to the agricultural ministry, rose from 30 to 57, while the number of animal-drawn ploughs went up from 11,548, to 11,980.

However, the current five-year plan hopes to achieve self-sufficiency in basic food grains by 1985. Within the plan period, millet, maize and sorghum production is expected to rise from 950,000 to 1.5m tonnes, rice from 205,000 to 353,000 tonnes, and wheat from 1,800 to 10,000 tonnes.

The Unido survey cited above suggests that, to increase agricultural production, there should be better prices for farmers and a curtailment of the monopoly of the state marketing organisation, Opam, to encourage them to sell. The survey also recommends that an agricultural bank be created to help farmers.

Self-sufficiency in commercial farming is also planned, with substantial increases in peanuts, seed cotton, tobacco and tea envisaged by 1985. The plan sets the following production targets (1981 figures in brackets): seed cotton 160,000 tonnes (135,000); peanuts 184,000 tonnes (110,000); tobacco 1,100 tonnes (800); and tea 196 tonnes (144). Sugar cane production is to be maintained at the 1981 level of 225,000 tonnes.

Livestock and fishing are another important resource for the Malian economy. Before the severe damage of the 1971 drought, Mali was thought to have the largest herds in francophone West Africa. The 1978 estimates put the total number of cattle at around 4.25m head, and sheep at 12.2m. Livestock contributes around 25 per cent of GDP and is an important source of foreign exchange—particularly since the price rise. However, current export volume is less than half pre-1971 levels.

Most of the leather produced (14,000 tonnes in 1978) is treated locally for the national market, with only a small quantity exported. Daily milk production was 10,000 litres in 1978; 1,674 tonnes of butter were produced that year.

River fishing, mainly in the Niger, involves around 200,000 people and netted 102,000 tonnes in 1970. Drought saw this down to 70,000 tonnes in 1978, and exports to neighbouring countries fell from 2,400 tonnes in 1975 to 1,100 tonnes in 1978. There is no fishing industry as such, except for a small freezing factory at Mopti, and large quantities of small fish are thrown away every year because they cannot apparently be sold. Yet the abundance of certain types of fish could support industries in areas such as fish oil, hydrosoluble products and canned fish.

Mali also has substantial proven mineral resources, partly exploited by state-run companies. Other deposits are worked in a very primitive way, and much of Mali's mineral wealth remains untapped.

Salt extraction in the north produces only 3,000 tonnes per year, but salt reserves are put at 50m tonnes. Reserves of phosphate, used in the manufacture of fertilisers (the use of which has not greatly increased between 1979 and 1982), are apparently low now, but a state organisation is currently prospecting for more in four separate areas.

Gold reserves are put at 41 tonnes. The metal is found in Kalana, Kadieran and in a number of rivers. A national company, Sonarem, works the big Kalana mine, whose reserves are 30 tonnes. This mine's annual production used to vary between 400kg and one tonne, but shot up to nearly two tonnes in 1981 with Soviet help. Gold is also mined illegally and sold in neighbouring countries. Sonarem is seeking finance to exploit the remaining alluvial and mine gold.

There are also vast untapped reserves of iron, estimated at 500m tonnes, mainly in the west. Studies on the best way to exploit and process the ore are going on. The Bafing-

(5·19), s. 61–62, 1983 (England)

Mali

أبو بكر الثاني

(... هـ/... م - 738 هـ/1337م)

هو أبو بكر الثّاني، سلطان مملكة مالي الإسلاميّة، الّتي ظهرت في السّودان الغربي بعد التّفكّك السّياسي الّذي أصاب دولة غانة الإسلاميّة في النّصف الأوّل من القرن 7 هـ / 13 م [ابن خلدون، العبر، ج6، ص 200]. وبلغت هذه الأمبراطوريّة أوج ازدهارها وقوّتها في القرن 8 هـ/ 14م، لاسيّما في عهد ملكها منسا موسى بن أبي بكر الثّاني. وفي عهد والده أبي بكر (ت738هـ/ 1337م المذكور، تمّت محاولتان لاستكشاف المحيط الأطلسي. ومعلوماتنا عن هاتين المحاولتين جاءتنا من رواية السّلطان منسا موسى الّتي ينقلها العُمري عن الأمير أبي الحسن علي بن أمير حاجب والي مصر الّذي اجتمع بالسّلطان موسى عندما زار مصر سنة 724 هـ / 1324 م في طريقه إلى الحجّ. وهي الرّواية الوحيدة عن الموضوع، والّتي ينقلها أيضا القلقشندي عن العُمري، وهذا نصّ الرّواية: «قال ابن أمير حاجب: سألت السّلطان موسى، كيف انتقلت إليه المملكة، فقال: نحن أهل بيت نتوارث الملك، وكان الّذي قبلي لا يصدّق أنّ البحر المحيط لا يمكن الوقوف على آخره، وأحبّ الوقوف على هذا وولع به، فجهّز مائتيْ مركب مملوءة بالرّجال وأمثالها مملوءة بالذّهب والماء والزّاد ما يكفيهم سنين. وقال للمسافرين فيها: لا ترجعوا حتّى تبلغوا نهايته وتنفذ أزوادكم وماؤكم، فساروا وطالت مدّة غيبتهم لا يرجع منهم أحد حتّى مضت مدّة طويلة، ثمّ عاد مركب واحد منها، فسألنا كبيرهم عمّا كان من أمرهم وخبرهم فقال: تعلم أيّها السّلطان، أنّا سرنا زمانا طويلا حتّى عرض في لجة البحر واد له جرية قويّة، وكنت آخر تلك المراكب فأمّا تلك المراكب فإنّها تقدّمت، فلمّا صارت في ذلك المكان ما عادت ولا بانت ولاعرفنا ما جرى لها، وأمّا أنا فرجعت من مكاني ولم أدخل ذلك الوادي. قال: فأنكر عليه. قال: ثمّ إنّ ذلك السّلطان أعدّ ألفي مركب: ألفًا له ولرجال استصحبهم معه، وألفًا للزّاد والماء، ثمّ استخلفني وركب بمن معه في البحر المحيط وسافر فيه وكان آخر العهد به وبجميع من معه واستقلّ لي الملك» [العُمري، مسالك الأبصار، ص 69-70؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ج. 5، ص 294-295]. وقد التبس موعد هذه المغامرة على بعض المؤرّخين المحدّثين، فحدّده عبد القادر زبدية: بالفترة الّتي تلت عهد السّلطان منسا موسى بينما يؤكّد المؤرّخ الفرنسي بيار كرناك، في دراسة قيّمة نشرها مؤخّرا بعنوان «كولُمْبُس على خطى الزّنوج» أنّ أولى وأهمّ رحلات الاستكشاف الّتي وطئت الأرض الأمريكيّة قبل كولمبوس كانت رحلة السّلطان المالي أبو بكر الثّاني، وذلك ما بين العامين 1290 م و1300 م. ولكنّ الثّابت، كما يذكر ابن خلدون [ابن خلدون، العبر، ج 6، ص 200]، أنّ والد السّلطان منسا موسى، هو أبو بكر الثّاني وفي

موسوعة أعلام العلماء و الأد باء العرب المسلمين, مج 1,
بيروت 1425/2004. ص.212-218. ISAM 141531

شمس‌الدین ابراهیم»، *فرهنگ ایران زمین*، تهران، ۱۳۳۳ش، ج ۲؛ مقدسی، محمد، *احسن التقاسیم*، به کوشش دخویه، لیدن، ۱۹۰۶م؛ وزیری کرمانی، احمدعلی، *جغرافیای کرمان*، به کوشش باستانی پاریزی، تهران، ۱۳۵۳ش؛ وصاف، *تاریخ*، به کوشش محمدمهدی اصفهانی، بمبئی، ۱۲۶۹ق؛ یاقوت، *بلدان*؛ یعقوبی، احمد، «البلدان»، همراه *الاعلاق النفیسهٔ* ابن رسته، به کوشش دخویه، لیدن، ۱۸۹۱م؛ تحقیقات میدانی مؤلف؛ نیز:

Sykes, P.M., *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, New York, 1902.

حسین طیاری

بَماکو، پایتخت کشور مالی و استانی به همین نام.

شهر بماکو در افریقای باختری در کنار رودخانهٔ نیجر و در ۸° طول شرقی و ۱۲° و ۳۹′ عرض شمالی واقع است و گسترهٔ استان بماکو ۱۰۰′ ۹۰ کم۲ است (*بریتانیکا*، میکرو، I/775، ماکرو، XI/382).

جمعیت شهر بماکو که در اواخر سدهٔ ۱۹م چند صد نفر بود، در ۱۲۹۷ش/۱۹۱۸م، به ۱۵ هزار و در ۱۳۴۵ش/۱۹۶۶م به ۱۵۰هزار نفر افزایش یافت (نک: رکلو، XII/552؛ کوک، ۲۱۹). طبق سرشماری ۱۹۶۰م، ۹۶٪ از جمعیت بماکو مسلمان بودند (همو، ۲۲۵). جمعیت این شهر در اواخر سدهٔ ۲۰م به حدود نیم‌میلیون رسید و جمعیت استان نیز بیش از یک‌میلیون نفر بود (نک: مراد، ۷۲۹؛ *بریتانیکا*، ماکرو، همانجا).

گفته می‌شود که بماکو در گذشته شهری پرجمعیت و مرکز مهم بازرگانی بوده (رکلو، همانجا)، و در سدهٔ ۶ق/۱۲م قوم بمباره (ه م) به آنجا مهاجرت کرده است. این منطقه از ۱۵۹۱ تا ۱۶۶۰م در تصرف مراکش بود (کُرنون، روبر، II/238, 240؛ رکلو، همانجا). انتشار و قبول اسلام در بماکو به رغم ورود آن از سدهٔ ۷ق/۱۳م به مناطقی از مالی که مجاور سودان و مغرب بود (نک: ابن‌خلدون، ۱۰۴/۱، ۴۹۶/۵)، به علت مقاومت حکومتهای بمباره، در سدهٔ ۱۳ق/۱۹م تحقق یافت (نک: اُلیور و فیج، 153ـ157).

در اواخر سدهٔ ۱۹م هنگامی که فرانسویان به ناحیهٔ بماکو رسیدند، بر اثر مقاومت دولت بمباره در برابر مهاجمان، جز شمار اندکی کلبهٔ مسکونی و بسیاری خانه‌های متروکه و مخروبه چیزی از آن باقی نمانده بود (نک: کرنون، روبر، نیز رکلو، همانجاها). در همین سالها بماکو به عنوان مرکز عملیات فرانسویها در طول رودخانهٔ نیجر تعیین شد (همانجا) و آنها در همین راستا احداث خط آهن کیز[1] ـ بماکو را در ۱۸۸۱م آغاز کردند (کرنون، روبر و ماریان، I/284). در ۱۸۸۲م در حالی که نیروهای فرانسوی قصد حمله به شهر بماکو را داشتند، تب زرد در آنجا شیوع یافت و مانع اجرای برنامهٔ آنها شد، اما در اوایل سال ۱۸۸۳م شهر را تسخیر کردند؛ با این‌همه، مقاومت در برابر فرانسویان تا ۱۸۹۸م ادامه یافت (نک: اُلیور و آتمُر، 115؛ پرسن، I/266؛ کرنون، روبر، II/551؛ همو و ماریان، I/284). فرانسویها پس از اشغال بماکو این شهر را مرکز تجارت برده قرار دادند و برنامهٔ تسخیر دیگر سرزمینها را از آنجا پی گرفتند (کرنون، روبر، II/565). در ۱۹۰۸م بماکو مرکز مستعمرهٔ سودان فرانسه شد (*بریتانیکا*، میکرو، I/775).

این شهر در اواخر دوران استعمار، محل نشست احزاب و گروههای آزادی خواه کشورهای افریقای غربی و استوایی بود و حزب اتحاد دموکراتیک افریقا که در ۱۹۴۶م به وجود آمد، در سالیان بعد سراسر افریقای زیر اشغال فرانسه را به جنبش ضد استعمار کشاند (مزروعی، ۹۴؛ دیویدسن، ۵۳۰).

بماکو یک بار دیگر در ۱۹۵۷م شاهد اجلاس مهم احزاب و گروههای ضداستعماری بود (نک: پیک، 251). در ۲۵ نوامبر ۱۹۵۸ مجمع نمایندگان سرزمینهای ماوراء بحار فرانسه، موجودیت جمهوری سنگال را اعلام کرد که همراه با جمهوری سودان (بماکو) فدراسیون موقت مالی را تشکیل داد. اما این فدراسیون به ابتکار سنگال در ۱۹۶۰م منحل گردید (کوک، ۱۶۲ـ۱۶۳). در ۱۹۶۳م مذاکرات صلح الجزایر ـ مراکش در بماکو برگذار شد (باربر، 18).

مردم بماکو امروزه از فرهنگ اسلامی بسیار پیشرفته‌ای برخوردارند (لوزینگر، 40). طریقه‌های مذهبی مختلف از جمله مریدیه و مریدان شیخ توره از پیروان شیخ عبده مراکزی در بماکو دارند (کوک، ۱۵۱، ۱۷۵).

استان بماکو در بخش نسبتاً سرسبز مالی قرار دارد و مرکز بازرگانی و صنایع غذایی این کشور است (همو، ۲۱۵؛ مراد، ۷۲۹). ابن خلدون (۷۰/۷) بی‌آنکه از بماکو نام ببرد، روایت کرده است که همه ساله کاروانهای بازرگانی بزرگ تا ۱۲ هزار نفر از مشرق به مالی سفر می‌کرده‌اند. در سده‌های اخیر، این شهر را از مراکز مهم تجارت بردگان گزارش کرده‌اند (نک: دیویدسن، 321). ارزش مبادلات بازرگانی بماکو در ۱۸۸۴م حدود ۵میلیون فرانک فرانسه بوده است (رکلو، XII/555). پس از احداث و تکمیل خط آهن (۱۹۰۶م) کیز ـ بماکو (کرنون، روبر و ماریان، I/284) و نیز راه آهن داکار ـ کیز که در ۱۹۲۳م به بهره‌برداری رسید (کوک، ۱۶۲)، راه آهن داکار ـ بماکو به درازای ۱′ ۲۹۰ کم راه اصلی بازرگانی خارجی مالی شد. این خط در ۱۹۶۰م به سبب بروز اختلافات سیاسی با سنگال تعطیل شد، اما در ۱۹۶۳م پس از رفع اختلافات، دوباره به راه افتاد (پیک، 251, 254, 268؛ فوردم، 141) و از همان زمان برنامهٔ ایجاد خط جدید بماکو ـ کانکان پایه‌ریزی شد (همانجا). علاوه بر این، بماکو از طریق رودخانهٔ نیجر با ساحل عاج، گینه و بورکینافاسو (ولتای علیا) مرتبط است (پیک، 254). سیمان و موادنفتی از بماکو در جهت پایین رود نیجر حمل می‌شود و بادام زمینی و برنج از جهت بالای رود به این شهر فرستاده می‌شود تا با راه‌آهن به دیگر نقاط ارسال گردد (*بریتانیکا*، میکرو، همانجا).

میانگین باران سالیانهٔ بماکو ۴۴ اینچ (۱۱۱ سانتی‌متر) است که برای کشاورزی کافی نیست (فوردم، همانجا). تولید صنایع دستی در شهر بماکو بسیار رایج است (*بریتانیکا*، همانجا).

بماکو مرکز دانش و فرهنگ کشور مالی بوده است (نک: «افریقا[2]»، IV/313). سبک مجسمه‌های قدیم یافت شده در بماکو از نظر هنری

1. Kayes 2. *Afrika*

ساده‌تر از نقاط دیگر است (لوزینگر،42). سوند جاتا، بنیادگذار مالی فرزند فرمانروای منطقهٔ جنوب بماکو بود (کرنون، روبر و ماریان، I/162).

مآخذ: ابن‌خلدون، *العبر*، به کوشش خلیل شحاده و سهیل زکار، بیروت، ۱۴۰۱ق/ ۱۹۸۱م؛ دیویدسن، بازیل، *افریقا: تاریخ یک قاره*، ترجمهٔ هرمز ریاحی و فرشته مولوی، تهران، ۱۳۵۸ش؛ کوک، ژ. م.، *مسلمانان افریقا*، ترجمهٔ اسدالله علوی، مشهد، ۱۳۷۳ش؛ مراد، محمدعدنان، *المجتمعات الافریقیة*، دمشق، ۱۹۹۵م؛ مزروعی، علی و مایکل تایدی، *القومیة و الدول الجدیدة فی‌افریقیة*، ترجمهٔ شاکر نصیف لطیف، بغداد، ۱۹۹۰م؛ نیز:

Afrika, ed. H. Schiffers, München etc., 1962; Barbour, N.,« Algeria», *Africa*, ed. C. Legum, London, 1965; *Britannaica*, 1978; Cornevin, R., *Histoire de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1976; id and M. Cornevin, ibid, 1964; Davidson, B., *The African Past*, London, 1967; Fordham, P., *The Geography of African Affairs*, London, 1974; Leuzinger, E., *The Art of Black Africa*, London, 1972; Oliver, R. and A. Atmore, *Africa Since 1800*, Cambridge, 1974; id and J. D. Fage, *A Short History of Africa*, London, 1973; Person, Y.,«Samori», *Les Africains*, Paris, 1977, vol. I; Pick, H.,« Mali», *Africa*, ed. C. Legum, London, 1965; Reclus, E., *Nouvelle géographie universelle*, Paris, 1887.

پرویز امین

بَمْباره، از اقوام سیاه‌پوست مسلمان ساکن در شرق کشور مالی و کرانهٔ رودخانهٔ نیجر علیا. بمباره‌ها از نژاد «مانده» هستند و نام بمباره را که دلالت ضمنی بر کفر آنان دارد، مسلمانان سرزمینهای کرانهٔ رود نیجر، به سبب مقاومت درازمدت این قوم در برابر اسلام بر آنها نهادند (نک: بدوی، ۱۷۹؛ فیج، 189).

گفته می‌شود بمباره‌ها در سدهٔ ۶ق/۱۲م از سرزمین اُدینه در ساحل عاج به محل کنونی کوچ کردند (کرنون، II/240). آنان ابتدا با اطاعت از امپراتوری مالی، در باختر شهر تمبوکتو (هم) می‌زیستند (دیویدسن، ۴۲۲؛ حسن، ۸۹)، اما اوایل سدهٔ ۱۱ق/۱۷م زیستگاههایی در کنارهٔ رودخانهٔ نیجر ساختند و با از میان رفتن امپراتوری مالی و پایان گرفتن سلطهٔ مراکش در منطقه از نیمهٔ همان سده در کسب استقلال کوشیدند و یکی از رؤسای آنها به نام کالادین کولوبالی، حکومتی امپراتوری به شیوهٔ قدیم برپا کرد و سلطهٔ خود را در سمت جنوب بر کشور کهن ماندینگ گستراند (همانجاها؛ کرنون، I/223).

فرمانروای دیگر بمباره به نام بیتون کولوبالی (۱۱۲۴ـ ۱۱۶۸ق/ ۱۷۱۲ـ ۱۷۵۵م) اقتدار قوم خود را به اوج رساند. او سپاهی جانباز فراهم ساخت و سرزمین خود را به ۶۰ ایالت تقسیم کرد و کشاورزی را رونق بخشید (همانجا)؛ اما انحصارطلبی وی سبب شد بخشی از بمباره‌ها در ۱۷۵۳م او را ترک گویند و دولت بمبارهٔ کاآرتا را تشکیل دهند (دیویدسن، ۴۲۳). به این ترتیب، دو کشور بمباره به نامهای سِگو و کاآرتا شکل گرفت که وسعت آن در حدود یک سوم جنوب شرقی جمهوری مالی کنونی بود و در دو کرانهٔ رودخانهٔ نیجر از شمال شرق بَماکو (هم) پایتخت کنونی مالی تا سرزمین موپتی گسترده بود (کرنون، II/240؛ ER, II/56).

پس از مرگ بیتون کولوبالی چند سال آشفتگی بر سرزمین بمباره حاکم شد، تا در ۱۱۸۰ق/۱۷۶۶م که فرمانروایی مقتدر به نام نگولودیارا، به آشفتگی پایان داد و تا ۱۷۹۵م بر سرزمین بمباره حکم راند (همان، نیز دیویدسن، همانجاها؛ کوک، ۲۲۲). در این زمان دولت بمباره بر سنگال علیا و نیجریه تسلط داشت (کرنون، I/223). سگو پایتخت بمباره در این دوران با خانه‌های بسیار زیبا و کرجیهای بسیار روی رودخانه و کشتزارهای سرسبز چشم‌اندازی از تمدن و شکوه این قوم را نمایان می‌ساخت (دیویدسن، همانجا).

در اوایل سدهٔ ۱۳ق/۱۹م مسلمانان سرزمینهای اسلامی همسایه برضد بمباره‌های غیرمسلمان اعلان جهاد کردند و احمدو لوبو پرچم اسلام را در شهرهای بمباره برافراشت و شهرهای سگو، کاآرتا و مَسینا تا هنگام مرگ احمدو لوبو در ۱۲۶۰ق/۱۸۴۴م دردست مسلمانان بود (بدوی، ۱۸۱ـ۱۸۲؛ حسن، همانجا). در ۱۲۶۴ق/۱۸۴۸م حاج عمر بار دیگر برضد بمباره اعلام جهاد کرد و در ۱۸۵۴م بر کاآرتا و در ۱۸۶۱م بر سگو دست یافت (همو، ۹۱). وی فرمانروایان بمباره‌ای را برکنار کرد و حکومت آنجا را به پسر خود سپرد (دیویدسن، ۴۳۳). بدین‌گونه، آخرین پادشاهان بمباره از میان رفتند و حکومت بمباره پس از کشته شدن حاج عمر به پسرش احمدو رسید (نک: اُلیور، 33؛ کرنون، II/253). اما بمباره‌ها با حکومت احمدو به مخالفت برخاستند و به‌ویژه پس از ۱۲۹۸ق/۱۸۸۱م که نیروهای فرانسوی در نزدیکی آنها استقرار یافتند، با احمدو به مبارزه پرداختند (کرنون، همانجا).

فرانسویان در ۱۳۰۸ق/۱۸۹۱م، احمدو را از سگو راندند (همو، I/310). از این پس بمباره‌ها که قرنها در مقابل اسلام ایستاده بودند، به صورتی کامل به اسلام روی آوردند، به گونه‌ای که مبلغان مسیحی که در حدود سال ۱۸۹۰م به نواحی سگو سفر کرده بودند، گواهی دادند که به‌رغم ظواهر اعتقاد به «جاندار پنداری[1]» بیشتر مردم مسلمان بودند (نک: کوک، ۲۲۷؛ تریمینگام، 477).

زبان بمباره‌ای مهم‌ترین شاخهٔ گروه قومی زبانی ماندینگ است. این زبان موسوم به بامانا زبان مشترک بخش بزرگی از غرب افریقای غربی است و به تدریج بر سایر شاخه‌های گروه مزبور برتری یافت (نک: *بریتانیکا*، I/853؛ ER, II/55-56؛ «افریقا[2]»، IV/57؛ کوک، ۲۱۶ـ۲۱۷)، چنان‌که پس از استقلال کشور مالی، زبان بمباره‌ای پس از فرانسوی، زبان رسمی جمهوری مالی شد و ۶۰٪ از مردم این کشور بدان سخن می‌گویند (نک: مراد، ۷۲۸).

جمعیت بمباره در اواخر سدهٔ ۲۰م، ۲/۵ میلیون تن بود (همانجا). گروههایی از این قوم در گینه، سودان، موریتانی و غیرآن زندگی می‌کنند (نک: کوک، ۱۸۹؛ پیک، 256؛ «افریقا»، IV/275). هنگامی که اسلام در سرزمین بمباره‌ها رواج یافت، آنها پیرو آیین جاندار پنداری بودند و به «نگالا[3]»، خداوند یکتا باور داشتند (ER, II/56؛ «افریقا»، IV/313). به‌اعتقاد آنها کلام یا «کومو» نیروی بنیادین در آفرینش مخلوقات است (*تاریخ...*، ۲۴۹/۱). ۲۰٪ جمعیت بمباره آیین جاندار-

1. animism 2. *Afrika.* 3. Ngala

إشارة حديثة تركز فيه على الجانب العلمي وعلى أثر القرآن الكريم في دفع الحركة العلمية عند العرب .

ومنذ الثمانين 1980 ، ظهرت دراسات حديثة حول ما أسمي « أساليب جديدة لاكتشاف القرآن الكريم » ، وهي دراسة تستحق عناية مستقلة ، ولقد رأينا إرجاءها إلى موعد آخر لنقوم بترجمتها إن شاء الله ترجمة كاملة ، وفي هذه الدراسة رؤى جديدة قد تفتح آفاقاً جديدة نحو فهم أفضل لكتاب الله تعالى ، قد تسدل الستار على كل الأغراض المشبوهة وتقطع الطريق على محاولات خنق كلمة الحق في الأرض . . !!!

1987 Tirablus

16 EKIM 1991

Sangay

لمحة تاريخية عن مملكة سنغاي الإسلامية

(1468-1591 م)

الدكتور
قمر الدين محمد فضل الله

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى القاء المزيد من الضوء على الدور البارز الذي قامت به مملكة سنغاي الإسلامية في تبنيها لمظاهر الحضارة العربية الإسلامية التي تجسدت في الكثير من نظمها السياسية والاجتماعية والثقافية ، وبخاصة في عهد أسكيا محمد الكبير (1493-1528 م) . كما تهتم الدراسة بتتبع الجوانب الإيجابية والسلبية التي واكبت حكم خلفاء السلطان المذكور ، كما تتناول - أيضاً - الأسباب الرئيسة التي أدت إلى سقوط هذه المملكة الإسلامية ، على أثر الحملة المراكشية في عام 1591 م .

وبما أن مملكة سنغاي الإسلامية

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SOMNĀTH [see SŪMANĀT].

SONĀRGĀ'ON, Subarnagrāma in Sanskrit, a famous mediaeval capital city and trade centre in eastern Bengal at the juncture of the rivers Lakhkha, Brahmaputra and old Meghna, and about 14 miles south-east of Dhaka and 3 miles east of Narayanganj. Though the city existed in the early 13th century during the time of the Hindu dynasties of Sena and Deva in East Bengal, it started flourishing only during the time of Balbanī rulers in the region (681-746/1282-1345). The city was visited by the famous Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa during 1345-6 in the reign of Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh (739-50/1338-50), who found it very affluent. It continued thriving during later Islamic dynasties of Bengal, namely the Ilyās Shāhī (740-892/1339-1487) and Ḥusayn Shāhī (898-944/1493-1538) dynasties. Towards the end of the 10th/16th century, Sonārgā'on served as the capital for the independent Afghān chieftains—'Īsā Khān and later on his son Mūsā Khān—who resisted Mughal rule until 1611.

From the beginning of Muslim rule, Sonārgā'on was an important educational and cultural centre with a large number of mosques and *madrasa*s. During the reign of Sultan Balban (664-86/1266-87), Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Tawwāma established a prestigious *madrasa* in this city, where Shaykh Yaḥyā Manērī [see MAKHDŪM AL-MULK] of Bihār studied. Shaykh 'Alā' al-Ḥaḳḳ—a famous Ṣūfī saint of Pandu'ā—lived in Sonārgā'on for two years towards the end of the 8th/14th century. His *khānḳāh* attracted many pupils. Epigraphic evidence from the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries records the appellation of Ḥādjdjī for a number of personalities (such as Ḥādjdjī Bābā Ṣālīḥ and Ḥādjdjī Bhāgal Khān), indicating religious links of this region with Arabia (see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *An epigraphical journey to an Eastern Islamic land*, in *Muqarnas*, v/7 [1990], 87-103).

Among its architectural remains is a mosque known as Mughrapara Shāhī Djāmi' Masdjid with an inscription dated 889/1484 (see idem, *Arabic and Persian texts of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal*, Watertown, Mass. 1992, 107-8). Sonārgā'on was an important mint town since the beginning of the 8th/14th century, and was also famous for its fine cotton production known as Muslin. With the shift of Bengal's capital to Dhaka during the Mughal period in the early 11th/17th century, however, Sonārgā'on lost its glory.

Bibliography: M. Saghir Hasan Al-Ma'sumi, *Sunargaon's contribution to Islamic learning*, in *IC* (1953), 8-17; S.M. Hasan, *Sonārgā'on*, Dhaka 1989; R.M. Eaton, *The rise of Islam and the Bengal frontier*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1993.

(MUHAMMAD YUSUF SIDDIQ)

SONGHAY, or Songhai, Sonraï, Sonrhaï, (1) a West African language, (2) a people speaking that language, (3) a West African state in existence from *ca.* 1450 to *ca.* 1600.

1. Language. The Songhay language consists of a cluster of dialects spoken around the Middle Niger from the Inland Delta in the west to the borders of modern Nigeria, Niger and Bénin in the east, with isolated pockets in and around the Hombori mountains south of Timbuktu in the lands of the right bank of the Niger (*gurma*), and around In Gall to the south-west of the Aïr massif in Niger. Down to the late 19th century, a Songhay dialect called Emgedesi was also spoken in Agades. In the northern Saharan oasis of Tabalbala a language is spoken that is Songhay in structure, but largely Arabic and Berber in its lexicon. At the present time the two major dialects are Songhay itself, spoken upstream of Labbezanga and in Dendi, and Djerma or Zerma spoken downstream. Songhay proper is generally considered to have two principal dialects: western and eastern. The western is spoken in Timbuktu, Goundam and the northern Inland Delta, and has absorbed a higher proportion of lexical items of Arabic origin; the eastern is spoken along the banks of the Niger from Arnassey to Labbezanga. The Wogo dialect of Sinder, and Dendi spoken in the far south, are closely related to the eastern dialect. Zerma is spoken in the area between the modern capital of Niamey and Dosso on the borders of the Hausa-speaking lands, and in a broad zone to the north of Niamey. In between are dialects such as Kado and Kourtey.

Linguists have differed on the family affiliation of Songhay-Zerma. For long it defied classification. Then J. Greenberg (*The languages of Africa*, The Hague 1966) grouped it with Nilo-Saharan. More recently, Nicolai has proposed first that it belongs in the Mande family, and more recently still that it is a Tamacheq creole. The term Songhay to refer to the language was in use as early as the beginning of the 16th century, when Leo Africanus noted it as the language of Walāta, Timbuktu, Jenne and Gao (and, implausibly, Mali). But, except in Gao it was, at that time, little more than a language of administration resulting from the incorporation of those areas into an expanded Songhay state from the 1460s. Prior to the expansion of the Songhay state the language was mainly spoken along the banks of the Niger from Gao southwards, but for how long we have no way of telling. The origins of the isolated pockets of Songhay speech are likewise a matter of conjecture, but a plausible hypothesis is that the eastern ones, at any rate, resulted from the activities of Songhay-speaking merchants.

2. People. The name Songhay applied to a people does not appear in the literature until the late 15th century with the "Replies" of al-Maghīlī [*q.v.*]. The name Zerma (and a parallel form, Zaberma) appears even later; there is a single passing reference in an anonymous chronicle of the mid-17th century (see *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, "Deuxième Appendice", 334). Arab writers from the Mediterranean lands of Islam had known of Kawkaw/Gawgaw as the name of a town (Gao [*q.v.*]) and a people, and there is no reason to suppose that these people were not Songhay speakers ancestral to those who inhabited the area in the 16th century and still do today (but see Lange, *Les rois de Gao-Sané et les Almoravides*). A problem remains, however: there is no known etymology for the name Songhay, and the name is scarcely used by speakers of the language to designate themselves (see Olivier de Sardan, *Conceptes et conceptions songhay-zarma*, 340). The *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh* and the *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān* (both mid-17th century) use the term to refer either to the ruling oligarchy (*ahl Sunghay*) or to the region of Gao, or occasionally to the empire as a whole. Although modern anthropological literature has used the term Songhay(-Zarma) in englobing fashion, the people themselves use more particularist terms such as *koyraboro*—villagers; *gaabi* (or *gabibi*)—"black body", cultivators (in Timbuktu especially denoting ex-slaves); *sorko*—fisher folk, boatmen; *gow*—hunters; *Sohance*—descendants of Sunni 'Alī; *Maamar haama*—descendants of Askiya Muḥammad; *arma*—descendants of the Sa'dian invaders of 1591; etc. The Zarma have traditions that would make them immigrants from Mali, but these probably refer only to groups that came from the Inland Delta and established themselves as local chiefs, perhaps at more than one time. In the

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Résumé

L'émergence du Christianisme chez les Diola

Cet article examine l'histoire du Christianisme au sein d'un sous-groupe de la population Diola du Sud sénégalais. Après une critique des théories existantes sur la conversion en Afrique, il analyse le processus d'interaction continu entre les croyances diola traditionnelles et les éléments propres à la foi chrétienne. Il suggère cinq façons de résoudre les tensions entre les aspects anciens at les aspects nouveaux du système de croyance du converti. Ces modèles sont appliqués à l'examen de l'histoire religieuse des Diola-Esulalu, une communauté comptant 15,000 personnes environ, au cours des cent dernières années. Il apparaît que lorsque les tensions entre la foi chrétienne et les croyances traditionnelles deviennent trop fortes, les Esulalu embrassent à nouveau la religion traditionnelle ou s'isolent de la communauté traditionnelle. L'article examine aussi deux voies d'évolution où les croyants diola ont cherché à tirer parti des avantages des deux traditions religieuses de façon à créer un système religieux susceptible de répondre à leurs besoins spirituels.

Africa 60 (3), 1990 (CLONSON)

THE 'COMMUNITY OF HELPERS OF THE SUNNA': ISLAMIC REFORM AMONG THE SONGHAY OF GAO (MALI)

R. W. Niezen

10 ARALIK 1992

I

In recent decades a scripturalist, anti-Sufi interpretation of Islam has made steady gains in several parts of sub-Saharan Africa. For non-reformers who are confronted with this phenomenon it is easy to consider all active reformers as emerging from the same mould, as turning for inspiration and guidance to the same religious sources, differing only in the intensity of their fervour or commitment. The task of a more scholarly approach to 'puritan' Islamic reform, however, is to consider how it is integrated into different social contexts, how it can be used to change or reinforce the social arrangements and institutions of particular groups. This is the general aim of the present article, which considers the social background of factionalism in the emergence of a reform movement among the Songhay of Gao.[1]

Islamic reform in northeast Mali has established itself in a very distinct way. In Gao, the administrative capital of the Gao region, reformers come mainly from three occupational groups: civil servants, artisans and petty merchants. They are loosely organised as a religious community, outwardly egalitarian, and have a relatively tolerant attitude towards the practices of their more traditional neighbours. In contrast, a more radical group of reformers based in the surrounding Songhay villages is marked by a venerated religious leadership which dominates community life and by an intolerant approach to religious change and the 'unacceptable' practices of others. This latter approach to change has led to bitterness and violence in the villages, especially where it has found its source in the reformists' uncompromising interpretation of Islam and the consequent divisions of villages and families along religious lines.

The reform movement of Gao presents us with a compelling analytical problem. Most writers who have considered Islam in Africa from a broad perspective have concluded, and not without justification, that the Muslim faith flourishes principally in towns and amongst nomadic tribes, while agricultural societies either resist Islam completely or adopt it only superficially, giving equal or greater attention to traditional practices. According to Trimingham, for example, 'the farmer's religion harmonizes exactly with the interests of his daily life. Islam has no natural substitute for this integrated structure and is only adopted voluntarily after a religious vacuum has been created' (1959: 25). Lewis (1966) presents a more considered view and questions the validity of a distinction between politically centralised and decentralised societies in terms of their acceptance or rejection of Islam. Nevertheless, he makes it clear that the rulers of centralised or nearly centralised states are the key to understanding the history of Muslim penetration and that, at the same time, there is 'a marked lack of response to Muslim influence evinced by uncentralized agricultural tribes in the interior

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عنوان به لاتین:

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حاوی فهرست تعداد زیادی از کتیبه‌های عربی-اسلامی قرون ۱۱ تا ۱۵ از جمهوری مالی است. مواد و محتوای این کتیبه‌ها و داده‌های تاریخی برگرفته از آن خصوصا ورود اسلام به غرب آفریقا مورد تحلیل قرار گرفته است. موریس قاریاس از این سرمایه غنی برای تفسیر دوباره تاریخ ایام غرب آفریقا و تاریخ شفاهی استفاده کرده و به تبیین رشته وسیعی از برون داده‌های زبانی و ادبی پرداخته و با این اثر به مباحثات رایج در باب ماهیت اسناد کتیبه‌ای یاری نموده است.

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THE PLANTING AND DIFFUSION OF ISLAM IN AFRICA- SOUTH OF SAHARA

BY

DR. A. RAHMAN I. DOI

11

ابن بطوطة ورحلاته

تحقيق ودراسة وتحليل

Sudan (224-229)

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
Kütüphanesi
İslâm Ansiklopedisi

تأليف

د. حسين مؤنس

أستاذ التاريخ الإسلامى
كلية الآداب – جامعة القاهرة

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دار المعارف

٤٢

الرحلة السودانية

تعتبر رحلة ابن بطوطة الأخيرة ، وكانت وجهتها السودان الأطلسى – من أمتع رحلاته وأكثرها فائدة ودقة ، وقد اهتم بدراستها والتعليق عليها نفر من العلماء الإنجليز والفرنسيين فى القرن الماضى وأوائل هذا القرن ، ولكن معلوماتنا عن أفريقية المدارية والاستوائية الإسلامية قد اتسعت الآن ، فأصبحنا أقدر على تحقيق نص ابن بطوطة وأعرف بقدره العلمى[1] .

وأول بلد نزله ابن بطوطة من السودان الأطلسى كان سجلماسة ، وكانت فى ذلك الحين من أكبر المراكز التجارية على الحدود الجنوبية للمغرب ، ومنها كانت القوافل تدخل صحراء الرمال وتقضى شهراً حتى تصل إلى أُودَغَشْت ، وهى أول سوق تجارية كبيرة يلقاها المسافر من المغرب الأقصى إلى أفريقية الغربية المدارية .

ولسجلماسة تاريخ طويل فى حولياتنا الإسلامية ، ولكنها تدهورت اليوم ، وأطلالها اليوم على مجرى وادى زيز على نحو ثمانية كيلو مترات من تافلالت الحالية ، وهو يعجب بتمورها بصورة خاصة ويقول : إنها أحسن من تمور البصرة ، ثم يقول : «ونزلت بها عند الفقيه محمد البشرى ، وهو الذى لقيت أخاه بمدينة قنجنفو من بلاد الصين ،

(١) انظر :
W.D.Coaleg. The Negroeland Of The Arabs London 1841.
وهو كتاب قديم فيه أخطاء كثيرة ، ولابد من الحذر عند استعماله .
De slane, Le voyage d'lbn Battuta au Sudan Journal Asiatique Mars 1843.
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ويتضمن بين محتوياته ترجمة فرنسية ودراسة لرحلة ابن بطوطة هذه جـ ٢ ص ١٩٤ – ٢٠٣ .
J. Marquart, Die Benin-Samm lung in Leiden. Leiden 1913.
Pierre Bertaux, L'Afrique de la Prehistoire a l'époque contemporaine Collection Bordas. Paris 1973.

فيا شد ما تباعدا ! فأكرمنى غاية الإكرام ، واشتريت بها الجمال ، وعلفتها أربعة أشهر» (ص ٦٥٨) .

وفى الأول من المحرم ٧٥٣ هـ/١٨ فبراير ١٣٥٢ م دخل ابن بطوطة الصحراء فى رفقة مُقَدمها أبو محمد يندكان المسوفى ، فوصلنا بعد خمسة وعشرين يوماً إلى تغازى ، يقول : «وهى قرية لا خير فيها . ومن عجائبها أن بناء بيوتها ومسجدها من حجارة الملح ، وسقفها من جلود الجمال ، ولا شجر بها إنما هى رمل فيه معدن الملح ، يحفر عليه فى الأرض فيوجد منه ألواح ضخام ، متراكبة كأنها قد نحتت ووضعت تحت الأرض ، يحمل الجمل منها لوحين .

ولايسكنها إلا عبيد مسوفة الذين يحفرون على الملح ويتعيشون بما يجلب إليهم من تمر دِرْعَة وسجلماسة ، ومن لحوم الجمال ومن أُنْثى المجلوب من بلاد السودان ، ويصل السودان من بلادهم فيحملون منها الملح ، ويباع الحمل منه بأيولاتان[1] بعشرة مثاقيل إلى ثمانية ، وبمدينة مالى بثلاثين مثقالاً إلى عشرين ، وربما انتهى إلى أربعين مثقالاً » ص (٦٥٨) .

وتَغَازَى التى يشير إليها مازالت باقية إلى اليوم ، وهى إلى الشمال الغربى من تاوديني ، وقد أخطأ ابن بطوطة عندما قال : إنها قرية لاخير فيها ، لأن الملح فى تلك الأعصر كان مادة اقتصادية عظيمة القيمة ، فقد كان الناس يتناولون منه مقادير كبيرة فى كل بلاد أفريقية المدارية والاستوائية ، لأنه يحفظ الماء فى الجسم ، فلا يبخر كله نتيجة الحر الشديد وكذلك الحال بالنسبة للحيوان ، فكان الناس يقبلون عليه ويدفعون فيه الثمن الغالى ، وعلى موارد الملح وتبر الأنهار قامت ثروات الدول الإسلامية التى نشأت هناك وأهمها مالى وغانة وصُنْغَى .

أما عبيد مسُوفة الذين لقيهم فى تغازى فهم بقايا قبيلة مسوفة العظيمة التى أقامت مع أخواتها لمتونة وجزولة وغيرها من صنهاجة الجيل الثانى دولة المرابطين ، وقد استهلك المسوفيون أنفسهم فى إقامة الدولة المرابطية وفى حروبها فى المغرب والأندلس ..

ومن كلام ابن بطوطة نفهم أن بقايا المسوفيين هؤلاء كانوا يعمرون الصحراء من

(١) تكتب أيضاً أيوالاتن .

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According to *al-Fish tali*, the same ambassador was on his way to Morocco for the third time when death over took him, but the rest of the delegation succeeded in reaching Morocco. [39] Although there is no any concrete evidence to support that Mai Idris Aloma had paid the *Bay'a* to Morocco as documented by the Sharifian ruler; what appears to be clear was that by the end of the sixteenth century, Borno had taken its proper place as an independent Muslim entity, fostering good relationships with other Muslim politicies to the North and the East.

Conclusion

A humble attempt has been made in this paper to survey certain historical developments in the Central Bilad al-Sudan in respect of introduction and consolidation of Islam in Kanem-Borno and Hausa land. The paper had also examined both the role of the rulers and *Ulama* in the spread of Islam and the promotion of Islamic learning. A significant point which the paper attempted to highlight was the peaceful nature in which Islam had spread in these areas. The other important point was the complete harmony which existed between the rulers and the Ulama in their endeavor to promote the Islamic teachings and ideals. Finally, the paper had attempted to prove that at that time, cordial relations had existed between Borno on one hand and other sister countries such as Turkey, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Tripolitania.

-Songay-

39 *Ibid*

LA PENETRATION DE L'ISLAM EN AFRIQUE ET LES ROLES JOUES PAR LES EMPIRES POUR SON DEVELOPMENT

BABACAR CISSÉ

INTRODUCTION

Lors de la naissance de l`Islam, ce qui a été ordonné au prophète Muhammad (PSL), c'était d'abord de commencer par les proches parents.

Dieu qui savait qu'il allait avoir des problèmes le lui a dit dans ces termes : "Et avertis les gens qui te sont les plus proches" [1]

Chose qu'il a faite, mais qui lui a coûté très chère car en effet, c'est à partir de ce moment qu'il a vu une bonne partie de ses parents qui commencèrent non seulement à lui dire que ce qu'il disait n'était pas vrai mais bien plus, ils l'insultaient et ont voulu le tuer.

C'est à partir de ce moment, qu'il va quitter La Mecque pour aller à Médine. Parce qu'il savait déjà qu'il n'était pas envoyé seulement vers les Mécquois. Dieu lui avait déjà fait savoir que La Mecque n'etait qu'un début. C'est ainsi qu'Il lui dira dans le Coran dès la période mécquoise "Nous ne t'avons envoyé qu'en miséricorde pour l'univers"[2]

Comme le Prophète savait que la tâche qui l'attendait était difficile à cause du fait déjà qu'à La Mecque l'aristocratie avait l'habitude de la belle vie et leurs mondanités considérables. C'est l'époque des concours autour du vin et de la poésie. Mais quelle poésie? La poésie bien sûr la femme et le vin.

Au niveau des croyances, ils ont leurs Dieux que sont "Lât", "Uzâ" et "Manât".

Les enlever de ces habitudes était une tâche difficile. Et, comme le prophète le savait.. Il a préféré faire d'une pierre deux coups : aller à Médine d'abord pour éviter les insultes et les attaques contre le peu de Musulmans qu'il avait avec lui, mais aussi pour mieux se préparer. Ce qui fait que lorsqu'il a estimé que le

1 Sourate des poète, verset -213
2 Sourate des prophètes, verset -106.

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٩١

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دولة سنغي الإسلامية

المطلب الأول : تطورها التاريخي

حول منتصف القرن السابع الميلادي بدأت بعض قبائل لمطة المغربية الوثنية تحرز نفوذا سياسيا على الزراع من سنغي الذين استقروا على الضفة اليسرى لنهر النيجر عند مدينة دندي. واستطاع هؤلاء البربر أن يؤسسوا أسرة حاكمة تسمى أسرة (ديا)، التي ظلت تحكم هذه البلاد حتى سنة ٧٢٦هـ/ ١٣٢٥م. وقد اتخذوا «كوكيا» حاضرة لهم. ولا يعرف موقعها بالضبط، وإنما يمكن أن يقال إنها تقع في المنطقة الشمالية الغربية من حدود نيجريا الحالية. وقد قدر لشعب هذه الدويلة أن يؤدي نفس الدور الذي أداه شعب الماندنجو، وأن يؤسس دولة تشبه الدولة السابقة في كثير من مظاهر قيامها ثم توسعها ثم انحدارها؛ وتشبهها أيضا في مشاركتها في الحياة الإسلامية العامة. وقد نمت علاقات هذه البلاد التجارية مع غانا وتونس وبرقة ومصر عن طريق «تادمكة» (أي مكة الجديدة) التي تعد مركزا مهما لطرق القوافل. وكانت هذه العلاقات التجارية ذات أثر بعيد في تحول ملوك هذه البلاد إلى الإسلام في القرن الحادي عشر الميلادي عن طريق شمالي إفريقية، وإن كان كثير من رعاياهم ظلوا على وثنيتهم. وفي ذلك الوقت نقلت حاضرة هذه البلاد فغدت على مقربة من طرق القوافل الرئيس، إلى مدينة «جو» عند منحنى نهر النيجر، وقد أصبحت من أهم مراكز التجارة في السودان الغربي، وهي تشبه مدينة غانا بالنسبة إلى البلاد الواقعة في أعالي النيجر.(١)

(١) انظر: الدكتور حسن إبراهيم: انتشار الإسلام، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص١٠٩.

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Senegal is a Sudanic extension of Moorish maraboutism in the south-western Sahara. This might be explained, among other reasons, by the fact that in the western Sahara there were continuous human contacts across the desert from southern Morocco to the Senegal river.

Wār Jābī died in 1040/1, that is about the time ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn came to the desert. His conversion must therefore have been before the rise of the Almoravid movement. There had perhaps been zealous preachers among the Ṣanhāja before the arrival of Ibn Yāsīn. The Lamtūna chief Muḥammad Tārashnā is described as 'a pious man of virtue, who performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and led the jihad'. Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm of the Juddāla and his predecessors were also probably committed to Islam. It seems likely that it was as a result of contacts with the Juddāla that a militant preacher converted Wār Jābī. The Blacks of Takrur seem to have accepted this Islamic teaching with greater commitment than their Ṣanhāja neighbours. Indeed, when ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn was expelled from among the Juddāla 'he wanted to leave them and go to the land of the Sūdān who had adopted Islam'.[1]

Ibn Yāsīn contracted an alliance with Takrur, the king of which, Labī son of Wār-Jābī, was with Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar in the battle against the rebellious Juddāla in 1056. As allies of the victorious Almoravids, Takrur probably extended its influence up the Senegal river; this may be inferred from the twelfth-century account of al-Idrīsī. Takrur thus came to challenge the exclusive control of the trade with Bambouk which Ghana had enjoyed in the middle of the eleventh century.

The oral traditions of Futa Toro, as recorded in Arabic by Siré Abbas Soh, offer a different view of the history of the region of Takrur. According to these traditions, the first dynasty of Futa Toro was that of the Dyaʿogo, who are said to have been of white origin, and who therefore could have been Berber nomads who had infiltrated into the lower Senegal valley. Perhaps the interaction and the intermarriage between these pastoralists and the sedentary Tukolor (*Takārīr*, i.e. 'people of Takrur') gave rise to the Fulani, the ubiquitous herdsmen of modern West Africa, who speak the language of the Tukolor.

We do not know for how long the Dyaʿogo had reigned before they were overthrown by a black dynasty, known to the traditionalists as the Manna. Was al-Bakrī's Wār Jābī a member of this dynasty? Perhaps, if any conflation of the oral traditions with the contemporary evidence is to make sense. Contact with pastoralists, the process of state-building, and the spread of Islam brought about the differentiation of the

[1] Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ*, 78.

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Tukolor from their southern neighbours, the Wolof. Among the latter, state-building began in the thirteenth century and the conversion to Islam was a slower process.

GAO AND THE SONGHAY

Songhay, the last of the great empires of the western Sudan, was in its origins a contemporary of Ghana. Under the name of Kawkaw (which could cover the name of both the ancient capital Kukiya and of the later one, Gao), the kingdom of Songhay was mentioned together with Ghana by al-Khwarizmī in the first half of the ninth century. By then Kawkaw must have become a kingdom of some importance for its name to have reached the caliph's court in Baghdad. There had been commercial relations between Gao and Tahert in the central Maghrib since the end of the eighth century. Towards the end of the reign of the second *imām* of Tahert, ʿAbd al-Ẉahhāb (784/5–823/4), the *imām*'s son al-Aflaḥ, is said to have prepared for the journey to Jawjaw (another way of writing Kawkaw in Arabic script), but had to give it up by order of his father.

In 872 al-Yaʿqūbī considered the kingdom of Kawkaw to be

> the greatest of all the realms of the Sūdān, the most important and powerful . . . There are a number of kingdoms whose rulers pay allegiance to the king of Kawkaw and acknowledge his sovereignty, although they are kings in their own lands.[1]

About a century later, the Egyptian geographer al-Muhallabī described, for the first time, a Sudanic town divided by the 'Nile' (i.e. the Niger). Kawkaw was composed of two towns. On the eastern bank of the river (towards the desert) was the town called Sarnāh (perhaps the present site known as Sané), 'where there are markets and trading houses and to which there is continuous traffic from all parts'. There was another town on the west bank, 'where [the king] and his men and those who have his confidence live'.[2]

According to the historical traditions of the Songhay, their ancient capital was at Kukiya, just north of the Falls of Labezanga (the present frontier between the republics of Mali and Niger). But with the introduction of the Songhay into the trans-Saharan trade, the new town of Gao developed north of Kukiya as the terminus of the Saharan tracks. Some time after the establishment of the commercial quarter of Gao on

[1] al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 220. [2] Quoted in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 329.

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THE *ARMA*, SONGHAY AND TUAREG

The bravest opposition to the Moroccans was exhibited by the independent *askiyas* of Songhay. Following his defeat at Tondibi in March 1591, the last ruler of the Songhay empire, Askiya Isḥāq, retreated across the Niger river. The peace negotiations with Jūdār allowed him some respite, which lasted until the rejection of any compromise by the Moroccan sultan and the arrival of the new pasha, Maḥmūd b. Zarqūn, who was determined to crush Songhay completely. In October 1591, Askiyā Isḥāq was defeated by the pasha Maḥmūd, and retreated to Dendi, the area of the Niger valley south of Kukiya and Tillabery.

Internal disputes within the Songhay royal family, which had undermined the empire before the invasion, now made it easier for the conqueror to break the Songhay resistance. Askiya Isḥāq had arrested his brothers and ordered them to be castrated. The brothers escaped this fate by seeking refuge in the Moroccan camp. Askiya Isḥāq himself was deposed by his brother Muḥammad Gao, son of Askiya Dāwūd the Great. The new *askiya* suspected that his brothers might intrigue with the Moroccans against him, and he approached the pasha to offer his submission. Maḥmūd invited Muḥammad Gao to come in person to negotiate the terms of his submission. In a dramatic meeting of the *askiya*'s council, opinions split. The *hi-koi*, one of the senior commanders of the Songhay army, warned against the pasha's treachery, but Alfa Bukar, the Muslim councillor of the *askiya*, maintained that the pasha was sincere. According to the *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, Alfa Bukar had been admitted by the pasha into the conspiracy, and was later favoured by the Moroccans. The *askiya* accepted the Muslim's advice and was led to his own destruction. In Timbuktu, he was treacherously arrested and killed, together with many of his followers. His brother Sulaymān was appointed *askiya* by the Moroccans.

Songhay now became divided into two. Northern Songhay, on the Niger between Gao, Timbuktu and Jenne, submitted to Moroccan rule. But south of Tillabery the spirit of independence among the Songhay was not lost. Over a century earlier, following the seizure of the throne by Askiya Muḥammad, the descendants of Sonni 'Alī had retreated to this part of the Niger, carrying with them the Songhay traditions, uncontaminated by Islam. These southern Songhay resisted the Moroccans. They were led by Askiya Nūḥ, son of Askiya Dāwūd, who became the independent *askiya*, as distinguished from the puppet *askiya* in Timbuktu. Although Askiya Nūḥ had fewer troops than Askiya Isḥāq,

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Chapter 8

Can a Single Foot Follow Two Paths? Islamic and Songhay Belief Systems in the Timbuktu Chronicles and The Epic of Askia Mohammed

THOMAS A. HALE

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In his research on the Songhay belief system (Stoller 1987, 1989), anthropologist Paul Stoller often cites a proverb with deep meaning for those people in western Niger who still maintain a strong attachment to a pre-Islamic view of existence: *ce follo si fonda hinka gana* (a single foot cannot follow two paths). One cannot embrace both systems of belief, Songhay and Islamic, and expect to reach one's goal in this life or the next. The proverb's message underscores the tension that exists between the two belief systems. The purpose of this study is to show how two different forms of narrative about the past convey these sometimes competing views of the metaphysical world, and what meaning we may draw from them for understanding contemporary Sahelian societies.

Given the growing importance of Islam in the Sahel, those who assert that there is only one path for the Songhay might appear at first to be a diminishing minority of believers seeking a form of salvation they do not find in the nearly official Islamic religion of the country. But both medieval written and more recent oral sources that interpret the Songhay past, as well as current religious practices described by Stoller and others, suggest that the Songhay belief system has not given way completely to the advance of Islam over

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CHAPTER 13

West African states and societies, to the eighteenth century

The fall of the Songhay empire

Songhay on the eve of the Moroccan invasion

The empire of Songhay had reached the height of its power in the early sixteenth century under the rule of Askiya Muhammad Ture (see pp. 109–10). During his reign Islam became more widely entrenched, trans-Saharan trade flourished and the Saharan salt mines of Taghaza were brought within the boundaries of the empire. During the course of the sixteenth century, however, this position of strength gradually declined. The power of the Askiya was weakened by a succession of short reigns and dynastic disputes which erupted in civil war in the 1580s. At the same time the general population and agricultural basis of the economy were weakened by drought and disease. There was a loosening of Songhay's control over long-distance trading networks. In the east the growth of Hausa states, Borno and the Tuareg sultanate of Aïr, was drawing trans-Saharan trade away from Songhay and the western routes. And from the south the supply of gold declined as the chiefdoms of the Akan forest diverted some of their trade to the newly-arrived European traders on the coast.

The weaknesses of Songhay, however, seem more real in retrospect. The historian has the benefit of hindsight. At the time, despite the natural disasters of the 1580s, the empire appeared secure enough. Though rival states might draw away some of Songhay's trade, this was a gradual process which gave no immediate cause for alarm. With no great wars of conquest to finance, the rulers of Songhay had not unduly oppressed the peasantry to the point where they might revolt. And there had been no danger of external threat for the best part of a century. The Askiyas had seen no reason to 'modernise' their army with the importation of primitive and unreliable, European-manufactured firearms. Immediate neighbours to south, east and west were minor states. In the north the Sahara desert continued to provide an apparently impenetrable barrier to the armies of the warlike Ottomans and Moroccans of the Maghrib: until, that is, the opening months of 1591.

The Moroccan invasion and the fall of Songhay

The main reason for the Moroccan invasion of Songhay was to seize control of and revive the trans-Saharan trade in gold. To this end the Moroccan sultan, Ahmad al-Mansur, sent across the desert the cream of his army – a small but very experienced band of professional soldiers, equipped with the most up-to-date muzzle-loading guns. The Moroccan army consisted of 4000 soldiers, 600 non-combatants and 10 000 camels to carry their equipment. It took them two months to cross the desert and up to a quarter of them perished in the attempt. Their arrival on the banks of the

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399–400/1009. The move to Gao may have arisen out of a decision to adopt a Muslim city as the capital of their kingdom. This incident is a good example of the way in which trade and Islam often combined to bring about the development of major, settled Sudanic states.

By 494/1100 it seems likely that Gao had become an Islamic centre of cultural as well as political and commercial importance. A tombstone found there records the death in that year of a certain royal personage and it bears the following inscription, in Kufic Arabic writing, *al-malik al-nāṣir li-dīn Allāh al-mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh*, 'the king, the helper of God's religion, the reliant upon God'. The inscription goes on to name him as Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zāghī. Although this person's name does not appear in any of the lists of the kings of Songhay given in other sources, it seems probable that he was in fact the ruler of that state at the turn of the 5/11 to the 5–6/12 century. What is more significant is the fact that this tombstone, in its Kufic Arabic inscription and in the marble out of which it is made, closely resembles tombstones found at Almeria, a part of Spain subject to the Almoravids at that time. The assumption therefore must be that it was imported from Spain. If tombstones were imported from Muslim Spain to the Niger Bend, it is safe to conclude that there were other cultural as well as commercial links between the two areas. All of this must have contributed to strengthening Islam in Gao. Other Arabic inscriptions found in Gao and relating to royal persons, date from 502/1108–9; 503/1109–10; 511/1117–18 and 514/1120–1. Yet other inscribed tombstones have been found elsewhere in the Niger Bend, bearing dates ranging from the 5/12 century to the 9/14 century.[9]

The Sonni dynasty

During the 7/13 century, Songhay was annexed to Mali and two Songhay princes were taken as hostages. Ten years later, *c.* 673/1275, one of them, ʿAlī Kolon, escaped and set himself up independently as Sonni, that is 'king' of Songhay. He thereby founded the dynasty of the Sonnis. In 869/1464–5, the most famous – or notorious – of all the Sonni line succeeded to the throne. His name was Sonni ʿAlī. He greatly extended the Songhay state and delivered it finally from Mali overlordship. In 873/1468 he took the city of Timbuktu, then in the hands of the Touregs. Five years later he conquered Jenne. In 898/1492 his spectacular reign came to an end when, it was said, he was drowned crossing a river. However, his death may have been contrived by his enemies.

Sonni ʿAlī was nominally a Muslim. However he has gone down in history – a history largely written by Sunnī *ʿulamā'* – as a wicked and impious man who mocked Islam and whose true loyalty was to the ancestral cult. The truth may be more complex. It seems that Sonni ʿAlī, like his Malian predecessors, was really a practitioner of that compromising mixed Islam that sought to avoid an open breach with the ancestral cult. Whatever his own beliefs may have been, he recognised his political dependence upon this cult. However it is no doubt true that he did have an affection for the ways of his ancestors and was personally reluctant to break with them. Also, he was much given to traditional African magic. In this situation Sonni ʿAlī was faced with a new development that must have created difficulties for him. The Sanhaja *ʿulamā'* of Timbuktu and Walata – the descendants of the Almoravids and their Ghanaian allies – had long been strengthening their influence in these two centres. As their

A HISTORY OF ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA

By

J. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM

Songhay

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By now the Bagirmians had been formed. They are a mixture of the various groups of aborigines given coherence and individuality by coming under the rule of a small settlement of Kenga. But within the region were also Shuwa and Fulbe tribes, colonies of Kanuri, and many unassimilated pagan tribes such as the Sara, Gabari, Tumok, and Nyellem. In addition, they had acquired a number of tributaries: the country of the Bona and Kirdi (lit. 'pagans') on the right bank of the Shari, Degana towards the Baḥr al-Ghazāl, Dekakire a mountainous region to the west, and Khozām and Debaba bordering on Waday.

As a result of its expansion Bagirmi came into conflict with Bornu and Waday, and from henceforth its history is one of continual conflict with these states and of slave-raiding expeditions among pagan tribes. It recognized in a vague way the suzerainty of Bornu,[1] but *mbang* Muḥammad al-Amīn (1751–85) rejected such claims and carried Bagirmi to the peak of its power. This ruler went on pilgrimage to Mecca and during his reign his subjects were required to make a profession of Islam. The usual legend was acquired that the founder of the dynasty was an Arab immigrant from Yemen. Yet the influence of Islamic law was very weak; his successor, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Gwarang (1785–1806), married his own sister, and this was taken by 'Abd al-Karīm Ṣābūn of Waday as a pretext for an invasion.[2]

5. THE STATE OF WADAY

Waday appears to be the southern part of the region of Berkāmī (Borku) mentioned by Ibn Sa'īd:

> To the south of the land of Kawār is the great mountain range of Lūnyā (Tibesti?) which stretches from west to east. The northern part of this range is occupied by the Berkāmī, a Negro people who inhabit the gorges planted with palms, irrigated, and clothed in verdure. That section of the Berkāmī which neighbours Kānem professes Islam; that which touches the Nubians professes Christianity; and that which adjoins the country of the Zaghāwa worships idols. The Zaghāwa occupy the plains situated to the south of the mountain. The land of Kawār is terminated in the north by the mountain of Ghargha[3] which extends from west to east.[4]

Islam was late in spreading into the Waday region. This was due to some extent to the barrier interposed by the Zaghāwa tribes which

[1] *Circa* 1595, 1650/75, and in 1740.
[2] M. Belo, *Infāq al-Maisūr*, p. 5; Barth, *Travels*, iii. 441.
[3] Ghargha may be Kapka or Gabaga, north of Waday.
[4] Aboulfèda, ii. 218–19; cf. al-Idrīsī, pp. 34, 35, 38.

nomadized throughout all the northern part of the region. At-Tūnisī[1] mentions as the five 'aboriginal' tribes of Waday who could not be enslaved, the Dājo, Maṣālīṭ, Mīma, Kashmara, and Qura'ān, but in fact the population of Waday proper is very mixed, though they belong to the same ethnic group and speak related languages.

Local tradition does not carry us very far back and refers to the existence of a state in the Waday region which was overthrown by Tunjur invaders at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Tunjur fixed their capital at Kadama (south-west of Abeshe). The Tunjur were probably Nubians who, through contact with Arabs, had become Arabic-speaking.[2] They installed themselves in Darfur about the fifteenth century, wrested the power from the Dājo, and remained in control until their supremacy was overthrown by Sulaimān Soloñ about the year 1630. From Darfur the Tunjur spread into Waday and south to the borders of Bagirmi.

Certain Tunjur rulers had Arabic names and made a profession of Islam, but they made no attempt to force it upon the heterogeneous groups from whom they exacted tribute as did the dynasty which succeeded them. Tradition says that the first to preach Islam amongst the population was one called either Jāmē (al-Jām'ī?) or Ṣāliḥ, whom the genealogists connect with the Ja'liyyīn of the Shendi district of the Nile.[3] In A.H. 1020 (A.D. 1611)[4] a son or nephew of this preacher called 'Abd al-Karīm (also Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣāliḥ[5]) gathered around him Māba and Kodoy[6] who had been converted by his father (or uncle) and, with the help of the Ngalaka, Mīma, and Maḥāmid and other Arabs, waged what was called a *jihād* against the Tunjur. Having destroyed the army of the Tunjur chief Da'ūd[7] he became the first

[1] M. at-Tūnisī, *Voyage au Ouaday*, transl. Perron, 1851, pp. 245–8.
[2] H. Carbou writes, 'The tradition of the Tunjur also mentions a sojourn of their tribes on the banks of the Nile' (*La Région du Tchad et du Ouadai*, 1912, i. 74). Barth also says that they came from Dongola (*Travels*, iii. 430).
[3] Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, iii. 449 ff. Cf. a different account in Barth, *Travels*, iii. 528–30.
[4] According to the tradition given by Barth, op. cit. iii. 528. But a date around 1630–40 seems more likely.
[5] It was after him that Waday came to be called Dār Ṣāliḥ or Ṣulaiḥ. The word Waday is said to come from an ancestor called Wadā'a (see chronicle in Palmer, *Sud. Mem.* ii. 25). Waday is also referred to as Dār Māba, and the people of Darfur prefer the old term Borqu.
[6] Kodoy, derived from *kodok*, 'mountain', is the name given by the Wadayans to all the peoples inhabiting the mountainous regions south of Abeshe. The centre of the new movement was the mountain of Ab Sunūn whose inhabitants, the Senāwiyya, became the aristocracy (see M. at-Tūnisī, op. cit., pp. 245–6).
[7] The Tunjur moved into Kanem, defeated the Bulāla, and compelled the Arab tribes to pay

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CHAPTER NINE

The aftermath of the fall of Songhay

The Moroccans who occupied Timbuktu after Jawdhar's conquest have usually been portrayed as villains. This is not entirely fair for it seems they were neither vicious nor, at first, inefficient. They were merely faced with what turned out to be an impossible task – to govern Timbuktu as if it were a province of the Sharifian Sa'did empire. Of course they were not always gentle with those who opposed them, but then this is not to be expected of any military conqueror.

The Timbuktu Makhzan

The Moroccans began by establishing a firm control over the Timbuktu *'ulamā'*. This was not religious persecution for the Moroccans were themselves devout Muslims; it was a political act, understandable in that they feared the *'ulamā'* might form an opposition to their military government. In fact, not all the *'ulamā'* opposed the Moroccans. In Timbuktu some regarded their occupation as the judgement of God upon the *askiyas*; what opposition there was, was quickly silenced. However, in the neighbouring city of Jenne there seems to have been more support for the fugitive *askiya* in Dendi.

At first the Moroccans served the Moroccan caliph, Mawlay Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, loyally. The required percentages of gold, and of the gains from other profitable trades, were sent to Morocco regularly and they considerably enriched the Moroccan treasury. The Moroccans realised, sensibly, that if they were to continue to do this, they must not disturb the local structure of government and trade. Thus a system of indirect rule developed in which the Moroccans left the Songhay administration as it was, with a puppet *askiya* nominally at its head, but required it only to work for them. To govern their own Moroccan community that grew up in Timbuktu they set up what they called the Makhzan. This was modelled on the system that Mawlay Aḥmad al-Manṣur had already set up in Morocco. It had at its head a *pasha*, a military governor, who was responsible to the caliph in Morocco. Next in rank was the *amīn*, also directly responsible to the caliph and in charge of the financial affairs of the province. However, real power lay with the Moroccan commanders of the army divisions and the Moroccan occupation also drew to Timbuktu numbers of *shurafā'*, who became increasingly influential in the city's affairs.

The first generation of Moroccan soldiers quickly married with Songhay women. In due course this produced a community of mixed blood that became known as the 'Ruma' or 'Arma', from an Arabic word meaning 'musketeers'. This community became, increasingly, the Makhzan.

A number of factors contributed to making the Moroccan task difficult. First was the recall to Morocco of the Pasha Jawdhar, who was an able administrator, and his replacement by the Pasha Maḥmud Zarqūn, who was

less loyal to the Moroccan caliph and more tyrannous and less competent than Jawdhar. Then, in 1012/1603, Mawlay Aḥmad al-Manṣur died and Morocco was plunged into a succession struggle. From *c.* 1021/1612 on the Moroccan rulers lost interest in their Niger province and problems of communication with the disinterested Moroccan authorities became increasingly severe, despite their occasional attempts to re-establish control. The upheavals and disruption that attended the collapse of the Sharifian Sa'dids and the rise of the 'Alawids, who also claimed to be *shurafā'*, enabled the Arma to go their own way with less regard than ever for the metropolitan government. By the time that the 'Alawids finally took over from the Sharifian Sa'dids in 1076/1666, the Makhzan had become for all practical purposes independent. Gradually, too, the Arma abandoned the early, sensible policy of indirect rule and began to interfere increasingly in the Songhay administration. However, they were by no means wholly incompetent. They did make genuine efforts to protect trade by organising military expeditions against brigands and their rule was not deliberately oppressive, only less and less effective. Moreover, as the Makhzan became less subject to control from Morocco, there was an increasing tendency within it for rival parties to plot against each other and to seek the support of mercenaries – Berbers, Fulani, Bambaras and others. These mercenaries often ended by seizing power for themselves. Little by little, central authority crumbled and the Touregs and other local factions took over. By 1163–4/1750, the authority of the Arma was limited to the banks of the Niger and they operated more as rival bands of brigands than as a government. This situation continued until the city was occupied by the French at the beginning of the present century.

The Bambaras and Massassis

The country of the Bambaras, a Mande-speaking people related to their neighbours, the Malinke, lies due north of the Niger source, and straddles the banks of that river. The Bambaras formed part of the Mali empire, and then passed under control of Songhay. With the fall of Songhay they gained their independence. By *c.* 1034/1625, intermarriage between them and Fulani settled in the area of Segu gave rise to the Massassi dynasty, governing a kingdom centred on Segu. The Bambaras were basically polytheist, but among them lived many Mande-speaking Muslims of the Dyula class. Among the Bambaras, however, these Muslims were referred to as 'Marka'. *C.* 1137–8/1725 a certain Mamari Kouloubali, the son of a Bambara peasant and a Muslim Marka woman, succeeded in setting up a strong, centralised Bambara state in Segu. Mamari was certainly influenced by Islam, but he was not a practising Muslim: despite his Marka origin on his mother's side, he fought and defeated the Marka in the course of setting up his kingdom. Shortly after he died his brother, Bakari, who had been fully converted to Islam by the *shaykhs* of the Kunta, reigned briefly during 1170–1/1757. He attempted unwisely, to impose full-scale, puritanical Islam upon his Bambara subjects and this policy was angrily rejected by the Bambara clan leaders. Bakari was murdered after he had ruled for only fifteen days and there then followed a period of instability under quarrelling Bambara factions. In the second half of the 18 century AD (AH 1163–1214) the Diara family took power and restored stability. Segu became the centre of a state that controlled a large area to the west of it, including the

Songhay

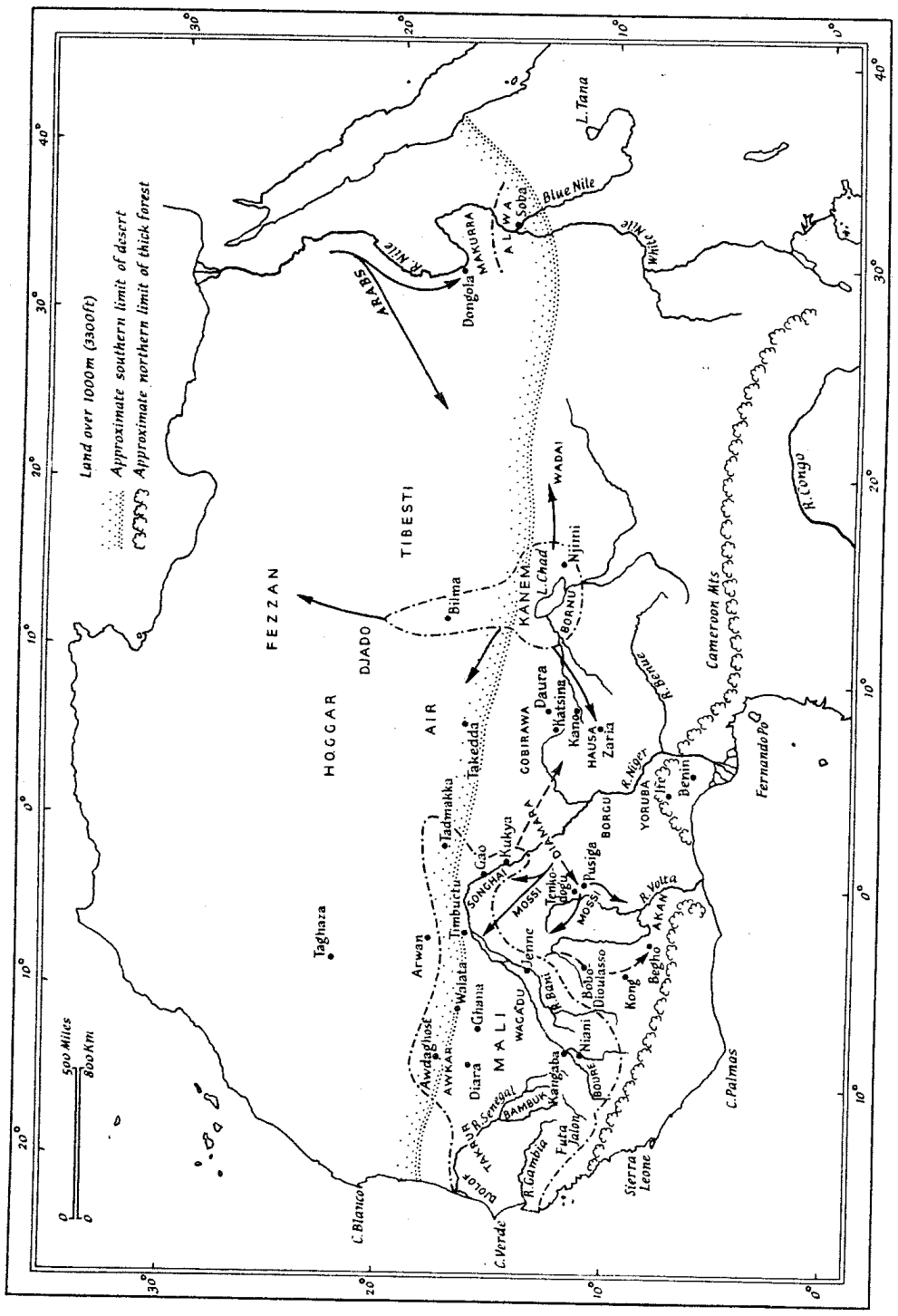
West Africa and Islam

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

by Peter B. Clarke



Edward Arnold



IV States of the Sudan in the 14th and 15th centuries

power and influence of the traditional culture was in fact so strong that a Muslim ruler even had he wanted to could not have disregarded it.

Islam in Mali, then, during this period was the religion of the ruler, of the royal court, of the élite, the merchants and the townspeople, and it was an Islam adapted to fit in with the traditional culture.

Islam in Songhay, c. 1000–1600.

The arrival and early development of Islam in Songhay.

During the second half of the 15th century Songhay replaced Mali as the strongest political and economic power in West Africa, and from the reign of Sunni Ali, which began in 1464, until the Moroccan invasion of 1591, Songhay was the largest and most powerful of the West African states.

According to one tradition, the first ruler of Songhay, Za al-Ayaman, was a Muslim. He is said to have ruled sometime in the 7th century.[1] Another theory put forward is that the first dynasty or ruling house was Christian of Berber stock from Libya.[2] It is impossible, given our limited knowledge of Songhay history, to substantiate either of these two viewpoints. Another theory on the origins of the Songhay kingdom suggests that Sorko fishermen from the Lake Chad region and Gow farmers possibly related to the Sorko fishermen moved up the Niger at some unknown date and formed the nucleus of a state centred on Kukiya, about 100 kilometres south of Gao on the Niger river. Gao itself was evidently quite well established by the 9th century and in 872 A.D. the Arabic scholar, al-Yaqubi, described it as the most important kingdom of the Sudan.[3] Moreover, by the 9th century Gao had made its first contacts with Islam. There was an expatriate Muslim community in Gao by this time composed of Muslim Arab and Berber merchants from North Africa.

The rulers of Songhay seem to have become Muslims sometime around 1000 A.D. One Arabic author writing in 996 A.D. mentioned that the king of Gao was a Muslim,[4] while in the history of West Africa written in the 17th century known as the "Tarikh al-Sudan" it is stated that Za-Kossoi, ruler of the Songhay in Kukiya, became a Muslim in 1010 A.D.[5] Za-Kossoi almost immediately after his conversion transferred the capital of Songhay from Kukiya to Gao, and Gao remained the capital until 1497 when Askiya Muhammad Ture I, ruler of Songhay from 1493 to 1528, moved it to Tendirma. Al-Bakri, writing in 1068 A.D., said the ruler of Gao professed Islam and that when he was enthroned he was presented with a copy of the Qur'an, a sword and a shield, all sent from the Caliph (leader) of the Muslim world who at that time resided in Baghdad, the capital of modern-day Iraq.

Although the ruler was a Muslim and appointed Muslims to top posts in government, the ceremonials at the royal court continued to be based on traditional customs and beliefs, and the majority of the people in Gao were non-Muslims. As with Koumbi-Saleh in Ghana there were two parts to the town of Gao. In one sector, the royal quarter on the east bank of the Niger, lived the king and the courtiers, and in the other sector were the rest of the

Songhay

A HISTORY OF ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA

By

J. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Ansiklopedisi
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'There is no god but Allāh' and 'God is great'. Before the sultan are standards of red silk. On arrival at the *muṣallā* the sultan enters a tent which has been erected in order to prepare himself. Then he goes on to the prayer-ground and the prayer and sermon are performed. Afterwards the preacher descends from his block, sits before the sultan and declaims for a long while. Beside him is a man with a spear in his hand who explains to the people in their own language the preacher's discourse which consists of admonition and warning, eulogy of the sultan and exhortations to persist in obedience to him and pay him his dues.

Following this Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes the military review witnessed by the royal entourage, seated according to strict protocol, after which the interpreter-griot and his assistants sing praises of the sultan to the accompaniment of music, dancing, and acrobatic feats. This took place every Friday as well as on festivals. The commanders are invited to break the fast at the palace where Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was shocked to observe that each was attended by twenty or more entirely naked female slaves who carried the food from his own house.[1]

From his account the dualism of the imperial cult characteristic of this stage of islamization is quite clear. He gives an account of the griots (*ḏyēli*), clothed in garments of feathers with wooden masks whose beak is painted red, performing their rites at the court on the day of the *'īd*.[2] *Mānsa* Sulaimān, devout Muslim though he was, saw nothing incongruous in providing a delegation of cannibals from the gold country with their customary flesh. 'I was informed', says Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 'that this was the normal practice when a delegation visited him.'[3] Al-'Umarī refers to the practice of magic and sorcery throughout Māli and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to their eating of flesh unclean to Muslims.[4]

Islamic law was scarcely observed,[5] but since the principle of personal status was recognized *qāḍīs* functioned in the towns. Probably they only tried cases involving foreign Muslims. With the decline of Māli Islam disappeared from the Mande regions, except for Dyula and Soninke trading colonies. During its decline, when kinship and mystery cults held undisputed sway in all successor states, teachers from the region sought new lives far outside its boundaries. Many Islamic communities in northern Nigeria attribute their conversion to missionaries

[1] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv. 423. [2] Ibid. iv. 413–14. [3] Ibid. iv. 428–9.
[4] Ibid. iv. 424.
[5] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions the existence of 'Ibāḍites called Ṣaghanaghū (Sangha?), but only among the whites, 'The orthodox Mālikites among the whites are known as *Tūrī*' (iv. 395). This is the Soninke word for 'stranger', and the word has spread widely. In Hausa *ba-tūre* (pl. *tūrāwa*) is applied to non-Berber white North Africans, Arabs, and Europeans. Mande *sūra*, 'whites', generally derived from Arab. *Ṣūr*, 'Tyre', 'Phoenicians', is no doubt the same word.

from Māli. Wangāra settled in Kano and Katsina at the end of the fourteenth century and a Zaria king appointed a Māli cleric to the chieftainship of a pagan district in A.D. 1500. Thus, in spite of the weak position of Islam as a kinship cult Māli contributed to the islamization of West Africa.

The consequences of Māli's hegemony over a vast area for more than two centuries (1238–1468) show themselves in various ways. It facilitated the expansion of peoples. Dyula trading colonies have been mentioned, but movements of agriculturalists were considerable. It also aided the shading of feelings of ethnic exclusiveness and the widespread diffusion of mystery-cult societies. A feature of 'primitive' communities and particularly in the forest region is that each locality is peopled by one ethnic group hostile to infiltration by others. But it is characteristic of the northern Mande world for different peoples to have learnt to live side by side. Mandinka areas show strong uniform characteristics. Manding absorbed diverse elements and moulded them into one culture so that traditions of origin disappeared, leaving only ethnic tradition, the so-called 'biological patriotism'. When travelling through areas of Mandinka penetration one notices the juxtaposition of villages of different elements. Thus in the interior of the Gambia Protectorate Manding, Soninke, and Fulbe villages are found adjacent to each other, the first two Muslim and agricultural, the Pulo village pagan and having stock-rearing as well as agriculture. In western Guinea many ruling families of Serēr, Mende, and Vai are of Manding origin and it is through them and settlement of traders and clerics that Islam has penetrated these peoples.

5. THE SONGHAY EMPIRE OF KAWKAW

With Kawkaw we move into central Sudan, the third section of al-Idrīsī's first clime (*iqlīm*), of which he writes, 'The best known places are Kūgha, Kawkaw, Tamalma, Zaghāwa, Mānān, N'jīmi, Nuwābiyya, and Tājawa.'[1] The central Sudan therefore stretches from the middle Niger to Waday beyond Lake Chad. We are concerned here only with the state associated with the town of Kawkaw and the Songhay inhabiting the banks of the middle Niger. They are included here instead of in the next chapter because their migration trends were up the Niger and the history of Kawkaw as a short-lived great power is more associated with the west than with the east.

The cradle of the Songhay kingdom is the banks of the Niger from

[1] Al-Idrīsī, p. 10.

s. 83-103

din işleri
Tercümesi
ARTUKTULUŞ

دول الإسلام وحضارته في أفريقيا

بحوث في التاريخ الحديث

? Songhoy

الدكتور عبدالرحمن عبدالله الشيخ

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Ansiklopedisi
Kütüphanesi

Kayıt No. :	10261
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دار اللواء
للنشر والتوزيع

جميع الحقوق محفوظة

الطبعة الأولى
١٤٠٣هـ - ١٩٨٣م

دار اللواء
المملكة العربية السعودية - الرياض - شارع الملك فيصل
ص. ب : ٢٨٥٦ هاتف : ٤٠٢٨٠٨٤ - برقياً : نشر دار

دولة سنغي في القرن السادس عشر

Makale s. 67–79 arasındadır.

According to *al-Fish tali*, the same ambassador was on his way to Morocco for the third time when death over took him, but the rest of the delegation succeeded in reaching Morocco. [39] Although there is no any concrete evidence to support that Mai Idris Aloma had paid the *Bay'a* to Morocco as documented by the Sharifian ruler; what appears to be clear was that by the end of the sixteenth century, Borno had taken its proper place as an independent Muslim entity, fostering good relationships with other Muslim politicies to the North and the East.

Conclusion

A humble attempt has been made in this paper to survey certain historical developments in the Central Bilad al-Sudan in respect of introduction and consolidation of Islam in Kanem-Borno and Hausa land. The paper had also examined both the role of the rulers and *Ulama* in the spread of Islam and the promotion of Islamic learning. A significant point which the paper attempted to highlight was the peaceful nature in which Islam had spread in these areas. The other important point was the complete harmony which existed between the rulers and the Ulama in their endeavor to promote the Islamic teachings and ideals. Finally, the paper had attempted to prove that at that time, cordial relations had existed between Borno on one hand and other sister countries such as Turkey, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Tripolitania.

- Mali

39 *Ibid*

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LA PENETRATION DE L'ISLAM EN AFRIQUE ET LES ROLES JOUES PAR LES EMPIRES POUR SON DEVELOPMENT

BABACAR CISSÉ

INTRODUCTION

Lors de la naissance de l`Islam, ce qui a été ordonné au prophète Muhammad (PSL), c'était d'abord de commencer par les proches parents.

Dieu qui savait qu'il allait avoir des problèmes le lui a dit dans ces termes : "Et avertis les gens qui te sont les plus proches" [1]

Chose qu'il a faite, mais qui lui a coûté très chère car en effet, c'est à partir de ce moment qu'il a vu une bonne partie de ses parents qui commencèrent non seulement à lui dire que ce qu'il disait n'était pas vrai mais bien plus, ils l'insultaient et ont voulu le tuer.

C'est à partir de ce moment, qu'il va quitter La Mecque pour aller à Médine. Parce qu'il savait déjà qu'il n'était pas envoyé seulement vers les Mécquois. Dieu lui avait déjà fait savoir que La Mecque n'etait qu'un début. C'est ainsi qu'Il lui dira dans le Coran dès la période mécquoise "Nous ne t'avons envoyé qu'en miséricorde pour l'univers"[2]

Comme le Prophète savait que la tâche qui l'attendait était difficile à cause du fait déjà qu'à La Mecque l'aristocratie avait l'habitude de la belle vie et leurs mondanités considérables. C'est l'époque des concours autour du vin et de la poésie. Mais quelle poésie? La poésie bien sûr la femme et le vin.

Au niveau des croyances, ils ont leurs Dieux que sont "Lât", "Uzâ" et "Manât".

Les enlever de ces habitudes était une tâche difficile. Et, comme le prophète le savait.. Il a préféré faire d'une pierre deux coups : aller à Médine d'abord pour éviter les insultes et les attaques contre le peu de Musulmans qu'il avait avec lui, mais aussi pour mieux se préparer. Ce qui fait que lorsqu'il a estimé que le

1 Sourate des poète, verset -213
2 Sourate des prophètes, verset -106.

2000 - 39

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إفريقيا من القرن الثاني عشر الى القرن السادس عشر

المشرف على المجلّد : ج . ت . نياني

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١٩٨٨
باريس

اليونسكو

إن ما يلفت النظر في فكر ابن خلدون هو واقعيته ، ورفضه للآراء المسبقة وحتميته العلمية أي باختصار حداثته . وهو ما يفسّر اعتبار فيلسوف التاريخ العبقري هذا رائد التاريخ الشامل ، والاقتصاد الاجتماعي ، بل وعلم الاجتماع الحديث والمادية التاريخية . وإن كنا نجد في مؤلّفاته ، من ناحية أخرى ، كثيرًا من سمات عصره وبيئته . وان محاولة تفسير هذا العمل الضخم على نحو ينطوي على الخلط بين العصور إن هي إلاّ إثم لا يُغتفر . فلقد بُني برصانة فائقة بفضل التوازن المستمر بين الواقعية ، ثمرة الملاحظة ، والعقلانية التي تفسّر القوانين الحتمية وتستنبطها .

أما كتابه عن التاريخ الشامل «كتاب العبر» ، فإن لم يكن تطبيقًا للمنهج الذي نادى به في «مقدمته لمنهج التاريخ» فهو ، خلافًا للحوليات العربية الإسلامية التقليدية ، يدرس على التوالي القبائل العربية وأسرها الحاكمة ، ثم تاريخ البربر وممالكهم . كما يعدّ هذا الكتاب المرجع الأساسي للمعلومات عن الفترة المعاصرة للمؤلّف .

الفصل السادس

مالي والتوسّع الثاني للماندانغ

بقلم جبريل ت . نياني

يشمل شعب الماندانغ عدة جماعات فرعية متفرّقة في سائر أنحاء المنطقة السودانية – «السهلية» ، من المحيط الأطلسي إلى بلاد آثير مع تغلغلها داخل غابات خليج بنين . وكانت مناطق استيطان الماندانغ في بداية القرن الثاني عشر أقل اتساعًا . وفي الوقت الذي بلغت فيه غانا ذروة مجدها ، في نهاية القرن الحادي عشر كانت هناك ثلاث مجموعات كبرى هي : قبائل السوننكة أو ساركوليه ، مؤسسة غانا ، وهي تعمُر أساسًا مقاطعات واغادو (أوكر) وباخونو وكنياغا . ويليهم جنوبًا في سفوح جبال كوليكورو ، قبائل الصوصو وعاصمتهم مدينة صوصو . وإلى الجنوب من هذه المنطقة تقع مواطن المالنكة وهي البلاد المسماة ببلاد الماندي أو مندان بأعالي حوض النيجر بين كنغابا وسيغيري . وكانت قبائل السوننكة ، التي تسمى أيضًا ماراكا أو واكوريه (ونغارا)[1] ، هي التي أسّست امبراطورية غانا التي كانت أول مظهر للتوسّع المانداغي[2] . وفي الوقت الذي تداعت فيه الأمبراطورية تحت هجمات المرابطين المتكرّرة ، كانت قبائل السوننكة قد تجاوزت بكثير بلاد واغادوا موطنها الأصلي ، فاختلطت بسكان ضفاف نهر النيجر فأنشأت مستوطنات جديدة . ويُحتمل أن يكون البحث عن الذهب قد أدى بها إلى المضي مسافات بعيدة جدًا حتى بلغت حافة الغابات في الجنوب ويُعتقد عمومًا أن مدينة جينيه التي بلغت أوج ازدهارها في القرن الخامس عشر – قد أسّسها تجار من السوننكة ومن المحتمل أن يكون ذلك قبل قدوم العرب بكثير .

يجدر بهذه المناسبة أن نتعرّض بإيجاز لتطور جينيه ؛ فمنذ بضع سنوات ، توافر لنا قدر أكبر من

(١) تُطلق كلمة ونغارا أو أنغارا عند الفولبي والهوسا على المندان . ولكلمة ونغارا أو واكوريه نفس الأصل على الرغم من أن واكوريه تنطبق بصورة أخص على قبائل سوننكة أو ساراكوليه . وكان الماندانغ يعرفون في الغابة العاجية بعبارة ديولا التي تعني في لغة المالنكة : تاجر . وكلمتا ونغارا وديولا مترادفتان وتُطلقان بصورة أخص على المندان الذين يتعاطون التجارة .

(٢) يخبرنا م . كاتي (١٩٦٤) أن «أمبراطورية مالي لم تتكوّن في الواقع إلاّ بعد سقوط سلالة كاياماغا التي كان نفوذها يشمل كامل المنطقة الغربية دون استثناء أية منطقة» .

2266

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(X) Songay, s. 32-41.

s. 22-23

1 IBN BATTUTA

(X) MALI

The celebrated Muslim traveler Ibn Battuta (1304–1368/9) traversed nearly the whole of the Muslim world and beyond during his many years of wandering. Born in Tangier, he made the first of his four pilgrimages to Mecca when he was twenty-one and thereafter traveled to East Africa and most of Asia, including China. He began his return from India in 1345, visiting Ceylon, Sumatra, Baghdad, and Cairo. He reached Fez in 1349 and in 1352 set out toward the Sudan, crossing the Sahara and traversing the kingdom of Mali (1238–1468). His description is one of the very few firsthand accounts of the customs practiced in Mali and Gao at that time.

AUDIENCES OF THE SULTAN OF MALI

Sometimes the sultan [of Mali] holds meetings in the place where he has his audiences. There is a dais in that place, situated under a tree, with three big steps called *penpi.* The dais is covered with silk and embellished with cushions, and above it is placed a parasol that looks like a silken dome. On the top of the parasol is a golden bird as big as a sparrow hawk. The sultan goes out by a well-used door in a corner of the castle. He holds his bow in his hand and wears his quiver on his back. On his head he wears a gold hat that is held in place by a band, also of gold. The ends of the hat are tapered like knives longer than a hand's span. Most often he is dressed in a red velvet tunic, made of either European cloth called *mothanfas* or deep pile cloth.

The singers come out in front of the sultan, and they hold *kanakir* (instruments whose name in the singular is doubtless *konbara,* which means lark) of gold and silver. Behind him are about 300 armed slaves. The sovereign walks patiently, advancing very slowly. When he arrives at the penpi, he stops and looks at those who are there. Then he slowly goes up onto the dais as the priest mounts his pulpit. As soon as the sultan is seated, drums are beaten, a horn is sounded, and trumpets blare. . . .

What I Found to Be Praiseworthy About the Conduct of the Negroes in Contrast to What I Found to Be Bad.

Among the good qualities of this people, we must cite the following:

1. The small number of acts of injustice that take place there [in Mali], for of all people, the Negroes abhor it [injustice] the most. Their sultan never pardons anyone guilty of injustice.

2. The general and complete security that is enjoyed in the country. The traveler, just as the sedentary man, has nothing to fear of brigands, thieves, or plunderers.

3. The blacks do not confiscate the goods of white men who die in their country, even when these men possess immense treasures. On the contrary, the blacks deposit the goods with a man respected among the whites, until the individuals to whom the goods rightfully belong present themselves and take possession of them.

4. The Negroes say their prayers correctly; they say them assiduously in the meetings of the faithful and strike their children if they fail these obligations. On Friday, whoever does not arrive at the mosque early finds no place to pray because the temple becomes so crowded. The blacks have a habit of sending their

From Ibn Battuta, *Ibn Batoutah,* trans. from the Arabic by C. Defremery and B. R. Sanguinétti (Paris, 1863), IV, 405–407, 421–424, 440–442. Trans. from the French by Nell Elizabeth Painter and Robert O. Collins. The bracketed material in this selection has been inserted by Professor Collins.

slaves to the mosque to spread out the mats they use during prayers in the places to which each slave has a right, to wait for their master's arrival. These mats are made from a tree that resembles the palm but that bears no fruit.

5. The Negroes wear handsome white clothes every Friday. If, by chance, one of them possesses only one shirt or a worn-out tunic, he at least washes and cleans it and wears it to the public prayers.

6. They are very zealous in their attempt to learn the holy *Quran* by heart. In the event that their children are negligent in this respect, fetters are placed on the children's feet and are left until the children can recite the *Quran* from memory. On a holiday I went to see the judge, and seeing his children in chains, I asked him, "Aren't you going to let them go?" He answered, "I won't let them go until they know the *Quran* by heart." Another day I passed a young Negro with a handsome face who was wearing superb clothes and carrying a heavy chain around his feet. I asked the person who was with me, "What did that boy do? Did he murder someone?" The young Negro heard my question and began to laugh. My colleague told me, "He has been chained up only to force him to commit the *Quran* to memory."

Some of the blameworthy actions of these people are:

1. The female servants and slaves, as well as little girls, appear before men completely naked. I observed this practice a great deal during the month of Ramadan [the ninth month and time of fasting in the Muslim year—ed.], for the usual custom among the Negroes is for the Commanders to break the fast in the sultan's palace and for each of them to be served by female slaves who are entirely nude and who bring the food to the number of twenty or more.

2. All the women who come into the sovereign's house are nude and wear no veils over their faces; the sultan's daughters also go naked. On the twenty-seventh night of the month of Ramadan, I saw about a hundred female slaves come out with the food for the sultan's palace, and they were nude. Two of the sovereign's daughters, who had been gifted with very large chests, accompanied the slaves and had no covering whatsoever.

3. The blacks throw dust and ashes on their heads to show that they are educated and as a sign of respect.

4. Negroes practice a sort of buffoonery when the poets recite their verses to the sultan, as described elsewhere.

5. Finally, a good number of the Negroes eat vultures, dogs, and asses. . . .

THE COPPER MINE

The copper mine is situated outside Takedda. Slaves of both sexes dig into the soil and take the ore to the city to smelt it in the houses. As soon as the red copper has been obtained, it is made into bars one and one-half handspans long—some thin, some thick. Four hundred of the thick bars equal a ducat of gold; six or seven hundred of the thin bars are also worth a ducat of gold. These bars serve as a means of exchange, in place of coin. With the thin bars, meat and firewood are bought; with the thick bars, male and female slaves, millet, butter, and wheat can be bought.

The copper of Takedda is exported to the city Couber [Gobir], situated in the land of the pagan Negroes. Copper is also exported to Zaghai [Dyakha—western Masina] and to the land of Bernon [Bornu], which is forty days distant from Takedda and is inhabited by Muslims. Idris, king of the Muslims, never shows himself before the people and never speaks to them unless he is behind a curtain. Beautiful slaves, eunuchs, and cloth dyed with saffron are brought from Bernon to many different countries. . . .



'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 Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi
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INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC CULTURE
CLUB ROAD, LAHORE

1969

of the votes and thirty-one out of forty-six assembly seats in the first elections under universal suffrage held in the first week of May 1958. Olympio, whose family once were slaves in Brazil, became the Premier of Togoland. The United Nations General Assembly Trusteeship Committee, early in November 1958, unanimously recommended the withdrawal of French trusteeship over Togoland on a date to be decided by the French and Togoland governments. That date was mutually agreed to be 27 April 1960.

On 20 March 1961, the independent Togolese Republic published the draft of its new constitution providing for a President with wide executive powers and a single-chamber parliament. On 9 April 1961, the constitution was approved, and the Prime Minister, Sylvanus Olympio, was elected the first President of the Togolese Republic, with a fifty-one-member National Assembly. The new President was also the leader of the governing "United Togolese Party". The new regime resembled that of Ghana, in which the President was both Head of the State and the Chief Executive, with power to lay down the government's general policy, supervise its application, choose the members of his government and fix their powers by decree. He was also the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces.

During September 1961, the people of the Togolese Republic demanded the reunification of the two Togolands, i.e. the return of the portion now a part of Ghana.

President Olympio was shot dead on 13 January 1963 in Lome in a *coup d'etat* staged by non-commissioned officers under a former non-commissioned officer, Dodze. The insurgents were headed by Antoine Meatchi, an opposition leader, who stayed as a political refugee in Ghana. Olympio was assassinated while trying to take refuge in the U.S. Embassy. Meatchi was imprisoned at Lama Kara in central Togo towards the beginning of 1961. He escaped in May 1961. The insurgents invited Grunitzky, brother-in-law of the assassinated President and a former Togo Premier, who had been a self-exile since 1958 in Cotonou (capital of neighbouring Republic of Dahomey), to return and form the government.

The Revolutionary Committee of Togo announced on 16 January a seven-man government to run the country, which was headed by M. Nicholas Grunitzky; M. Antoine Meatchi became the Finance Minister. Thus, the new President of Togo was Grunitzky (20 January 1963).

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(35)

The Republic of Mali

(Former French Sudan)

THE expression *Bilad al-Sudan* properly means "land of the negroes". It would appear then that the word "Sudan", which comes from it, means all the parts of Africa inhabited by the Negroes. But, it has become the custom to restrict the application to the northern part of these regions or, in a more general way, to the area of sub-Saharan Africa, which has been penetrated by Islam. In practice, this area is divided into three parts: Western Sudan, containing the basin of the Senegal, the Gambia, the upper Volta, and the middle Niger; Central Sudan, including the basin of Lake Chad; and Eastern Sudan, confined to the basin of the upper Nile. Thus, generally, the Sudan includes all the lands lying south of the Libyan and Sahara deserts, from the Atlantic in the west to the western frontiers of Ethiopia in the east, the southern limit following roughly the 10° of north latitude. Politically, however, the former Egyptian Sudan is now known as the Sudan.

It is probable that, from the earliest times, there were relations between the Sudan and Mediterranean Africa. The ancient Egyptians had commercial relations with the "land of the negroes" from where they obtained their slaves. Caravans, setting out from the Phoenician colonies, especially Carthage, used to buy in the Sudan gold, ivory, and slaves, in exchange for cloth, copper and tools. This intercourse, which took place via the Nile or across the Sahara, continued in the Greek and Roman periods and later, after the conquest by and conversion to Islam of North Africa, it was continued by the Arabs. By the end of the seventh century C.E., the Muslims of Egypt, *Ifriqiyyah* and the *Maghrib* were attending the great markets of the Sudan. Some were even settled there. But, it was only in the eleventh century C.E., that Islam began to spread among the Sudanese.

Christianity had penetrated into several parts of the Sudan; it was predominant in Nubia from the fourth to the seventh century. Islam must have spread very early among the Nuba or Nubians of the valley of the Nile, but

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LES AFRICAINS

sous la direction
de
Charles-André Julien
et
Magali Morsy,
Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch,
Yves Person

TOME I

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AFR

LES EDITIONS DU jaguar

Paris - 1990

Yves PERSON

Samori construction et chute d'un empire

Quand les Français déclenchèrent la conquête militaire de l'Afrique en marchant du haut Sénégal vers le haut Niger à partir de 1879, ils avaient vaguement entendu parler d'un nouveau souverain des pays du sud, nommé Samudu ou Samori, mais ils ne se soucièrent d'abord que de l'empire toucouleur du Ségou qui barrait la route de l'est à leurs ambitions. Dès 1882, ils découvraient cependant que ce conquérant malinke serait leur plus redoutable adversaire, tant par son génie que par le soutien massif de son peuple. Et c'est seulement en septembre 1898 qu'ils allaient réussir à le saisir et à mettre fin à son entreprise, après la résistance la plus longue et la plus tenace qu'ait rencontrée un pouvoir colonial en Afrique noire.

Il n'est donc pas étonnant que Samori soit devenu un symbole pour les jeunes nationalismes africains, dont certains sont directement issus du même milieu social et culturel. Mais Samori n'est pas compréhensible si on ne situe pas l'action de cet individu remarquable dans la crise qu'a traversée son peuple à la veille de la conquête coloniale.

Les Malinke du Sud

Le domaine des Malinke du Sud s'étend du haut Niger (Siguiri, Kankan, Kouroussa) jusqu'au Bandama (Séguéla, Mankono), à travers les hautes terres du Konyan (Beyla) et du Kabadugu (Odienné), d'où est issu Samori. Cette zone, adossée à la grande forêt qui s'étend de la Sierra Leone à la Côte d'Ivoire, est occupée par les savanes guinéennes, remarquablement dénudées à l'orée des grands arbres, et par le sud des savanes soudanaises, encore assez humides et marquées par une certaine richesse en îlots forestiers et en galeries le long des cours d'eau. Cette région relativement isolée a subi assez tard les influences de la mer, c'est-à-dire de la traite européenne et de l'esclavage atlantique. Elle n'est pourtant pas restée repliée sur elle-même, loin de là, mais c'est du nord, des pays du moyen Niger, que sont venues les influences qui l'ont marquée avant le XIX[e] siècle.

Les Malinke, qui s'étendent jusqu'en Gambie, et les Bambara que l'on trouve vers l'est jusqu'au lac Debo, parlent des dialectes de la même langue et sont en fait les deux branches d'un seul peuple que l'on qualifie de Manding, celui qui a fondé au Moyen Age le fameux empire du Mali. Cette superstructure impériale ne devait guère dépasser vers le sud la région de Kankan et elle a complètement disparu, plus tard d'ailleurs qu'on ne l'écrit, dans la première moitié du XVII[e] siècle. Les empires bambara, dont le principal fut celui de Ségou, en ont pris le relais sur le moyen Niger.

Mais, dans la région méridionale que nous étudions, l'immigration de lignages malinke, qui s'est échelonnée au moins du XV[e] au XVIII[e] siècle, a entraîné l'absorption d'autochtones de culture forestière, de ≪barbares≫ aux yeux des nouveaux venus, Kisi, Toma, Kpelle (Guerze), Dan ou Kwenu (Guro), ce qui a donné le nouveau peuplement des Malinke du Sud. Il en est résulté un vaste domaine dont l'homogénéité ethnique et linguistique est remarquable, en dépit de quelques faciès régionaux. Les minorités peul elles-mêmes ont adopté la culture globale. En dehors de la zone du haut Niger, la région était extérieure à l'ancien empire du Mali et elle n'a connu aucune organisation

Guro
Mali
Samori Ture

S 251-285

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LES AFRICAINS

sous la direction
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et
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TOME X

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LES EDITIONS DU
jaguar

Ngolo Jara ou la force de Ségou

YVES PERSON

De Bamako jusqu'au Maçina, où elles se dispersent dans les marais du Delta intérieur avant de se rassembler dans le lac Debo, les larges eaux du Niger ordonnent et structurent l'espace bambara. Le grand fleuve impose un axe géographique qui oriente depuis des siècles la civilisation soudanaise et la Mésopotamie africaine qu'il dessine avec le cours parallèle du Bani est une zone de forte densité humaine et de richesse agricole. Mais ses eaux, qui fécondent la terre et permettent la pêche, portent aussi tout le système symbolique des Bambara dont la mythologie s'organise autour de la figure mystérieuse de Faro, le génie du fleuve. Le pouvoir bambara paraît étroitement lié aux rapports privilégiés de certains hommes avec ces esprits des eaux. Biton s'alliera par la force à Faro et Ngolo sera sauvé par une pêche miraculeuse. Vers le nord ou le sud, vers les terres sèches du Sahel ou les savanes guinéennes, de vastes régions sont occupées par les Bambara mais elles donnent une impression de flou, d'incertain, d'inorganique. L'axe culturel et social qui définit leur identité est bien le cours du grand fleuve qui a guidé de siècle en siècle l'organisation des empires, le Mali à partir de l'amont, le Songhay à partir de l'aval, enfin celui des Bambara de Ségou qui s'est fortement implanté dans la zone centrale à partir du XVIII[e] siècle.

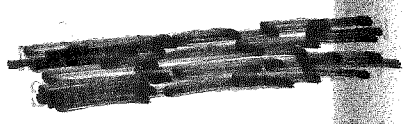
La société Bambara

Ces Bambara du fleuve, cultivateurs de mil, de fonio et de riz, occupent des terres riches et peuplées depuis Bamako jusqu'aux portes de Djenné mais, en amont, les Malinké ne se distinguent d'eux que par de faibles nuances dialectales et des références à l'Empire médiéval. Leurs gros villages se situent à la limite de deux architectures, celle des cases rondes à toit de paille qui domine dans le sud et celle des constructions à terrasses, évoquant déjà le Sahel, dont les entassements massifs sont difficiles à prendre d'assaut. Ces terrasses dominent déjà sur les rives du fleuve, surtout dans les villes.

La société manding (malinké ou bambara) est fondée sur des lignages patrilinéaires à fort esprit communautaire regroupés en villages, et ceux-ci en unités territoriales élémentaires, les *kafu* ou cantons. L'égalitarisme foncier des lignages libres ou *horon*, s'exprime par un idéal d'autonomie économique et politique fondé sur l'égalité, l'équilibre et la modération. Celui-ci est démenti par l'existence de castes professionnelles, marquées par la ségrégation sexuelle, les *nyamakala* (travailleurs du cuir ou *garanke,* forgerons ou *numun*, griots ou *jeeli*) et par celle de dépendants ou *jon*. Ce dernier mot désigne des individus dépouillés de leurs droits lignagers par un acte violent qui est le plus souvent la guerre. Quand il s'agit de la mise en dépendance par rapport à une personne privée, *jon* doit être traduit par esclave. Dans le cadre de chaque village, l'autonomie naturelle des lignages est limitée par des institutions transversales, comme les sociétés religieuses ou *jow*, les catégories d'âge ou *kari* et les associations ou *ton*, qui peuvent se combiner avec les précédentes ou structurer des professions non castées, comme les chasseurs ou *donzo*. D'autres catégories professionnelles comme les *somono,* ou pêcheurs, dont le rôle économique et militaire est fondamental, ou bien les *juula*, ou commerçants, ne sont pas castées mais, étroitement liées à l'islam et à un genre de vie particulier, elles déterminent des groupes sociaux originaux

- Mali

S. 275-309



Bambara de la région de Djenné.

DAARI

LES AFRICAINS

sous la direction
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TOME XI

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LES EDITIONS DU
jaguar

Al-H'âjj 'Umar, mission et guerre sainte en Afrique occidentale

Henri MONIOT

Il s'appelait 'Umar, était fils de Sa'îd, de la famille des Tâl ; il avait fait le pèlerinage, et quand il fut célèbre, on le précisa natif du Fouta. Ce qui donne, en arabe, al-H'âjj 'Umar ibn Sa'îd Tâl al-Fûtî. Dans sa propre langue, le peul, avec une translittération simple : Oumar Seydou Tall. Et, dans la graphie française tôt fixée par l'usage : El Hadj Omar.

Figure majeure de l'islam soudanais sur le plan intellectuel et moral, conquérant redoutable dont l'action a modifié profondément la carte politique, ethnique et sociale du Soudan occidental, enfin, après sa mort, représentation historique dominante qui habita et habite encore l'esprit de tant de fidèles : voilà, certes, un homme qui tient de la place.

Si les grandes lignes et les points tournants de sa vie sont bien établis, maints détails en sont inégalement assurés, portés par une tradition foisonnante qui ne peut pas toujours être maîtrisée par la critique, ou qui ne l'a pas encore été. Il est d'ailleurs bien possible que ce qui a été dit, pensé et cru de 'Umar soit historiquement plus important que la matérialité, le contenu ou la date des faits évoqués.

Il naquit sans doute en 1794 — sinon c'est en 1795 ou en 1797 — au village de Halwar, un peu à l'est de Podor, dans la moyenne vallée du Sénégal, un des *Fouta* ou pays de parler peul : le Fouta-Toro, partie du peuple toucouleur qui partage en effet la langue des Peul, contrée de longue date active, peuplée et islamisée. La génération de son père avait accompli une vigoureuse révolution de l'ordre social et politique : en 1776, le groupe des *Torobe* (sing. *torodo*), pieux et lettrés, avait mobilisé les gens pour renverser la dynastie peul plus ou moins païenne qui dominait le pays depuis deux siècles et demi, et fondé un Etat musulman, prosélyte, mené par un *almamy (al-imâm)* fidèle gérant de la loi divine, la *charî'a*, en même temps qu'enfin soucieux de protéger le peuple toucouleur des incursions de ses voisins et des aspects menaçants du commerce de traite animé par les Français depuis Saint-Louis. La redistribution des pouvoirs et des biens confirmait en position de couche sociale supérieure ces Torobe déjà détenteurs, pour leur savoir et leur piété, d'une direction morale reconnue. Une fois installé, le nouvel ordre entretint son idéal authentiquement islamique, mais témoigna d'un fractionnement politique de fait autour de grandes familles, ainsi que d'une hiérarchie sociale manifestée notamment dans le contrôle des précieuses terres de culture — donc d'une faiblesse externe potentielle et, à l'intérieur, de frustrations réelles et de tensions qui renforçaient les effets anciens de la pression démographique sur le sol.

Rencontre de la Tijâniyya

'Umar naît dans le groupe torodo. Son père, marabout localement renommé et riche d'enfants, a fait, bien sûr, le *jihâd* de 1776 et les traditions nous disent qu'il a aménagé une petite mosquée dans son enclos pour prier dans de meilleures conditions qu'à la mosquée publique (cf. encadré). C'est lui qui donne à son fils un premier niveau d'instruction islamique et arabe très honorable, et déjà 'Umar excelle : ne savait-il pas le Coran par cœur à douze ans ? Il va donc, de façon classique, poursuivre des études ambulantes en fréquentant divers maîtres comme il n'en manquait pas depuis des générations dans tout le Sahel et le Soudan. Ainsi aurait-il été à Pire, près de Tivaouane, en pays wolof, et chez les Maures. Il rencontre un

- el. Hac Ömer
Senegal
Tidjani

5.241-261

Représentation française, non de 'Umar, mais de Racine Tall, chef de son armée.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF AFRICA

83516

Volume 4
from *c.* 1600 to *c.* 1790

edited by
RICHARD GRAY

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2000

could venture out for fear of a deposed pasha and his Tuareg allies, who terrorized the countryside. Sīdī al-Mukhtār became *muqaddam*, leader of the Qādiriyya in the western Sudan about 1757. He used this religious authority to extend his political influence by mediating among warring tribes and factions of Arabs and Tuareg. He called loyal groups to fight turbulent ones in an effort to restore some security. The near anarchy, described by the *Tadhkirat al-Nisyān* in the middle of the eighteenth century, was thus somewhat rectified by 'Allāh's truce', imposed by Sīdī al-Mukhtār.

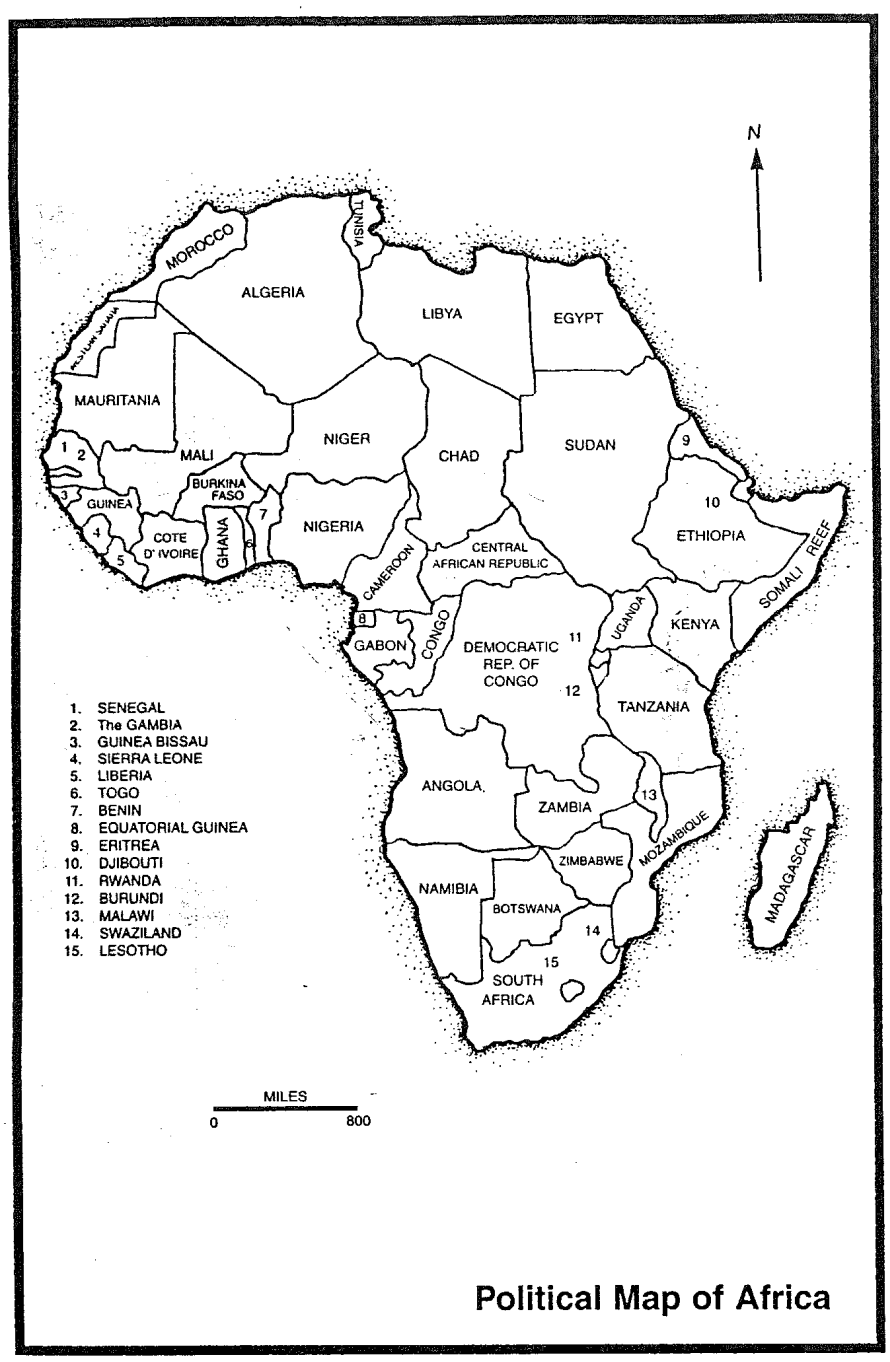
One of the first achievements of Sīdī al-Mukhtār was his treaty with the Berabish, a tribe of Berber origin, who had been arabized through the infiltration of Arab lineages. From the seventeenth century onwards, the Berabish had imposed their protection over the Saharan routes from Timbuktu to Morocco via Arawan and Taodeni; only those caravans which paid tolls or tribute to the Berabish could cross the desert. During much of this period, the Kunta played an important role in the organization of the salt trade under the protection of the Berabish. Once the latter accepted the spiritual leadership of Sīdī al-Mukhtār, the flow of trade grew and the wealth of the Kunta increased.

Sīdī al-Mukhtār's most important political asset was, however, his alliance with the Iwillimidden, by then masters of the Niger bend and the confines of the desert. He was venerated by the Tuareg, whose chiefs sought his advice in political matters. Through his influence over the Tuareg, Sīdī al-Mukhtār extended his patronage over the city of Timbuktu. His religious authority expanded even farther through his numerous disciples, who spread his brand of the Qādiriyya brotherhood into the savanna.

THE BAMBARA STATES

The authority of the Songhay in the sixteenth century had not extended much farther south than Jenne. Kala and Bindugu, the former provinces of Mali between the Niger and the Bani rivers, maintained a precarious independence between the aggressive Songhay and the declining Mali empires. It was in this region that the nucleus of the Bambara state later developed. For Muslims, and therefore also for the authors of the *ta'rīkhs*, Bambara was a general term for animists. On the middle Niger, pastoralists sometimes still call dark-skinned agriculturalists by the term Bambara. The Bambara who gained hegemony over the middle Niger in the eighteenth century were those who called

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Political Map of Africa

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The History of Islam in Africa

edited by Nehemia Levtzion & Randall L. Pouwels

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CHAPTER 9

Islam in West Africa: Radicalism and the New Ethic of Disagreement, 1960-1990

Lansiné Kaba

This chapter examines the origins and forms of the current Islamic vitality in the Francophone states of Guinea, Mali, and Côte d'Ivoire in West Africa since their independence, with special attention to new attitudes. A broad attempt at reflection on religion and politics, the chapter is based on information gleaned from archival research and gathered from oral interviews with both reform and nonreform Muslims between 1985 and 1995. It analyzes the Muslim leaders' perceptions of their roles in modern societies and their concerns, in the words of a respected imam, as "people of God committed to peace and development."[1]

Unlike in the post–World War II decades, when numerous African territories achieved independence from European colonial powers, and when the Marxist interpretation of history and society, with its neglect of religion's significance, dominated the intellectual discourse, religious movements and thoughts have received, since the 1980s, more attention from scholars and policy makers. For example, as shown in chapter 7, Islam has emerged in many areas as a force both in national and international politics. In some West African countries, Muslims have exulted in the resurgence of religious fervor. This spirit seems to indicate a success over the benign indifference that characterized the first decades of independence. From the campus of the university of Dakar-Fann in Senegal, with a large student body formerly committed to socialism and militancy, to the mosque of the Riviera in the plush Cocody section of Abidjan in Côte d'Ivoire, which symbolizes an Islamic fervor unusual in a modernizing bourgeoisie, Quranic preachers urge their brethren to abide by the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad *(sunna),* the foundation of Islamic orthodoxy

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الطبعة الأولى ١٤١٩هـ / ١٩٩٨م

مركز الملك فيصل للبحوث والدراسات الإسلامية

ص . ب (٥١٠٤٩) الرياض ١١٥٤٣

(ح) مركز الملك فيصل للبحوث والدراسات الإسلامية ، ١٤١٩ هـ

فهرسة مكتبة الملك فهد الوطنية

أحمد، مهدي رزق الله

حركة التجارة والإسلام والتعليم الإسلامي في غربي إفريقيا .ـ الرياض.

٨٥٢ ص.؛ ٢٤ سم

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١ ـ إفريقيا الغربية ـ تاريخ إسلامي ٢ ـ التجارة أ ـ العنوان

ديوي ٠٧٢، ٩٥٣ ١٩/١٧٧٩

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للبحوث والدراسات الإسلامية



مركز الملك فيصل للبحوث والدراسات الإسلامية

٢١

حركة التجارة والإسلام والتعليم الإسلامي في غربي إفريقية قبل الاستعمار وآثارها الحضارية

الدكتور مهدي رزق الله أحمد

الطبعة الأولى
١٤١٩هـ-١٩٩٨م

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جـ ـ تجار الديولا الماندين

إن هذه المجموعات من التجار المسلمين يعرفون بأسماء مختلفة[١] وسط مختلف القبائل، فعند مالنكي النيجر العلوي يعرفون بـ«الديولا»، وعند البمبارا في إقليم سيغو أو سيجو وجني باسم «ماركا»، وباسم «داقنج» في منحنى نهر فولتا الأسود العلوي، وباسم «يارسي» عند متكلمي لغات المول ـ داجبين.

وفي المصادر العربية يسمى تجار الماندي هؤلاء بـ«الوانغارا». وبهذا الاسم عرفوا عند الفولاني والهوسا. وعلى أثر الهوسا فإن الاسم وانغارا أطلق على نطاق واسع، في منتصف حوض الفولتا، على كل من شعوب الماندي المختلفة على بلادهم. ويذكر مكوان[٢] أن فرعا من الديولا يسمى بوسا، أقاموا على الطريق الجنوبي الغربي من كاتسينا في بلاد الهوسا إلى الأشانتي، فقد أقاموا على معبر فوق النيجر.

بعد أن دخل الإسلام إلى غربي إفريقية عن طريق التجارة في المقام الأول، وبعد أن رسخت قدمه هناك تسلم تجار غربي إفريقية أصحاب الأرض الراية من إخوانهم المسلمين من العرب والبربر، وبدؤوا يمارسون الدعوة إلى الإسلام عبر منظماتهم التجارية من خلال حركة التجارة الداخلية بين مناطق

(١) See: N. Levtzion: Muslim Chiefs in West Africa, p.3, 6.
P.I. N. Moewon: Africa from Early Times to 1800, p. 36.
M.A.AL Hajj: "A Seventeenth Century Chronicle on the Origins and Mssionary Activities of Wangarawa" K.S.
ولب كتاب مكوان الآنف الذكر حول أثر الماندي في مناطق غربي إفريقية لاسيما من حيث نشر الإسلام شرقا وغربا وجنوبا، ويشير الكاتب إلى أن هذا النفوذ الماندي يكون أحيانا سياسيا ومرة تجاريا وأحيانا أخرى يجمع بين الاثنين.

(٢) Ibid, R. 36.

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غربي إفريقية المختلفة. ومن هذه المجموعات التجارية التي أدت دورا بارزا في مجال الدعوة الإسلامية والتعليم الإسلامي تجار الديولا.

وعلى الرغم من معرفة تفاصيل قليلة عن منظماتهم المبكرة ودورهم في انتشار التعليم على فترات مختلفة كما يقرر ذلك لويس[١]، إلا أن هذا القليل يمكن أن يعطي صورة حقيقية لطبيعة تغلغل الإسلام داخل غربي إفريقية وعلى أيدي أهل المنطقة.

إن الاسم «ديولا» الذي يعني في لغة المالنكي كلمة «تاجر» اصطلاح يستعمل اليوم إشارة إلى عدد من متكلمي لغة المالنكي المسلمين. مثل واتارا وتوري وكيولبالي وبامبا.. إلخ. وهذه الفروع من شعب المالنكي متخصصة في التجارة[٢]. ويمكن اكتساب عضوية هذه الجماعة عامة بالمولد، فالابن يتبع الآباء، ويرجعون أصولهم اليوم إلى مركز نشاطهم الأول، إلى دولة مالي في العصور الوسطى.[٣]

وعن طريق تأسيسهم مستعمرات تجارية وأحيانا دولا[٤]، فقد تمكن هؤلاء التجار من تكوين شبكة تجارية ذات مستوى عال.[٥] وعن طريق منظماتهم المختلفة وتعاونياتهم المتفرقة أو نقاباتهم تمكنوا من اكتساب نفوذ اقتصادي داخل مختلف الدول والمجتمعات التي مارسوا فيها أعمالهم. وهكذا

(١) Islam in Tropical Africa, p. 24.
(٢) Loc-cit.
(٣) Ibid, p. 25.
(٤) من هذه الدويلات: دولة «كونج» في نهاية القرن السابع عشر بعد أن غادروا مركز بيغو الإسلامي في حوض الفولتا. انظر: N. Levtzion: Muslim and Chiefs, op. cit, p. 12.
(٥) loc. cit.، وعن دويلاتهم الصغيرة الأخرى وسط الشعوب الوثنية انظر: Trimingham. A History of Islam, op. cit., p.31.
Trimingham and Others: Islam in Africa, p. 17 Mewan, op. cit. p. 30.

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LES AFRICAINS

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et
Magali Morsy,
Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch,
Yves Person

TOME XI

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi
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L'Aménokal K'awa ou l'histoire des Touareg Iwillimmeden

H-T. Norris

Les Touareg Iwillimmeden qui vivent aujourd'hui au Mali et au Niger ont été autrefois les maîtres suprêmes de la Boucle du Niger. Ils avaient établi, entre le dix-septième et le dix-neuvième siècle, un empire ripuaire qui s'étendait de Tombouctou presque jusqu'au pied de l'Aïr. Leur société, gouvernée par une monarchie *(tamenukala)*, était constituée de différentes tribus nomades et de peuples sédentaires, de classes interdépendantes et d'innombrables esclaves nègres. Entre 1770 et 1816, à l'apogée de leur puissance, ils eurent à leur tête un roi, K'awa agg Kadidu, dont les exploits militaires et le règne d'une trentaine d'années sont presque uniques dans les annales de l'histoire récente des Touareg.

Au premier coup d'œil sur une carte du Sahara et du Sahel, on découvre deux massifs qui limitent le pays Iwillimmeden au nord, l'Adrar-n-Ifoghas au Mali et le massif de l'Aïr au Niger. Le cœur du domaine des Iwillimmeden se situe actuellement à Ménaka sur la frontière nigéro-malienne et dans la région qui s'étend entre Tahoua et Agadès. Mais à l'époque de leur plus grande puissance, les Iwillimmeden vivaient plus près du Niger. Le centre de leur habitat se trouvait dans la vallée du fleuve entre Tombouctou, Gao et Say. Il s'étendait aussi sur la rive sud du fleuve jusqu'à la chaîne du Hombori à l'ouest et aux frontières de la Haute-Volta au sud. Les terres cultivées de la vallée du Niger formaient le cœur économique et géographique de cet empire touareg.

Tout au long de leur histoire islamique, les Çanhâja (terme par lequel je désigne les Touareg et les Maures berbérophones ou arabisés du Sahara occidental et central) se sont réclamés d'une ascendance qui les rattachait au Yémen en Arabie et aux *Ançâr*, ces auxiliaires médiniens du Prophète Mohammed. Les historiens n'ont cessé de discuter, réfuter et rejeter cette prétention. Pourtant, les profondes motivations sociales qui l'ont inspirée ont constitué une puissante force de formation des mœurs sociales de ces peuples. C'est elle qui les a poussés à s'unir sous l'autorité des rois qui ont gouverné des cités sahariennes comme Awdaghust, Tadamakkat, Agadès et Ghat et le mouvement religieux des Almoravides *(al-Murâbit'ûn)* au XI[e] siècle marque son explosion sur une grande échelle.

Cinq siècles plus tard, l'histoire de l'empire Iwillimmeden a plus de points communs avec celle des anciens règnes des rois Çanhâja pré-almoravides qu'avec l'idéologie islamique des disciples d' 'Abdullâh ibn Yâsîn et de ses Almoravides. Néanmoins, ce n'est pas que l'inspiration musulmane leur ait fait défaut. La royauté arabe était l'idéal du chef séculier élu au sein de la succession *(et't'ebel)* patrilinéaire ou matrilinéaire de sa communauté et dont le rôle consistait à convoquer ses armées au son du tambour royal et à donner le signal de la marche annuelle *(tâbu)*, un camp en mouvement comme une tempête de sable. Et c'était à la fois une manifestation de force et une expédition pour la collecte de l'impôt. Ce rituel et cette référence au passé maintenaient un réseau de cohésion parmi les nobles Çanhâja. Les conseillers religieux du roi, les *ineslemen*, qui donnaient forme aux lois, servaient de médiateurs, étudiaient, écrivaient, soignaient les malades et évoquaient la pluie, s'inspiraient de l'idéal des compagnons de Mohammed. C'étaient eux – les Kel Es-Sûq et Ech-Cherifen – qui prétendaient descendre de la famille du Prophète, de Ya'qûb al-Ansârî ou d'autres compagnons du Prophète.

Iwillimmeden
Touareg
Timbuktu
s. 169 - 191

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مركز الملك فيصل للبحوث والدراسات الإسلامية
٢١

حركة التجارة والإسلام والتعليم الإسلامي في غربي إفريقية قبل الاستعمار وآثارها الحضارية

الدكتور مهدي رزق الله أحمد

الطبعة الأولى
١٤١٩هـ-١٩٩٨م

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دولة مالي الإسلامية

المطلب الأول : التطور التاريخي لقيام دولة مالي

مالي، هي المعروفة عند العامة ببلاد «التكرور[1]»، تعد أقوى وأغنى الدول الإفريقية التي ظهرت في إفريقية الغربية، ويميزها عن غيرها ذلك الدور الكبير الذي نهضت به من أجل توحيد القبائل الزنجية داخل ولايات أو وحدات أو ممالك. وكذلك الدور البارز في نشر الإسلام والدعوة له في بلاد غربي أفريقية.

ولا نريد هنا أن نعرض للحروب والغزوات التي قام بها سلاطين مالي، ولا أن نتتبَّع تاريخ الملوك الذين تعاقبوا على دست الحكم في هذه الدولة، ولكننا سنعرض لما يهمنا في موضوع هذا البحث، وهو دور التجارة والطرق التجارية والتجار في قيام هذه الدولة الإسلامية.

إن مؤسسي دولة مالي هم قبائل الماندنجو التي سادت لبضعة قرون في المنطقة الفسيحة الممتدة بين نهر النيجر والمحيط الأطلسي، أي في الوديان العليا لنهر السنغال، وامتدت نحو الجنوب إلى حوالي خط عرض ٩°٥ شمالاً، ولا توجد منها جماعات مبعثرة في مناطق أخرى بحوض النيجر وما حوله.[2]

ولقد أشار الكتاب العرب من المؤرخين والجغرافيين إلى دولة مالي باسم مل أو مالي أو ملي ونحوها، ومن هؤلاء الكتاب: البكري، الإدريسي، ابن سعيد، أبو الفداء، العمري، ابن بطوطة، ابن خلدون، القلقشندي، ليو الإفريقي، ابن إياس، السعدي وصاحب الفتاش،[3] ابن المختار.

(١) القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، جـ٥، مصدر سبق ذكره، ص ٢٨٢ .
(٢) الدكتور طرخان: دولة مالي الإسلامية، القاهرة ١٩٧٣م. الناشر: الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب ، ص ٢٧٢
(٣) المرجع نفسه ، ص ٣٠ .

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Thomas Krings

– Mali

04 AGUSTOS 1992

Sahel

Senegal, Mauretanien, Mali, Niger

Islamische und traditionelle schwarzafrikanische Kultur
zwischen Atlantik und Tschadsee

Mit Fotos von Beatrice Frehn

İSLAM TARİH SANAT
ve KÜLTÜRÜ ARAŞTIRMA
MERKEZI - İSTANBUL

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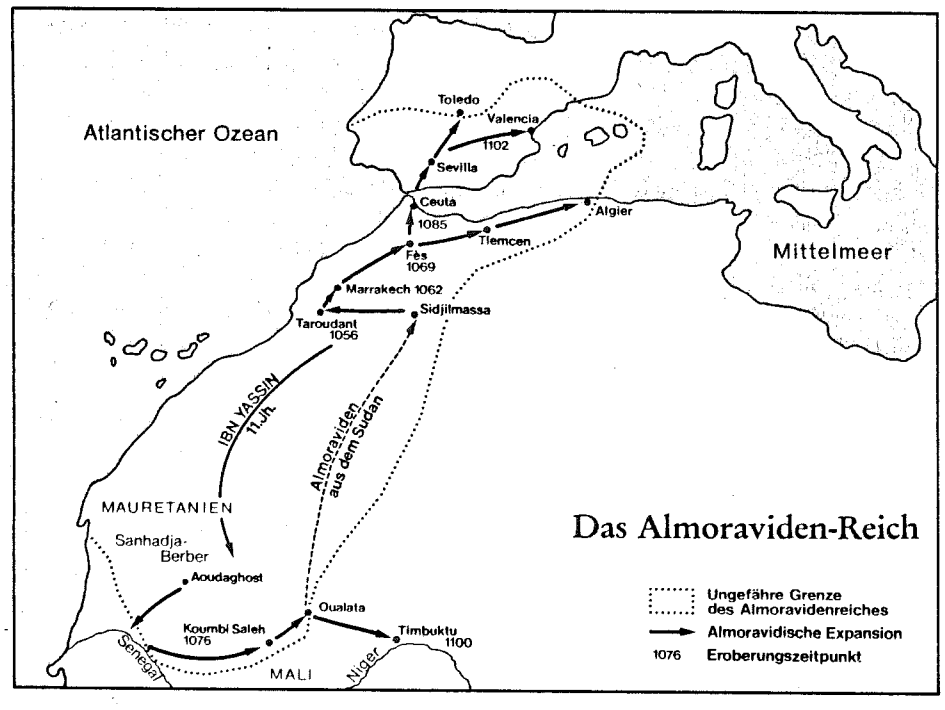
DuMont Buchverlag Köln

1982

tischer Richtung unter den saharischen Berbern im Westen auszubreiten und zu festigen. Seine asketischen Forderungen waren jedoch so streng, daß die freiheitsliebenden Sanhadja-Berber seine Reformen bekämpften und er mit seinen Schülern auf eine Halbinsel an der Atlantikküste fliehen mußte. Nun aber strömten ihm zahlreiche Anhänger zu, die er *Al-murabetin*, d. h. ›die zum heiligen Krieg Entschlossenen‹, nannte. Diese Bewegung gipfelte in dem Siegeszug der Almoraviden (wie man sie später nannte), der sich über Marokko bis nach Spanien zum Ebro hinziehen sollte. 1042 verkündigte Ibn Yassin den ›Heiligen Krieg‹ und eroberte mit einer völlig neu organisierten Streitmacht von über 30 000 Mann die berberischen Regionen des Adrar und Tagant im heutigen Mauretanien. Aoudaghost, damals von einem Statthalter Ghanas regiert, fiel im Jahr 1054, der marokkanische Handelsplatz Sidjilmassa nur wenig später. Bei seinem Tod hinterließ Ibn Yassin seinen Nachfolgern Yussuf Taschifin und Abu Bekr, den eigentlichen Begründern der Almoraviden-Dynastie, große Teile des Westsudan und Marokkos, wo die Almoraviden 1062 die Stadt Marrakech gründeten. Die Eroberung Koumbi Salehs wurde dadurch erleichtert, daß zahlreiche berberische Händler und einige zum Islam übergetretene Prinzen in der Stadt zu den Almoraviden hielten und zudem innere Streitigkeiten im Reich ausbrachen. Im Jahr 1076 fiel die Hauptstadt Ghanas. Alle, die den Islam nicht annehmen wollten, wurden umgebracht, der Königspalast und große Teile der Stadt völlig zerstört. Der König mußte nun den Almoraviden Tribute zahlen, und das alte Reich Ghana verlor mehrere Provinzen. Als Abu Bekr 1087 im Kampf gegen die Mande fiel, konnte sich Ghana noch einmal selbständig machen, aber die alte Macht war dahin, und die Teilkönigtümer Diara, Sosso, Mena und Mali, die alten Stadtstaaten im Senegal- und Nigerbecken, lösten sich vom Reich. Der Zerfall Ghanas beschleunigte die Islamisierung des Westsudan, und viele Stämme, die sich gegen die neue Religion auflehnten, wanderten aus dem Sahel nach Süden ab, darunter die Wolof, Sarakolle, Bambara, Songhay und Akan, während sich die Fulbe in die Bergländer von Guinea und in das Binnendelta des Niger zurückzogen. In diese Zeit fällt auch die Gründung der Wolof-Königreiche im nördlichen Senegal.

Die Nachfolge des Ghana-Reiches übernahm im beginnenden 13. Jh. der zum Islam übergetretene Tunkana von Sosso. Die Herrschaft der Sosso empfanden die berberischen Händler der Stadt Koumbi Saleh jedoch als so drückend, daß viele von ihnen 150 km weiter nördlich die Stadt Oualata als neue Handelsniederlassung gründeten. Damit war auch das wirtschaftliche Schicksal der Hauptstadt Ghanas besiegelt, und bald darauf zerstörte sie der Herrscher des aufstrebenden Mali-Reiches, Mari Djata, vollends.

Der Ruhm Ghanas blieb den Afrikanern unvergessen. Kwame Nkrumah verlieh 1957 der ehemaligen Kolonie Goldküste den Namen Ghana. Damit sollte keine historische Verbindung zwischen dem alten Ghana im Sahel und der Goldküste bezeichnet, sondern die Kontinuität der politischen Souveränität der Afrikaner hervorgehoben werden.



Das Reich Mali

Das auf Ghana folgende Großreich Mali der Malinke (Mande) wurde zum bekanntesten der mittelalterlichen afrikanischen Staatswesen südlich der Sahara. In seiner Blütezeit im 14. Jh. erstreckte sich Mali von der Sahara bis zum tropischen Regenwald in Guinea, sein Kernbereich umfaßte den größten Teil der heutigen Staaten Guinea, Mali und Senegal.

Ein kleines Fürstentum Mali (Mande) existierte unter der Souveränität Ghanas zwischen dem oberen Niger und dem Senegal bereits seit dem 11. Jh. Sein erster Herrscher war Baramendana, ein Nachfahre gefürchteter Jäger und großer Magier, der den Islam annahm. Im 12. Jh. regierten Hamama und sein Sohn Djigi Bilali. Dessen Sohn und Nachfolger Moussa Keita (1200–1218) gilt als der eigentliche Gründer des Mali-Reiches und der herrschenden Keita-Dynastie. Moussa Keita soll viermal nach Mekka gepilgert sein, wodurch er den Namen ›Mali‹ in der arabischen Welt immer mehr bekannt machte. Sein Nachfolger Nare Famagan (1218–1230) zeugte zwölf Söhne, die alle mit Ausnahme von Sundiata oder Mari Djata (dem ›Löwen von Mali‹) in Kämpfen mit dem König des Ghana-Nachfolgereiches Sosso, Sumanguru Konte, fielen.

Nach einer mythischen Überlieferung der traditionsbewußten Medizinmänner der Malinke war der sagenumwobene Sundjata bis zu seinem siebten Lebensjahr gelähmt. Eines Tages soll er um eine Eisenstange gebeten haben, um sich daran aufzurichten. Die Stange bog sich unter seinem Gewicht so, daß sie zerbrach. Eine zweite und dritte Stange zerbarst ebenso. Schließlich schrie jemand: »Gebt ihm das Szepter seines Vaters, damit er sich daran aufrichte«. Sundiata stützte sich auf die Königsinsignie und stand aufrecht da. Die Mutter Sundiatas und der Bänkelsänger (Griot) Diakuma Dia stimmten daraufhin das ›Lied des Bogens‹ an. Die Melodie und der

Mervyn Hiskett

The Development of Islam in West Africa

DİA için Tarandı

Mali

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi
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its king, War Jabi (d. 432/1040–1), a generation before the Almoravids embarked on their conquest. War Jabi's son, Labi, then entered into an alliance with the Almoravids and helped them in their *jihād*.

Contrary to what has often been supposed, Islam, even if in a somewhat impure form, has continued to be the religion and culture of the majority of the people of Takrūr, rulers and commoners alike, ever since that time.

As Ghana declined, Takrūr took over much of its western territory, gained control of part of the western Saharan trade and became a flourishing market. With the rise of Mali, Takrūr was gradually dominated by that empire but as Mali declined, Takrūr broke up into kingdoms ruled by kings of the Wolof and Denianke, a Fulani dynasty.

Takrūr gave rise to a well-known name, 'Takrūrī'. This was used by Arabic geographers and historians to describe, first, the people of Takrūr and later, used loosely and very inaccurately, to describe all Sūdānī Muslims, even occasionally those as far east as Borno! This is probably to be accounted for by the fact that West African pilgrims who arrived in Cairo, Mecca and Medina, tended to be referred to by the local peoples as 'Takrūrī' and so the term came to be generally used in this wide sense. In due course it may have given rise to a corrupt form, 'Tukolor'. The people of Takrūr and their descendants did not employ this name to refer to themselves, they called themselves 'Hal Pulor', speakers of Pulor, that is Fulfulde. Others, however, persisted in using it of them and eventually, it came to mean those people of various tribal groups – Fulani, Wolof, Serer – who lived in the Senegambia and were united by being the Muslim subjects of the Wolof or Denianke kings. It is with this meaning that the word 'Tukolor' is used in this book.

The rise of the empire of Mali

Mali, or Malal as it was sometimes called, was the name given to a Mandingo or Malinke kingdom of the Niger Bend. It was ruled originally by the Kaita dynasty. Its early history is obscure, but it is clear that it was at one time part of the empire of Ghana, though independently governed by its own kings. It was one of those kings who was converted to Sunnī Islam by the *shaykh* mentioned by al-Bakrī, certainly before 460/1067. Later, it was won over for the Ibāḍiyya by ʿAlī b. Yakhlaf but later still Sunnī Islam once again triumped. All the same, Islam whether Ibāḍī or Sunnī, seems to have exerted only a superficial influence over the ruling Kaita dynasty before the second half of the 7/13 century.

Probably shortly after 596/1200, Sunjata Kaita, sometimes known as Mari Jata and nominally a Muslim, emerged as the great hero of the Mandingo people. As was mentioned above, he drove out the Susu and conquered Ghana. His fight against the Susu chief, Sumanguru, is still remembered by the *griots*, the professional reciter-musicians of the Mandingoes. The story is told in the great epic poem of the Mandingo people. This passage from one version of it tells how Sunjata, who clearly possessed magical powers, struck down Sumanguru with a chicken spur.

. . .
Susu Sumanguru took his horse back some distance,
. . .

He charged on horseback with his three-pronged spear;
He raised it aloft and struck Sunjata with it;
The three-pronged spear shattered and fell to the ground.
. . .
He struck Sunjata with his long sword;
The long sword broke into three pieces and fell to the ground.
He retired again.
Then he returned with his iron rod.
He raised it aloft and was about to strike Sunjata with the iron rod,
But his arm remained aloft, immovable.
He said to Sunjata, 'Go ahead.'
Sunjata came and struck Sumanguru with his three-pronged spear;
The three-pronged spear was shattered.
. . .
He produced the chicken spur at that point
And shot Sumanguru with it;
He fell.[5]

Of course, it need not be assumed that Sunjata really did kill Sumanguru with a chicken spur. That is probably just a symbol meant to indicate that it was by magic that the great chief overcame his rival and, perhaps, to express scorn for that rival.

By defeating Sumanguru, Sunjata freed his people from the domination of the Susu. At the same time he founded the empire of Mali, in which he united all the branches of the Mandingoes. He also founded a new capital, Niani, on the Niger, east of Jariba, the earlier centre of the kings of Mali.

Despite a nominal allegiance to Islam, Sunjata was a hero of traditional African polytheism and he is celebrated as such in the epic poems of the Mandingo people, such as that quoted from above. He was succeeded by his son, Mansa Ulli. Mansa Ulli was sufficiently committed to Islam to perform Pilgrimage, passing through Egypt during the reign of the Mamlūk sultan, Baybars (658/1260–676/1277). He was thus one of the first Sūdānī Muslims to set up the links with Egypt described in chapter I. He also established his own position as a legitimate ruler in the eyes of Muslims inside and outside the Sudan. During his reign the empire of Mali expanded widely over the Sahel and he probably brought Walata, Timbuktu and Gao within his sphere of control. At the same time important trading and cultural links were set up with the Maghrib.

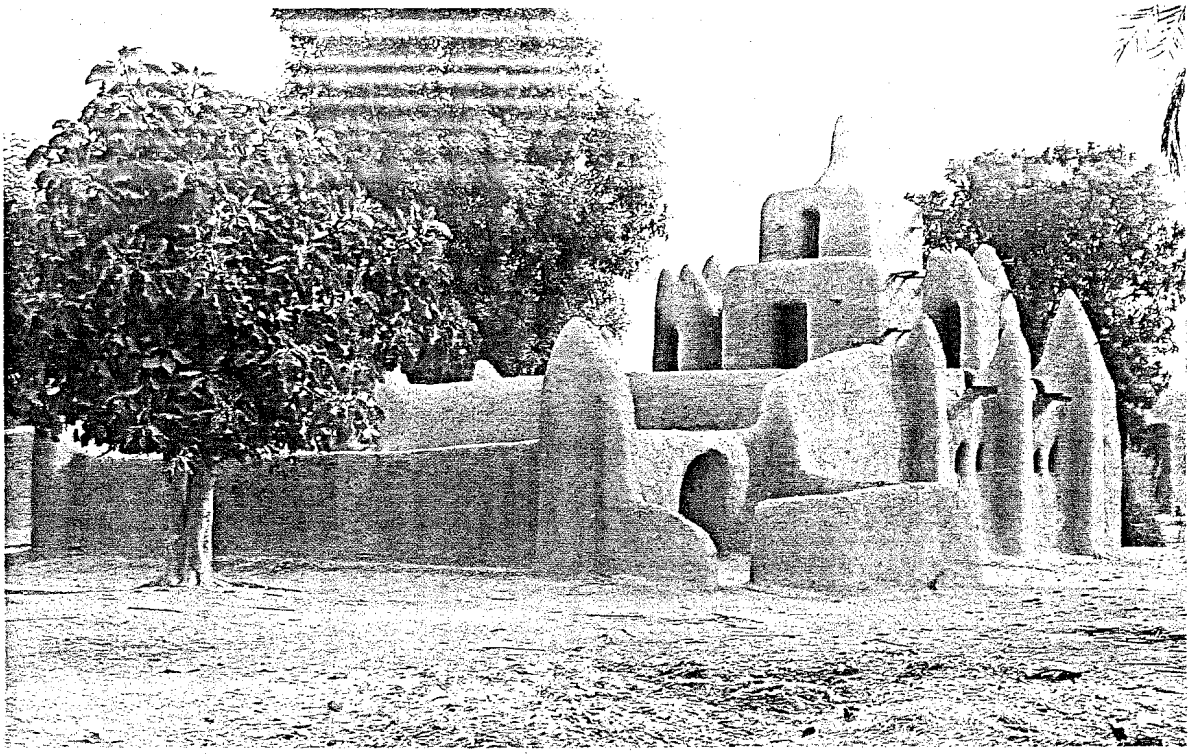
Towards the end of the 7/13 century a freed slave, Sakura, seized the throne and under his rule the empire expanded yet farther. He, too, made the Pilgrimage but died at Tajura, near Tripoli, on the return journey. The greatest of the kings of Mali was certainly Mansa Mūsā, who reigned from *c.* 712/1312 to 738/1337 and presided over what has been called the 'Golden Age' of Mali. So great was his fame that his portrait figures on an early European map of West Africa, the Catalan map of AD 1375. Here he sits in majesty, apparently presiding over the whole Sahara. It was certainly his Pilgrimage in 724/1324, described in chapter I, that brought him this renown. Tales of his visit spread from Cairo all over the Middle East and from there into Europe, turning him into a legendary figure. The wider importance of Mansa Mūsā's

Mimar, c.3, 1982 Singapore

-Mali

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MIMAR GALLERY



Magnificent Mud: Mosques in Mali

In the history of Islam in Africa south of the Sahara, Islamic forms have been incorporated by indigenous Sahelian cultures into a striking architecture — a syntheses of Muslim and African concepts. In the process these cultures have added a new dimension to their own existence.

Islam came into West Africa in about 9th century. The earliest known West African mosques date from this period and are tentatively associated with ancient Ghana and Awdaghost. Ancient Ghana fell in the 11th century and it was not until the rise of the black Muslim Kingdom of Mali, in the 13th century, that Islam spread to the savanna region and the Djenné-Timbuktu area became the centre of Islamic influence.

New York based photographer Carollee Pelos and architectural historian Jean-Louis Bourgeois work as a team. The photographs shown here are the fruits of their treks across West Africa. Having recently mounted an exhibition in New York entitled "Spectacular Vernacular: Traditional Desert Architecture from the West Africa and Southeast Asia", they are collaborating on a book on the same theme. All photographs are copyrights and used with their permission.

Here MIMAR presents a selection of images of five mosques in Mali. There are of course other great mosques in Mali, such as the ones in Timbuktu, Mopti and Gao, but those pictured here are, to our mind, representative of the architecture of the Sahel. Editors

Picture above: Mosque near Niono, Mali

Songay

EDIT. N. K. SINGH, A. M. KHAN, ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE WORLD MUSLIMS:
Tribes, Castes and Communities, VOL.IV, 2001 DELHI. IRCICA DN. 41905.pp.
-Fas
-Nijerya
-Sudan

Songhay

Community of Morocco, Nigeria and Sudan

From Timbuktu downstream to Goa, Niamey and Gaya, the Niger River flows through the Sahelian area of Songhay culture. In hundreds of hamlets, villages and towns of this hot and semi-arid region of West Africa, the name 'Songhay' (also Songhoi, Songhai, Sonhrai) still evokes through popular legend and songs the epic days of migration, conquest and empire of long ago. The cycle of events, though at some points hazy, is clear in its main outlines.

Original congeries of riverine people, among them fishermen (Sorko) and hunters (Gow), moved from the 'W' region upstream and settled in the Dendi area between Say and Bourem; eventually in the seventh century, they formed a rudimentary nation under the leadership of the house of Za (Dia).

The Za resided at first in Koukya and later moved to Gao, a growing centre of Sudanese trade and trans-Saharan traffic. The Za here embraced Islam (ca. 1010), even though his people remained faithful to the spirits which governed their relations with the river, the wild game and the soil. For centuries they lived simply as subjects of states ruled by others: first the Soninke (ca. 900–1077), later the Manding (ca. 1260–1400).

The decline of the Manding left a power vacuum. Rising to the occasion, Sonni Ali (Ali Ber, 1465–1492) audaciously set out to reclaim the Mali empire under Songhay rule and to control the route of commerce and trade in the name of Islam. Songhay warriors took Timbuktu in 1468, Jenne in 1473, Mopti a few years later and Oualata, a Mossi outpost, in 1483.

Sonni Ali was a fierce leader and an astute politician, but he was no religious man, although Islam served his cause. He certainly was more feared than lauded by the Muslim notables. When he died in battle, the succession was settled by a coup in favour of a more pious servant of Allâh, Mamadu Toure (1493–1529), who reigned as the first *askia*, soon enthroned as Askia el-Haj Muhammad by the caliph of Egypt in Cairo. He and his successors ruled with luster over a vast, well-administered expanse, the boundaries of which reached Agadez and Kano in the east, Jenne in the south, Oualata in the west and Taghaza in the north.

Ahmad al-Dehebi, sultan of Morocco, attracted by mirages of gold and treasure, sent a mercenary force armed with muskets across the Sahara in 1590. Six months later the Askia was killed in flight at Tondibi. Bao was devastated and Timbuktu sacked and looted. In Morocco the sultan, upon the sad reports of mud-brick settlements and arid spaces in lieu of fabulous cities and gold mines, soon decided to abandon the project.

Thus, the Songhay state disappeared and the Songhay nation broke up, reverting to the previous condition in which cultural dissimilarities asserted themselves in the different ecological settings to which the various groups wandered or returned. Certain cultural elements would remain to be shared, among these the Songhay language (of the Nilo-Saharan group), which allowed for several dialects and regional variations, a mixed and uneven adherence to Islam and above all, perhaps, the legend of a great past, which allowed for electric memories—in Ayorou and Tera, the Mayga's boasted blood ties to the noble Askia. Elsewhere, among the Sohantie, the Sorko or the Gow, the claim of being of the original nucleus, 'where it all began,' was frequently invoked.

It would hardly be possible to draw the demographic map of the groups and communities of Songhay culture in sharp detail. The diverse groups are dispersed in at least four different countries, led alone the migrant groups scattered in various coastal cities. Also, the available population statistics are only estimates at best.

The Songhay proper form two large clusters. One covers the lake-like region of the river bend in Mali, extending from Lake Debo along the river with strong concentrations in Goundam, Timbuktu, Bandiagara and Gao, and smaller ones in Issa Ber, Mopti, Segou and Bamako. The estimated population here is 420,000. The other spreads out in areas of the westernmost provinces of Niger, with strong concentration in Tillaberi, Ayorou and Tera (estimated population, 600,000). To these must be

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ARCHERS, MUSKETEERS, AND MOSQUITOES: THE MOROCCAN INVASION OF THE SUDAN AND THE SONGHAY RESISTANCE (1591–1612)

BY LANSINÉ KABA*

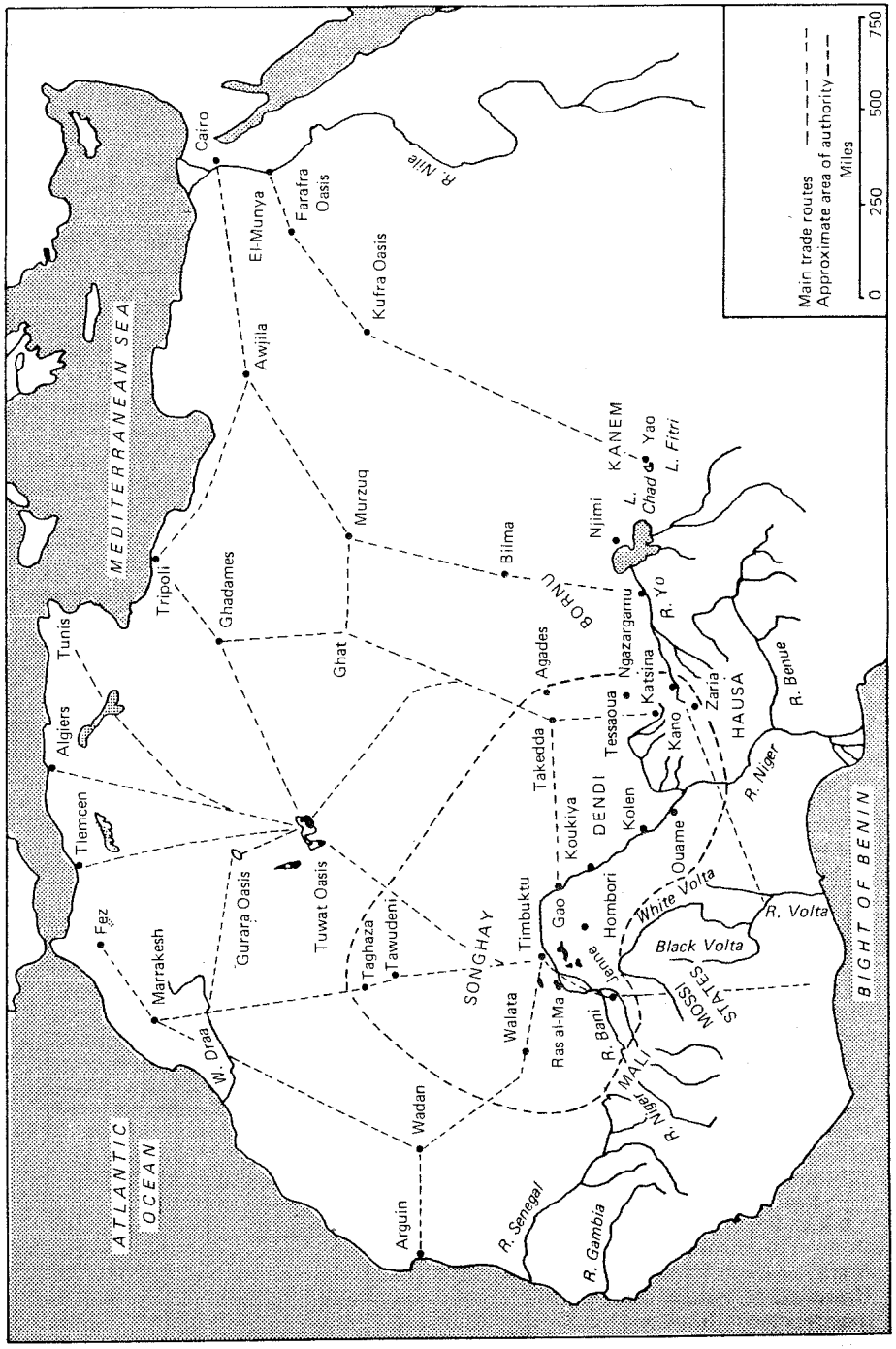
CENTRALIZED political rule able to create more effective techniques for controlling large populations and promoting long-distance trade played a significant role in the history of the Western Sudan from the fourth century A.D. The state of Songhay in the middle Niger River valley belonged to this tradition. A large and complex empire, it functioned with little strain between 1464 and 1583 – despite the change of dynasty in 1493. Trade was secure; and external threats were well controlled until 1591 when a mercenary army from Morocco using firearms for the first time in this region of the Sudan crossed the Sahara. A new and energetic dynasty known as the Sa'did dynasty had come to power in Morocco while Songhay was experiencing succession wars. Thus within less than ten years the Songhay state would be destroyed. The Moroccans, though determined to exploit the conquered land, lacked the resources for an effective domination. Therefore, the defeat of the Songhay forces on the battleground of Tondibi on 13 March 1591, by the mercenaries of the Sa'did Sultan Mūlāy Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, marked a turning point in the history of the Western Sudan.[1]. It eventually resulted in Songhay's collapse and the decline of the Western trans-Saharan commerce. The long standing and orderly trade relations between the Maghrib and the Sudan gradually gave way to more direct links with the European-owned trading posts on the Atlantic coast. Tondibi heralded a major crisis which finally swallowed up both the conqueror and the conquered.

This paper examines the Moroccan invasion and the causes of its failure mainly from a West African point of view. It focuses on the twenty-one years of Songhay resistance from 1591 until 1612 when the Moroccan commander (*qa'id*) 'Ali-ben-Abdallah-et-Talamsānī first refused to give battle to the Songhay forces, and then deposed the legitimate military governor (*Pasha*).[2]

* I wish to thank Professors Sékéné-Mody Cissoko of Dakar, Jean-Louis Triaud of Paris, Immanuel Wallerstein of SUNY at Binghamton, Tom Jones, Stuart Schwartz, Angus McDonald and John Modell of Minneapolis for their valuable comments and suggestions; and Jerome B. Weiner of Old Dominion University, Norfolk, for sharing his materials on Morocco with me.

[1] The *Ta'rīkh es-Sūdān* (hereafter *TS*) had dated Tondibi to 12 April 1591. See Abderrhahman ben Abdallah es-Sa'di, *Ta'rīkh es-Sudan* (Paris, 1964 edn.), 219. However, all other sources, including Maḥmūd Kâti's *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh* (hereafter *TaF*), and the Moroccan and Spanish ones, placed it in March.

[2] Among the works found useful for an understanding of this history, special consideration must be given to Es-Sa'di, *TS*; Maḥamud Kâti (and unidentified grandson), *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh* (Paris, 1964 edn.); Muḥammad al-Wafrānī, *Tadhkirat al-Nisyān*, French trans. and Arabic text, ed. O. Houdas as *Tedzkiret en-Nisian* (Paris, 1964 edn.); Diego de Torres, *Histoire des Chérifs et des royaumes de Maroc, Fez et Tardavant*, Le Duc d'Angoulesme, trans. (Paris, 1667; attached to *Marmol*, vol. 3); Muḥammad al-Wafrānī, *Nuzhat al-Hādī*, French trans. O. Houdas as *Nozhet el-Hadi: Histoire de la dynastie saadienne au Maroc* (*1511–1670*) (Paris, 1889); Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des*



Map 1. North Africa and the Sudan.

A HISTORY OF ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA

By

J. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM

SONGHAY

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Ansiklopedisi
... Kütüphanesi
Kayıt No. : 2513
Tasnif No. : 966.297 TRİ.H

Published for the UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW *by the*
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Oxford New York

traders, practised only in certain towns and among certain groups: Tokolor in Senegalese Futa, scattered groups of negroid Fulbe as in Futa Jalon and Māsina, western Songhay, Soninke in upper Senegal and the Sahil, Dyula colonies, a few Hausa towns, and by the dominant classes of Bornu, Waday, and Bagirmi.

2. THE COLLAPSE OF SONGHAY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Such remote events as the conquest of Granada in 1492, followed ten years later by the expulsion of Muslims from Spain, as well as Portuguese expeditions to the Atlantic coast of Africa, had repercussions in the Sudan. At that time the Mediterranean world was experiencing monetary and economic difficulties, one cause being the draining away of Sudanese gold by Portuguese traders, and Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, Sa'did sultan of Morocco, feeling himself hemmed in between Spain and Algeria under the Turks and obsessed by the mirage of Sudanese gold, turned his ambitions towards conquest beyond the Sahara. The immediate cause of the conquest of Songhay is ascribed to disputes over the salt deposits of Taghāza which lay on the borderland between Morocco and Songhay and were valued by both powers for their importance in connexion with trade. In 1581 Sultan Aḥmad took possession of the oases of Tawāt and Tigūrārīn; in 1585 he seized Taghāza but soon lost possession. In 1590 he raised an expeditionary force of 4,000 men consisting of Moroccan and Andalusian Muslims under Jūdar Pasha. After the remarkable feat of taking this large force across the Sahara in 135 days, a journey our sources pass over almost in silence, they met the Songhay army, which according to a Moroccan source was accompanied by medicine-men.[1] In spite of their superior numbers the Songhay were no match for the brutal disciplined European musketeers. Entering Kawkaw unopposed they found to their disappointment that it consisted of an agglomeration of mud and thatch huts which had been emptied of whatever treasures they possessed by the fleeing inhabitants.[2] Jūdar, therefore, evacuated Kawkaw and occupied Timbuktu without opposition.

A detailed account of the rule of these conquistadors over that limited part of the former Songhay empire they controlled, to which

[1] Al-Wafrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, p. 93/104; cf. as-Sa'dī, *T. as-Sūdān*, p. 102/168. These were no doubt griots or genealogical singers, one of whose functions was to excite the warriors.

[2] Cf. *Hespéris*, iii. 472–3; as-Sa'dī, transl. pp. 220–1.

the relative abundance of historical material might tempt us,[1] would be disproportionate to the scale of this study, but the effect of the rule of a military caste may be judged from the following quotation from as-Sa'dī who points the contrast between the relative tranquillity and prosperity of the country under the rule of the *askiyas* and the disorder which followed the invasion:

> The Sudan was one of God's most favoured countries in prosperity and fertility at the time this expeditionary force entered the country. Peace and security reigned in all parts thanks to the beneficient rule of the Prince of Believers, Askiya al-ḥājj Muḥammad, whose justice and firm rule was so respected that orders issued from his palace were executed in the most distant parts of his kingdom, from the frontiers of the country of Dendi to those of al-Ḥamdiyya, and from the confines of the country of Bonduku to Taghāza and Tawāt, as well as in all their dependencies. Now all that has changed. Security has given place to danger, prosperity to misery and calamity, whilst affliction and distress have succeeded wellbeing. Over the length and breadth of the land the people began devouring one another, raiding and war sparing neither life nor wealth nor status, disorder spreading and intensifying until it became universal.[2]

The result of the chaos caused by the invasion was that the old empire broke up into its constituent parts, and the various peoples it had embraced became independent. The Fulbe of Māsina began raiding the Negro cultivators, those of Donko raided the Ra's al-Mā' region, the Zaghrānians[3] devastated Bara and Dirma, the Bambara ravaged the province of Jennē, whilst the Tuareg became ever more and more aggressive against the riverain peasantry of the Niger buckle 'from Gao to Jennē'.[4] Fields went out of cultivation and disastrous famines swept the country. As-Sa'dī describes such a famine which occurred in 1618:

[1] This calamity and the subsequent course of the history of the Niger bend is unusually well documented from both Moroccan, Sudanese, and even European sources. Among them we may mention: As-Sa'dī, *Ta'rīkh as-Sūdān*, 1898 and 1900; Maḥmūd Kāti, *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, 1913; al-Wafrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī* (History of the Sa'dian dynasty, 1511–1670), ed. and transl. O. Houdas, Paris, 1888–9; H. de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, serie i, vol. v: Dynastie Saadienne, Paris, 1911; *Tadhkirat an-Nisyān*, ed. and transl. O. Houdas, Paris, 1901; E. Fagnon, *Extraits Inédits Relatifs au Maghrib*, Algiers, 1924, pp. 416–17, 456–7; H. de Castries, 'La Conquête du Soudan par El-Mansour', *Hespéris*, iii (1923), 433–88; E. Lévi-Provençal, 'Un Document inédit sur l'expédition sa'dide au Soudan', *Arabica*, ii (1955), 89–96.

[2] *T. as-Sūdān*, pp. 142–3 (222–3).

[3] Zaghrāna appears to be Soninke *dyō-gorani*, Mande *dyō goro*, equivalent to the Fulbe serf groups known as Dyāwambe in the western and Zoghoran (Hausa Zoromāwa) in central Sudan.

[4] *T. as-Sūdān*, p. 143 (223); *Fattāsh*, pp. 181–2 (317).

معلمة المغربية, مج. 20 . 1425/2005 الرباط..iSAM KTP 169750

Mali

أشعار النوبات والبشارف ووصلات التواشيح والأزجال، ودونت ألحانها بالعلامات الموسيقية.

الصادق الرزقي، *الأغاني التونسية*، الدار التونسية للنشر، 1967 ؛ محمد الضعيف، *تاريخ الدولة السعيدة*، تح. أحمد العماري، دار المأثورات، الرباط ؛ إدريس السرايري، *محاضرة بعنوان : الشر الغرناطي وحاضرة الرباط*، مهرجان الطرب الغرناطي، وجدة، 1987.

عبد العزيز بن عبد الجليل

مالي والمغرب، شكلت مملكة غانة خلال القرنين الرابع والخامس من الهجرة (10 ـ 11م) أقوى وحدة سياسية ببلاد السودان. وبحكم أن مجال نفوذها لم يتجاوز كثيراً منطقة أوكار، فقد ظهرت ببلاد السودان وقتئذ عدد من الإمارات المسلمة عاصرت غانة، غير أن نجمها كان خافتا، نذكر منها تكرور وگاو ومَلَلْ.

وتوجد ملل أو مالي جنوب مملكة غانة عند أعالي نهري السنغال والنيجر، حيث مستقر قبائل الماندينغ، والمسافة الفاصلة بينهما تبلغ نحو 12 مرحلة. وحسب رواية البكري، يظهر أن أول ملك مالي اعتنق الإسلام، عُرف بالمُسلماني، وذلك في خلال النصف الأول من القرن (5 / 11م).

وبفضل قبيل الونجرا الذي يشكل أهم قبائل الماندينغ المؤسسة لإمبراطورية مالي، عرف الإسلام انتشاراً واسعاً بين السودانيين خلال القرن السادس الهجري (12م)، ومنذئذ أخذ ملوك مالي يقومون بأداء فريضة الحج. وما كاد القرن الموالي ينتصف حتى ظهر بالمنطقة أول إمبراطورية سودانية مسلمة تحت زعامة ماري جاطة (ت. 1255)، شمل نفوذها مجمل مناطق بلاد السودان بما فيها مجال مملكة غانة التي انهارت في مطلع القرن (7هـ / 13م).

ولا مشاحة في أن امبراطورية مالي عرفت أوج عظمتها وذروة مجدها خلال القرن (8هـ / 15م)، خاصة مع السلطان منسا موسى (1312 ـ 1337) وأخيه السلطان منسا سليمان (1341 ـ 1360). وإذا كان السودانيون قد تعرفوا على الإسلام بفضل أهل المغرب، واستمروا في الاستعانة بالفقهاء المغاربة خاصة في الخطط الدينية، فقد كان طبيعيا أن تعرف العلاقات بين البلدين نمواً مطرداً على جميع المستويات.

وفي نفس السياق، أخذ بعض الطلبة السودانيون يتطلعون لاستكمال دراستهم بفاس، حيث شكل هذا المركز الحضري أحد أهم مراكز الاستقطاب العلمي للسودانيين، فأصبح قبلة مشهورة وعتبة مزورة بالنسبة للسودانيين الراغبين في تعميق معارفهم الإسلامية. ووجدت هذه الدينامية الثقافية تشجيعا ورعاية سواء على المستوى الرسمي أو الشعبي.

وجاءت حجّة السلطان منسا موسى المشهورة عام 1324، لتزيد من اهتمام النخب المثقفة والمتنورة في العالم العربي الإسلامي بهذا البلد السوداني الحديث العهد بالإسلام. فكثر الكلام عن مالي في جل الكتابات المغربية والمشرقية المعروفة لدينا خلال القرن (14م) (المقريزي والعمري وابن بطوطة وابن خلدون). وتجاوز هذا الاهتمام الضفة الشمالية للصحراء والكيان المائي للبحر الأبيض المتوسط لتتردد أصداؤه في دول وإمارات الضفة الجنوبية لأوروبا.

وتصادف أن كانت فاس وقتئذ العاصمة السياسية للمغرب المريني، فعرفت العلاقات بين الأسرتين الحاكمتين زخما قل نظيره في العلاقات بين ضفتي الصحراء، فسارت طيلة القرن (14م) سفارات عديدة بين نياني عاصمة مالي وفاس عاصمة بني مرين. وفي إطار هذه التطورات التي عرفتها العلاقات المالية المرينية، تندرج الرحلة السياحية والاستكشافية لابن بطوطة في بلاد السودان عام 1353، حيث تمّ استقباله من طرف السلطان منسا سليمان.

وقد واكب هذه التطورات تحولات هامة على المستوى الثقافي، ذلك أنه حينما استأنس السودانيون في أنفسهم قدرة أكبر على استيعاب قواعد الشريعة الإسلامية، أصبحوا يتشوفون إلى الانخراط في عوالم وفضاءات الثقافة العربية الإسلامية، فظهرت بمالي مراكز ثقافية أهمها جني، ونياني العاصمة، وولاته، فيما كانت تنبكت وقتها (القرن 14م) لا تزال في الظّل ولم تكتسب بَعْدُ شهرتها التي طبقت الآفاق.

لقد كانت مجمل المؤشرات حول العلاقات المالية المرينية تبشر بآفاق رحبة، غير أنه سرعان ما بدأت تعرف انكماشا وتراجعا بينا بسبب بلوغ الدولتين معا ـ وبشكل متزامن تقريبا ـ مرحلة التدهور والإنهيار في نهاية القرن الثامن الهجري (14م).

وبمجرد ما بدأ الضعف يدب في جسم امبراطورية مالي، استغل السنغيون الفرصة، وأعلنوا استقلالهم في الحوض الأوسط لنهر النيجر انطلاقا من عاصمتهم كوكو المعروفة أيضا تحت اسم گاو (GAO)، ثم أخذوا يزحفون لإخضاع كل ما كان في ملك مالي بزعامة سُني علي (1464 ـ 1493)، الذي يعتبر المؤسس الحقيقي لإمبراطورية سنغاي.

وحينما استقرت الأوضاع السياسية وأخذت الطبقة السّنغية الحاكمة تتطلع لترتيب أمور الدولة وتنظيم أحوال المجتمع، برزت شخصية الحاج أسكيا محمد كقائد عسكري مسلم (1493 ـ 1528)، استطاع بحنكته أن يهزم خلف سني علي ويستولي على الحكم عام 1493. وبذلك أسس لمرحلة جديدة من تاريخ إمبراطورية سنغاي في ظل أسرة جديدة عُرفت بأسرة أسكيا، ودام عهدها قرابة قرن من الزمن.

وقد عمل هذا الحاكم جهد مستطاعه لتوسيع قاعدة الإسلام بين السودانيين، كما اجتهد في ترسيخ الثقافة العربية الإسلامية من خلال تشجيع العلماء والفقهاء السودانيين وتيسير دروب المعرفة أمامهم. وبعد عودته من الحج عام 1497، عمل على جلب فقهاء مغاربة للإستنارة بأفكارهم مثل الفقيه محمد بن عبد الكريم المغيلي (ت. حوالي 1523) وغيره من الفقهاء المغاربة الذين كانت لهم رحلات علمية لبلاد السودان. وبفعل هذه الأجواء

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و«مغامرات الفارسين غاوين» Gawain ابن أخت آرثر، و«غالاهاد» Galahad ابن لانسلوت، وأيضاً تفاصيل المعركة الفاصلة التي تنهي حياة آرثر وانتقاله إلى أفالون Avalon (أو الجنّة) وتدمير مملكته.

سنّ مالوري تقليداً سار عليه كثيرون في الأدب الإنكليزي، كما لدى تنيسون[ر] وسكوت [ر]، وصار آرثر البطل القومي الذي سينقذ الأمة في أوقات المحن، وصارت هذه الحكايات كلها مادة خصبة لسينما القرن العشرين.

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■ المالوف ← الموسيقى العربية

■ مالي (جمهورية -)

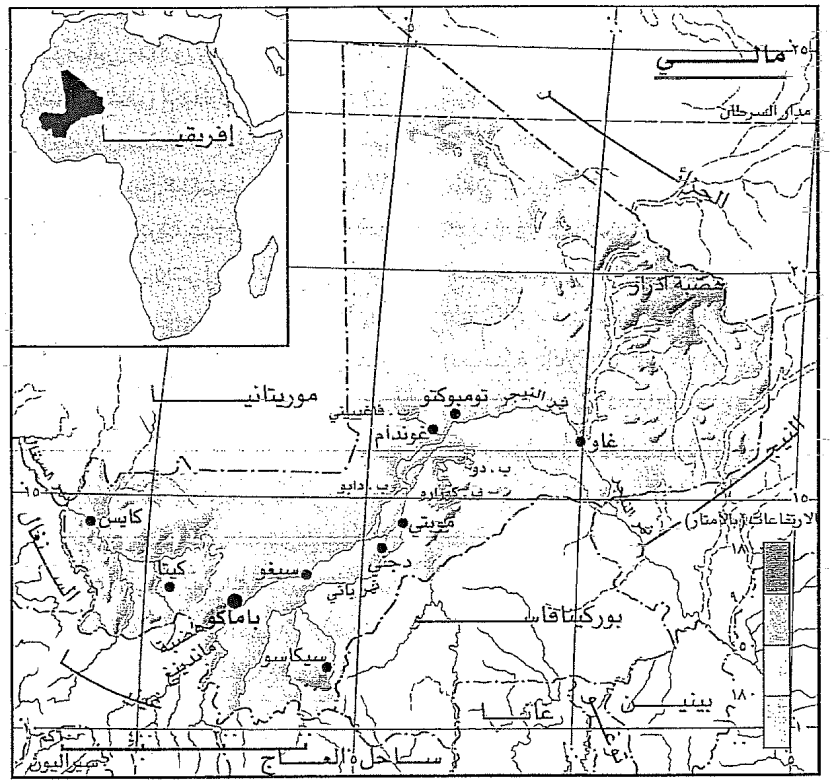
مالي Mali إحدى دول غربي إفريقيا الكبرى، تبلغ مساحتها ١٢٤١٢٣١كم٢، وهي دولة داخلية لامنفذ لها على البحر، تحيط بها الجزائر، والنيجر، وساحل العاج (كوت ديفوار Côte d'Ivoire) وغينيا، والسنغال وموريتانيا، وبوركينا فاسو، أطول مسافة بين شرق البلاد وغربها ١٨٥١كم، وبين الشمال والجنوب ١٦٠٩كم.

لمحة تاريخية:

مالي أرض حضارات قديمة، وقد نشأت في داخل الأراضي التي تشكل جمهورية مالي الحالية ثلاث ممالك، من أهم الممالك التي عرفتها إفريقيا السوداء، وهي مملكة ماندينكا Mandinka، ومملكة غانا، ومملكة سونغاي Songhaï، واعتمدت هذه الممالك في اقتصادها وثرواتها على حركة التجارة التي كانت تعبر الصحراء الإفريقية. وقد سيطرت مملكة مالي (ماندينكا) على الأراضي الممتدة على طول نهر النيجر ووصلت إلى أوج قوتها وثرائها في القرنين الثالث عشر والرابع عشر، ثم أخذت تتراجع تدريجياً تاركة المجال أمام مملكة سونغاي، وكانت قبائل ماندينكا نواة إمبراطورية مالي التي عُرفت منذ القرن الحادي عشر، وقد انتشر الإسلام في هذه الامبراطورية.

هوجمت إمبراطورية مالي في القرن الخامس عشر من قبل قبائل موسي Mossi وقبائل سونغاي، فحكم زعيم السونغاي سوني علي Sanni Ali في الفترة ١٤٦٢-١٤٩٢، وأرسى دعائم امبراطورية غاو Gao، واستولى على مراكز التجارة في تومبوكتو ودجني Djenné وقاتل قبائل الموسي والطوارق وقبائل بول Peul، وتزعم الامبراطورية أسكيا محمد Askia (١٤٩٢-١٥٢٨) بعد سوني علي.

ولدت (جمهورية مالي) في ٢٢ أيلول/سبتمبر ١٩٦٠، وانسحبت من المجموعة الفرنسية وأعلنت استقلالها التام، وانتخب موديبو كيتا Modibo Keita (١٩١٥-١٩٧٧) رئيساً للجمهورية، وحكم حتى عام ١٩٦٨. وفي تشرين الثاني/نوفمبر من عام ١٩٦٨ أطيح به بانقلاب عسكري ثم نصب الملازم الأول



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Mali ✓

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of Afghanistan, who comprise the bulk of the anti-Soviet Mujahiddin insurgents based in Pakistan. Yet their differing ethnic-political interests often lead to armed conflict between Baluch and Pushtun freedom-fighters when they meet on their respective cross-border forays.

In Iran, the Sunni Baluch hold little brief for Khomeini-style Shia fundamentalism and were among the first of Iran's minority groups to protest openly the revolution's policies. For Western strategists, the ongoing nightmare in Baluchistan (to use the phrase of Selig Harrison, a canny observer of the current Baluch political scene) is that Baluch desire for regional independence will lead to an ever-increasing flirtation with the Soviets, who may agree to accede to Baluch political aspirations for a 'cordon sanitaire' to the warm water ports and oil-producing areas of the Persian Gulf. Undoubtedly the Baluch, long obscure in world affairs, will assume increasing importance and merit considerable attention in times to come.

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A.W. MOHSIN

Bambara

Community of Gambia, Guinea, Ivory Coast and Mali

The Bambara are a community in Mali, Ivory Coast Guinea and Gambia. They form part of the

- Mali
- Mauritania

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vegetarian and rice and wheat are their staple cereal. The primary occupation of the Kunjra is fruit-selling. The Kunjra have their own council, the Raie Biradri Samaj, headed by a secretary, which looks after the well-being of the community.

They follow the Islamic faith. Their boys study upto the college level and their girls upto the secondary school level. Though they do not believe in indigenous medicines, they have faith in the healing powers of saints (*faqir*). However, they make full use of modern medicines.

In West Bengal, the Kunjra are also known as Jamiat-ul-Raeen, Sabzifarosh or Subzifrosh and Raie. They came to West Bengal from Gaya and Patna in Bihar and have settled mostly in the urban areas of the 24 Paraganas, Hooghly and other districts. They speak Hindi with their kin groups but are conversant with Bengali and use the Bengali and Devanagari scripts. The Urdu and the Perso-Arabic scripts are widely used. They are non-vegetarian and rice, wheat and millets are their staple cereals.

They follow the Muslim rules of inheritance regarding the distribution of the father's property, whereby females get a lesser share than the males. The birth rituals include sadhoury, followed by *chhatti*, *aqiqa* and circumcision. Their marriage rituals consist of betrothal (*mangni*), smearing of turmeric (*manja*) and *nikah*. They bury the dead and observe *chaharamdashwa*, *bishwa* and *challisa* ceremonies.

In addition to their traditional occupation of vegetable-selling, some of the Kunjra have taken up selling fish and utensils. Some are engaged in service while others have established industries. They have a few teachers among them and are also represented in the municipal corporation. Now-a-days, some boys study upto the secondary level and a few even upto the college level. They are not averse to modern medicines but their belief in traditional medicines is strong.

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R. PANDE

Kunta

Tribe of Mali and Mauritania

The Kunta are (sometimes pluralised as Kanata) a highly ramified Arabic-speaking tribe widely dispersed over the southern Sahara from Taganit in Mauritania to the Adrar-n-Ifoghas in eastern Mali and beyond. Their own genealogies claim descent from 'Uqba b. Nafi' al-Fihri to whom they attribute a series of exploits in and beyond. Their own genealogies claim descent form 'Uqba b. Nafi' al-Fihri to whom they attribute a series of exploits in and beyond ancient Ghana as far as Takrur. According to the so-called *Ta'rikh Kunta*, Sidi 'Ali, a descendant of 'Uqba, married the daughter of Muhammad b. Kunta b. Zazam (or Zam), chief of the Id Oukal (Ibdukal/Abduka) fraction of the Lamtuna Berbers, allegedly in the early 9th/15th century. Their son, Muhammad married into another Lamtuna group, the Tajakant, as did also his son Ahmad al-Baqqa'i that all the branches of the Kunta derive.

Thus, even by their own accounts, the Arab element in Kunta stock would appear small, and, significantly, their *zawaya* (non-warrior) status too, is indicative of Berber origin and, like most such groups in the western Sahara, they probably acquired an Arab pedigree along with the Arabic language during the period of Hassaniyya ascendancy in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries.

The period from the Mid-10th/16th century, when Ahmad al-Bakka'i's son Sidi 'Umar al-Shaykh is said to have died, until the early 12th/18th century seems to make the emergence of the Kunta as a distinct and relatively large tribe, their numbers no

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— I —

Idrisi

Community of India

The Idrisi, a community of Bihar, are popularly called Darzi. They believe that they are the descendants of Hazrat Idris. Idrisi and Shaikh are the surnames used by them. They are found to inhabit the districts of Bhagalpur, Munger and Patna. They speak Urdu at home and Hindi with others, and use both the Perso-Arabic and the Devanagari scripts. They are non-vegetarian and consume beef. Rice and wheat are their staple cereals.

Both cross- and parallel-cousin marriages are practised. Their customs of marriage and patterns of inheritance, succession and divorce are guided by the *shariat*. Married women wear a nose-stud as a marriage symbol. Birth pollution is observed for 40 days and the birth rituals observed circumcision (*sunnat*) and *aqiqa*. Marriage rituals observed are the consent *khutba-e-nikah* and *jalwa* ceremony. The dead are buried and a special prayer is offered.

Tailoring is the traditional as well as the primary occupation of the Idrisi. However, nowadays they are also engaged in cultivation and salaried jobs in the government and private sectors. Some are engaged in sharecropping while the landless among them often work as daily-wage and/or agricultural labourers.

They profess Islam and belong to the Sunni sect. These people demonstrate expertise in embroidery and needlework. They use percussion and valve musical instruments while singing. They maintain a patron–client relationship with the Kumhar, Dhobi, Hajjam, Dom and some other communities.

Their attitude towards formal education is partly favourable. They use both modern and indigenous medicines but family planning programmes have not been very well received by them. The IRDP and other employment-generation schemes have been utilised by them.

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A.M. ANSARI

Ifoghas

Tribe of Mali

Ifoghas, confederation of Touareg tribes, are consisting of about 17,000 persons who live in the southern Sahara between latitudes 17° and 21° N. at the north-east extremity of the republic of Mali. They inhabit the fairly low mountains of the Adrar and especially its valleys and its surrounding depressions.

The Adrar is a dense massif, of crystalline and granitic rocks, less than 1,000 metres high, which slopes to the west and is bordered to the west and the south by small sandstone plateaus. The wadis flow almost every summer during the rainy season

ANDREW PETERSEN, DICTIONARY OF ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE, LONDON 1996.

since 1153 when they were converted by a Berber known as Abu al-Barakat. The language of the islands is Dihevi which is related to Sinhalese although it is written in a script based on Arabic numerals.

The houses are made out of coral stone and coconut wood; the stone is used to build a platform and the wood is used for the superstructure. As experienced boat builders the Maldivians were able to build wooden houses without nails and make very tight joints. Ibn Battuta visited the islands twice in 1343 and 1346 and gave an account of the construction of houses. The house was built around a hall which opened on to the reception room, known as the malem, where the owner of the house would receive his male friends. At the back of the malem was another door which opened on to the rest of the house forbidden to guests.

There are many mosques on the islands; at present Male has thirty-three including the main mosque known as the Hukuru Meskit (Great Mosque). The standard mosque plan which seems to have remained the same since the seventeenth century consists of a stone building raised on a rectangular platform with an entrance at the east end and a rectangular recess at the west end. Near the entrance is a well set within a paved area with a path leading to the mosque entrance to keep feet clean after washing. Many of the mosques are built of stone although some are built out of wood like the houses. Each mosque is surrounded by a graveyard on three sides with tombstones made of finely dressed coral blocks (rounded stones represent women and pointed stones represent men). In general Maldivian mosques do not have mihrabs although they are oriented towards Mecca and have a square recess at the qibla end. Minarets are also unusual although the Hukuru Meskit has a thick cylindrical tower which functions as a minaret.

See also: coral

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Mali

Islamic West African empire which flourished during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The date of the first emergence of the kingdom of Mali is not known although there are references to it as early as the ninth century. However, it was not until the thirteenth century that the kingdom achieved the status of empire through the conquest of a number of rival states. The medieval empire of Mali was formed out of the unification of two distinct Manding groups, an established northern group and a more recent southern group. The unification was achieved by the famous Mali hero Sundiata who defeated Sumaguru Kante, lord of Susu in 1234 and then went on to conquer Ghana, Gangaran and the gold-producing area of Bambuko. The ruling clan, from which the king was selected, was the Keita clan of the northern group which traced its ancestry back to Bilal, the first black follower of the prophet. The empire had two distinct capitals: Kangaba, the religious capital, and Niani, capital of the Keita clan and birthplace of Sundiata. Although some branches of the Mali dynasty were Muslim fairly early on, it was not until the thirteenth century that the kings were Muslim.

After Sundiata the most famous king of Mali was Mansa Musa who made a legendary pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324–5. Although previous kings of Mali had made the pilgrimage to Mecca the journey of Mansa Musa made a particularly big impression because he dispersed large quantities of gold on the way. The amount of gold given away was so large that a contemporary account said that the value of gold in Egypt depreciated considerably after his arrival. In consequence of this the fame of Mansa Musa and Mali spread all over the Islamic world and beyond, so that Mali even appeared on contemporary European maps for the first time. When Mansa Musa returned to Mali he was accompanied by several North African travellers amongst whom was Abu Ishaq al-Saheli a poet from Andalusia who is credited with the introduction of a new style into West African architecture.

Mansa Musa was succeeded by Maghan I (1337–41) about whom little is known except that he had acted as regent for Mansa Musa during his absence on pilgrimage. In 1341 Maghan was succeeded by Mansa Musa's brother Sulayman who reorganized the empire and financial system in order to recover from the excessive expenditure of his brother. Sulayman was the ruler at the time of Ibn Battuta's visit in 1353 so that there is quite a detailed description of his rule including the king's friendly relations with the Marinid sultans of Morocco. Ibn Khaldun traced the careers of the next

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM (New Edition), Vol.IV, 1978 LEIDEN.pp.

Kâantî Şirazî

ii — LANGUAGE

A number of Judaeo-Persian writings display linguistic characteristics which are not found in Persian texts in Arabic script. Amongst these one must distinguish between on the one hand stylistic peculiarities common to the translation of Scripture (word for word rendering of the Semitic text, use of certain rare or archaic forms), and on the other dialectal traits which reflect local varieties of spoken Persian. In all probability, these local dialects of New Persian were not peculiar to the Jews, but they have left scarcely any trace in literature written in Arabic script, where the classical language predominates to the virtual exclusion of other forms; however a considerable proportion of the Judaeo-Persian writings, notably all the earliest ones, are written in a language close to that of everyday speech. They are therefore of great interest for the light they throw on the historical dialectology of Persian.

Judaeo-Persian literature is not linguistically homogeneous. Several dialectical variations may be perceived, and with systematic exploration still others will probably be discovered.

1) The Dandān-Uylīk letter is noteworthy for certain archaisms (use of the *iḍāfa* particle to denote the relative (as in Middle-Persian), paucity of Arabic words) and by the presence of some Sogdian words.

2) In spite of differences of detail, the fragment in the British Museum, the commentary on Ezekiel, and the Story of Daniel, mentioned above, a translation of the Pentateuch preserved in the Vatican, and a few other texts, are a reflection of a single dialectal group, which can probably be situated in the south of Iran (Fārs and Khūzistān). In these texts various morphological characteristics (optative particle *hy*, preposition *ʾ*, the form *tyz* "thing" = classical *tīz*) are found, along with a fairly large number of words which are otherwise unknown in Persian but appear in Middle-Persian. Rather than being archaisms peculiar to this form of Judaeo-Persian, these traits must have been characteristic of spoken Persian around the 5th/11th-8th/14th centuries in the south of Iran, which had remained much closer to Middle-Persian than the classical language.

3) Writings which can be classified as literature, especially poetry from the 8th/14th-12th/18th centuries, are generally free from dialectical characteristics. Imitations of the great classical works, they are usually couched in the same idiom.

4) The literary and exegetic texts composed at Bukhārā from the 11th/17th to the 19th centuries bear the marks of their origin, all the more clearly when the style does not reach a particularly high standard. Their language, which might properly be called "Judaeo-Tādjīk", is very close to the present day literary language of the Soviet Republic of Tādjikistān.

Judaeo-Iranian dialects. — Unlike Judaeo-Persian in the true sense, the unwritten dialects still in current use among certain communities in Persia, at Kāshān, Hamadān, Iṣfahān, Kirmān, and Shīrāz, are not varieties of Persian, but are related to the local dialects of these regions. The Judaeo-Tāt of the Caucasus (Soviet Daghestān and Ādharbāydjān) is a variation of the Tāt dialect, in use among the Muslim population also: Tāt was raised to the status of a written language during the Soviet period. All these dialects could be designated "Judaeo-Iranian".

A curious language reported in 1924 among the Jews at Herāt appears to be merely a jargon based on Persian.

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(G. LAZARD)

JUDGE [see ḲĀḌĪ].

JUDGMENT [see ḤUKM].

JURISPRUDENCE [see FIḲH].

JUSTICE [see ʿADL].

For other words generally written in English with J, see Dj.

K

KĀʾĀNĪ, ḤABĪB ALLĀH (1808-54) was the greatest Persian poet of the Kādjār period. He was born at Shīrāz, lost his father, the poet Gulshan, at the age of eleven and found a patron in the governor of Shīrāz, Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā Shudjāʿ al-Salṭana, who gave him the pen-name of Kāʾānī. As a court panegyrist he was granted by Muḥammad Shāh the title of *Ḥassān al-ʿAdjam*. He settled in Tehran shortly before 1848 and was favoured by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh with the title of *Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ*. Kāʾānī was a man of erudition, and the first Persian poet to master French. His *dīwān* contains 23,000 verses, mostly of panegyrical character. His critical attitude towards society is reflected in his *Kitāb-i Parīshān*, conceived on the model of Saʿdī's *Gulistān*. As a poet Kāʾānī was a past master in the classical *kaṣīda* of the Khurāsānī style; however, apart from stylistic virtuosity his poetry contains little serious content.

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KAARTA, a region of Mali with an area of around 54,000 square km. It is bounded on the north by Mauritanian Hōdh, on the south by Beledugu and Fuladugu, and on the west by the River Senegal from the western branch of the River Kulu as far as the Baoulé junction. The rivers of this vast schistose plateau tilting to the south east flow into Senegal. The climate is that of the Saharan zone; a brief season of abundant rain followed by a very long dry season. The vegetation is wooded or shrubbed

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MALCOLM IV OF SCOTLAND

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A. A. M. DUNCAN

[See also David I of Scotland; England: Norman-Angevin; Macbeth; Scotland: History; William I of England.]

MALCOLM IV OF SCOTLAND (*ca.* 1141–1165). Grandson and successor of David I, Malcolm IV was king of Scotland from 1153 to 1165. He continued the policy of encouraging settlement by Anglo-Norman and Flemish barons and knights in Scotland, and extended the new administrative structure with sheriffs and justices. Malcolm had to face rebellions by Somerled of Argyll and the MacHeth family; both were reconciled, the latter firmly, but the former rebelled again and was killed in 1164.

In 1157 Malcolm was compelled by Henry II of England to deprive his brother William of the earldom of Northumberland, though in compensation Malcolm received the earldom of Huntingdon. He served King Henry in the Toulouse campaign and was knighted but on his return faced a serious rebellion by native magnates who besieged him in Perth. Nonetheless he defeated them and one, Fergus, gave up his lordship of Galloway. In 1163 he visited Henry II again; falling gravely ill, he was put under pressure to concede castles in Lothian; Malcolm resisted but gave hostages as surety for peace. During his reign further unsuccessful attempts were made to obtain from the pope metropolitan status for St. Andrews, and he founded a Cistercian abbey at Coupar Angus. He died aged about 25 with a reputation as a virgin, hence his later nickname "the Maiden," taken to imply effeminacy. But Malcolm was an active knight strongly imbued with the chivalric virtues of his time.

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A. A. M. DUNCAN

[See also David I of Scotland; Scotland: History.]

MALI

MALI, a powerful black Islamic empire in sub-Saharan western Africa. Its heartland was along the Sankarani tributary of the upper Niger River, located in modern southwest Mali, near the border with Guinea. At its height in the fourteenth century it controlled the southern fringes of the Sahara from the Atlantic to well east of Timbuktu, and from there south to the Gambia and the sources of the Niger River.

Mali's kings adopted Islam in the eleventh century and some may have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in the twelfth, but Mali achieved prominence only in the 1230's under Mārī Jāṭa, who is identified with King Sunjata or Suniata of oral tradition. Mārī Jāṭa/Sunjata conquered lands northward and westward from the Sankarani, established control over the southern termini of the western trans-Saharan trade routes, and is considered by most authorities to have established the permanent capital at Niani on the Sankarani. Niani remained the capital of Mali until the seventeenth century.

Mārī Jāṭa was succeeded by his son Mansā ('King') Ulī, who made the pilgrimage sometime during the reign of the Egyptian sultan Baybars (1260–1277). Mali declined under Ulī's successors, his two brothers and a nephew. The last was deposed by a freed slave, Sākūra, who expanded the empire and improved its commercial position, bringing many traders from Morocco and Ifrīqiya (Tunisia) to Mali. Sākūra was murdered on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca, sometime around 1298.

Mali's greatest king was Mansā Mūsā (*r.* 1312–1337), grandson of a brother of Mārī Jāṭa. He made the pilgrimage in 1324, stopping in Cairo, where his munificent purchases and generosity caused the devaluation of gold. Under Mūsā and his brother Mansā Sulaymān (*r.* 1341–1360), Mali carried on active diplomatic relations with Morocco, and its kings were known in Europe (probably because of the gold trade). Caravan traffic was at its height, with active trans-Saharan routes to Morocco, Ifrīqiya, and Egypt.

Mali's decline may be dated from Sulaymān's death. Ibn Khaldūn reports that Mārī Jāṭa II (*r.* 1360–1374/1375) was oppressive and corrupt, depleted the treasury, and nearly destroyed the machinery of government. Later kings were mostly ineffectual. The royal family retained the throne, although power was often exercised by ministers.

By the 1440's Mali had lost control of most of its holdings in the commercial centers of the trans-Saharan trade. Yet in the fifteenth and sixteenth cen-

THE MUSLIM WORLD

Mali

c.1(5-19)s.7 December 12, 1964

Karachi

AROUND THE MUSLIM WORLD

Muslims in Mali

Location : **West Africa.** *Area* : **464,752 square miles.** *Population* : **4,305,000 (Muslims 90%)**

Head of the State : **President Modibo Keita** *Capital* : **Bamako**

Before the end of the seventh century North Africa had become a stronghold of I lam. Arab and Berber caravans across the Sahara took Islam with them and Islam began to spread gradually in West Africa.

In 1042 A.D. the Berber reformer, Abdullah bin Yasin, left the ribat (monastery) which he had conducted on an island of the lower Senegal and began to preach Islam to the Berbers of the Adrar and to the negroes of Takrur. The king of Takrur and his family adopted Islam. The king of Manding (Mali), who lived on the Upper Niger, soon became a convert also. The conversion of the king of Songhai, in the region of Gao on the middle of Niger, is placed about the same date.

The various kingdoms in this area were then vassal states of the Ghana Empire. In 1054 Abdullah bin Yasin liberated the Lemtuna tribe of Berbers from Ghana's domination. And about 1076 A.D., while Yusuf bin Tashfin, at the head of the main body of the Almoravids, was conquering Morocco and preparing to invade Spain, his cousin, Abubakar bin Umar of the Lemtuna tribe, siezed Kumbi, the capital of the Ghana Empire and with it came to an end Ghana domination in the region. Many of the vassal kingdoms became Muslims.

The death of Abubakar bin Umar in 1087 and the departure to the north of the last Almoravid forces which had supported him, did not prevent the further spread of Islam. Then rose the Empire of Mali which acquired hegemony in the region in the thirteenth century. The word 'Mali' means hippopotamus in the Bambara Language, and signifies strength. Of its many emperors, Mansa Musa (1307-32) was the most outstanding. His armies captured Timbuktu and vast territories around the middle Niger. Trans-Saharan caravans regularly visited Mali and Mansa Musa kept his ambassador at Fez. History has recorded that he made his pilgrimage to Mecca accompanied by 500 slaves and distributed 50,000 ounces of gold along the way. He brought back with him Muslim scholars to enhance the reputation for learning which Timbuktu had acquired. He brought also with him architects who erected mosques in Gao and Timbuktu. When the well-known traveller Ibn Batuta reached Mali in 1353 A.D., the ruler was Mansa Suleiman. Subsequently, the Empire of Mali began to decline; the Tuaregs took Timbuktu and much of the northern area while others seized other parts of the empire. It shrunk to insignificance by the middle of the seventeenth century.

Another empire which thrived in this area was that of Songhai at Gao, This originated around the ninth century when the pagan Berbers of the Lemtuna tribe gained control over Songhai farmers along the Niger River, at Dendi, thus beginning a dynasty whose political influence reached considerable proportions by 1325. Meanwhile, these Berbers were converted to Islam during the eleventh century. For ten years, from 1325 to 1335 the Songhai kingdom at Gao was under Mali suzerainty, but then managed to break this hold and for more than hundred years controlled the Niger Valley south of Gao. The most outstanding of the Songhai emperors was "Askiya" Mohammed Toure, who in the beginning of the sixteenth century made a pilgrimage to Mecca which in its grandeur rivalled the pilgrimage of Mansa Musa.

There was a renaissance of Islam in the West African countries in the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Then the Tukulor Haji Umar, who in the course of his pilgrimage to Mecca (1820) had been invested with the title of "Khalifa of the Tijaniyyah" order of Sufis for the Sudan, began in 1838 a series of missionary campaigns which made him master of Manding (1848), Kaarta (1854), Segu (1861) and lastly of Masina (1862). Between 1857 and 1859, Haji Umar fought with the French who were trying to establish their hold over the area. He was killed in 1864 trying to put down a rebellion and his rule passed to a son who eventually fled before the French advance in 1890-93. A little latter, an attempt to set up another Muslim Empire between the Senegal and the Upper Volta, started by Imam Samori Toure of Guinea was checked by the defeat of the latter, who was ultimately captured by the French troops. The defeats of Haji Umar's son and subsequently of Imam Samori Toure made it possible for the French to gain control of the area with only small forces operating out of Senegal on the west coast.

In 1904 the French formed a territory in the present area of Mali and called it " Upper Senegal and Niger". The name was changed to "French Sudan" in 1920. In 1958 the country's leadership decided to vote for Gen De Gaulle's constitution and to join the French Community as a self-governing republic. In 1959, a federation between Senegal and Sudan was launched. It took the name of Mali from the empire which flourised over the territory in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The federation obtained independence within the French Community in June 1960, but less than three months later the federation broke up over policy disagreements. After the break-up of the federation, Sudan declared itself a completely independent Republic, retaining the name of Mali.

The eighty-members Legislative Assembly was elected in March 1959. Modibo Keita who was born in 1915 in a leading Muslim family of the Bambara tribe, started life as a teacher and then took to politics. Since 1958 he has remained head of successive governments. He is the President of the Republic.

C8(s 21)s. 6 December 19, 1970
Karachi

MALI

A GLIMPSE INTO THE PAST !

History of Mali

Before the end of the seventh century of the Christian era, Islam had become the predominant religion of North Africa. Arab and Berber caravans took Islam across the Sahara and Islam began to spread gradually in West Africa.

Before the eleventh century the various kingdoms in West Africa were vassal states of the Ghana empire. (Not present day Ghana). Ghana owed its power to its control over much of the trans-Saharan trade in which slaves and gold were exchanged for salt and other commodities brought from North Africa by caravans.

In 1042 A. D. Abdullah bin Yasin, a reformer who arose among the Berber Muslims, established a Ribat (Monastery) on an island in the Lower Senegal River and his followers were called Murabitun (men of the Ribat). The European historians call them as "Almoravids". He began to preach Islam in West Africa to other Berber tribes as well as other African tribes. The King of Manding (Mali) and a few other Kings also became converts.

In 1054 Abdullah bin Yasin liberated the Lemtuna tribe of Berbers from Ghana's domination. In 1076, while the Murabitun chieftain Yusuf bin Tashfin was conquering Morocco and preparing to invade Spain, his cousin Abu Bakr bin Umar of the Lemtuna tribe seized Kumbi, the capital of the Ghana Empire and with it came to an end Ghana domination in the region. Many of Ghana's vassal states became Muslims. Abu Bakr bin Umar died in 1087.

Then rose the Empire of Mali which acquired hegemony in the region in the thirteenth century. The word "Mali" means "hippopotamus" in the Bambara language and signifies "strength".

Of Mali's many emperors Mansa Musa (1307-32) was the most outstanding. His armies captured Timbuktu and vast territories around Middle Niger. Trans-Saharan caravans regularly visited Mali and Mansa (King) Musa kept an ambassador at Fez (in Morocco). It is recorded that when Mansa Musa performed the Haj pilgrimage he was accompanied by 500 troops and that he distributed in charity 50,000 ounces of gold on the way. He brought back with him Muslim scholars which made Timbuktu a centre of Islamic learning in West Africa. He also brought with him architects who erected magnificent Mosques in Timbuktu and Gao.

From 1325 to 1335 the Songhai kingdom around the city of Gao was also under Mali's suzerainty but then managed to break its hold and for more than hundred years controlled the Niger Valley south of Gao.

When the famous world traveller Ibn Batutah reached Mali in 1353, the ruler was Mansa Sulaiman.

By the end of the fifteenth century the Mali empire had declined, while the Songhai empire with capital at Gao had its apogee. The most outstanding of the Songhai emperors was "Askiya" Mohd. Toure, whose pilgrimage to Mecca at the beginning of the sixteenth century rivalled the grandeur of the pilgrimage of Mansa Musa.

This empire also declined and the region fragmented into many petty states.

There was a renaissance of Islam in West Africa at the end of the eighteenth century by the work of saint, scholar, reformer and mujahid Usman dan Fodio. He preached Islam in the territory between the Niger River and Chad and founded an empire with capital at Sokoto in what is northern Nigeria to-day. He was followed by Sekou (Sheikh) Hamadu Bari who built a capital which he called Hamadallahi in 1810. Then Haji Umar, who during his pilgrimage to Mecca was made Khalifa of the Tijaniyah order of the Sufis, began in 1833 a series of missionary campaigns which made him master of Manding in Mali in 1848 and in other towns.

Between 1857 and 1859, Haji Umar fought with the French who were trying to establish their foothold in the region. He was killed while he was fighting in 1864. His son was defeated by the French in 1890-1893.

A little later, an attempt was made by Imam Samory Toure of Guinea to drive out the French from the region. With his defeat, it became possible for the French to establish their colonial hold.

The French in 1904 formed a territory in the present area of Mali and called it "Upper Senegal and Niger". The name was changed to "French Sudan" in 1920.

Mali became an independent state in 1960.

SPECIAL AFRICAN FORCE PLANNED

Opening a special emergency session of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on Dec. 9 at Lagos, the Nigerian leader Major Gen. Yakubu Gowon said last month's invasion of Guinea by foreign mercenaries constituted an insult, an affront and a challenge to Africa. He charged the meeting with producing "immediate and practical answers" to any future Portuguese threats in Africa. "We must have a common front and stand ready to defend our sovereignty and territorial integrity", he declared.

After closed door session of the OAU Foreign Ministers and the OAU Defence Committee, OAU Assistant Secretary-General Mohd. Sahnoun (of Algeria) said the following priorities were decided by the delegations: (1) Examination of immediate and long-term assistance to Guinea. (2) The kind of response Africa and the OAU should make to any further attacks against any African territory and (3) what should be done to strengthen African liberation movements.

A Committee consisting of representatives from Niger, UAR, Ethiopia, Algeria, Senegal, Congo, (Brazaville) and Tanzania was formed. The terms of reference were "the examination of the grave situation resulting from the naked aggression of Portugal and foreign mercenaries against the Republic of Guinea and its implications for the African Continent".

Observers said Gowon has given tacit approval to plans before the conference to form an African high command of troops from several nations to deal with any future aggression by colonial powers.

2 1 TEMMUZ 1992

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(CH. PELLAT)

MALI, a kingdom of mediaeval West Africa. The West African Republic of Mali is named after the ancient kingdom of Mali. In the 13th and 14th centuries, ancient Mali expanded over the whole territory of the modern Republic of Mali and beyond into the present Republics of Senegal, Gambia and Niger.

The dominant ethnic group in ancient Mali were the Malinke (i.e. "the people of Mali"), also known as Mandinka, of the large group of Mande-speaking peoples.

The history of ancient Mali is known to us from oral traditions and from Arabic written sources. The two categories represent different, but complementary, viewpoints, Whereas in the oral traditions the African traditional themes are prominent, the Arabic sources emphasise Islamic aspects.

In 460/1067-8 al-Bakrī (ed. Algiers 1911, 178) describes the small chiefdom of Malal amidst stateless, loosely-organised peoples. Its ruler embraced Islam after a Muslim visitor had prayed for rain and had saved the country from severe drought. The Malal of

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Mali

In the contemporary Republic of Mali in West Africa, Arabic is not a native language of the largely Muslim population (80–90% Muslims), except for a minority of approximately 1 percent of Ḥassāniyya speakers (www.ethnologue.com). However, Standard Arabic plays an important role in Islamic education and scholarship in Mali, and in this role the language has a long history in the region. Arabic did not spread to the Sahel region of West Africa primarily as the language of Islam, however, but as a language of commercial communication. Trade routes connected West Africa across the Saharan desert to North Africa and the Middle East long before the rise of Islam (Hiskett 1994:92–93, 97; Saad 1983:4). It has even been suggested that these trade connections date from the introduction of the camel as a means of long-distance transport through the Sahara around the beginning of the Common Era (Levtzion 1973:6).

After the Islamic conquests and the subsequent spread of the Arabic language to Egypt and North Africa in the 7th and 8th centuries C.E., the language started to play an increasingly important role as a → lingua franca in commercial relations with the West African Sahel (Levtzion 1979:15). Unlike North Africa and the Middle East, however, West Africa was never conquered as part of the Islamic Empire. Instead, Islam was disseminated in West Africa through trade from as early as the 9th century (Hiskett 1994:97; Mbiti 1969:243), and it made its first documented appearance in the region in the first half of the 10th century C.E. (Amiji 1984:105). Muslim traders were the main agents who spread Islam, through trade networks that transcended family and village boundaries (Amiji 1984:105; Levtzion 1979:15–16). They were much respected for their wealth (Levtzion 1979:11). Moreover, they shared one law, the *šarīʿa*, which included a uniform system of weights and measures, and one language, Arabic (Hiskett 1994:100, 194; Levtzion 1979:15; Saad 1983:4). Arabic occupied a special position in the region, not only because it was an interregional lingua franca of trade but also because it was the first written language in West Africa. Muslims who used Arabic script were greatly respected for this knowledge (Levtzion 1979:11) and much sought after as scribes, advisors to local rulers, and faith healers (Amiji 1984:105). The appeal of the Arabic-writing Muslim traders from the north and east and the appeal of Islam as the first written and universal religion in the region (Amiji 1984:106; Goody 1971:461) resulted in conversions to Islam, first among local traders and rulers from the 10th century C.E. onward. An increasing number of conversions among larger parts of the population of West Africa took place from the late 13th century onward (Clarke 1982:47–48; Hiskett 1994:94). As a result, the role of Arabic expanded from that of a lingua franca of transregional trade to its present role as language of Islamic education and scholarship (Abdulaziz 1984:132; Amiji 1984:106).

In the 14th century, the famous Muslim ruler Kankan Musa of the ancient kingdom of Mali went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, also visiting Egypt on his way. He spent so much of his wealth in Egypt that his spending led to inflation there. His journey to the heartland of Islam left a strong impression on him. He became aware of the imperfections of Islamic practice in his kingdom. Upon his return, he therefore invested in Islamic education and scholarship by building mosques and sending local Islamic scholars to study in centers of Islamic scholarship in the Maghreb, above all in Fes. He firmly established Islamic education and scholarship in the West African Sahel, and the regional centers of trade Timbuktu and Djenné developed into centers of Islamic learning (Levtzion 1986b:185–186, 196–197).

In the 16th century, Timbuktu reached its peak as the center of Islamic scholarship for the entire region of West Africa. The city counted some 150 Qur'ānic schools and attracted students and scholars from West Africa, the Maghreb, and even the Middle East. Islamic sciences were taught on a large scale in the houses

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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

Tevarik pasetnde

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Tawarik

Tribe 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.

Mandinga peoples

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water, the nearest perennial sources—Muwayh al-Raka and al-'Ubayia,—being over a day away by camel. Because al-Duru' ordinarily shun the vast sand desert of the Rub' al-Khali, they have little reason for risking travel across Umm al-Samim, in the quicksands of which, according to popular accounts, unwary travellers, shepherds, and raiders, and their animals, have been swallowed up. Members of the section of 'Iyal Kharas of al-Mahamid are said to know safe paths leading north and south of the inner morass, but they themselves rarely cross.

Despite their commercial exploitation of the nature affords them, al-Duru' have no professional merchants and are a truly nomadic tribe. They have a reputation for bold and wide raiding, and active participation in tribal wars.

The majority of al-Duru are Ibadis, but the large division of al-Makarid and most of the small but ruling clan of al-Mahmid are said to be Sunnis.

The origin of the tribe is unknown. The similarity in name with Al Dir', relatives of Al Sa'ud who formerly lived in Wadi Hanifa and gave their name to the first Sa'udi capital of al-Dir'iyya, is probably without significance. A popular tradition of the south says that al-Duru have the same origin as the tribe of al-Manahil—from Bani (or Ahl) al-Zanna. The frequency of naming from the mother—*fulan* b. *fulana*— may be an indication of southern origin.

Of other groups living in the territory of al-Duru the most interesting is that composed of some 40 men of al-'Ifar a tribe originally from the area of Habarut in western Zufar, where the majority still live. Al-'ifar are Sunnis and Hinawis, but have the privilege of giving safe escort to strangers in Dir'i and other Ghafiri areas. Their leaders are accorded considerable respect. Their leaders are accorded considerable respect.

Al (or 'iyal) Khumayyis, ranging in Wadi Sayfam and neighbouring valleys between Hamra' al-Duru and al-Jabal al-Akhdar and numbering several hundred males, are said to be of Dir'i origin, but are now regarded as a separate tribe. Other groups, stemming from al-Duru live in al-Sharkiyya and al-Batina.The paramount shaykh is called *al-tamima*. Chiefs of divisions or sections other than those of al-Mahamid may be given the title of *shaykh*, but the usual title is *rashid*.

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M.A. AYOUB

Dyula

Tribe of Ivory Coast, Mali, Nigeria and Sudan

The Dyula, of the three main groups of Manding speakers in West Africa, are the most difficult to define and locate because the meaning of the term 'Dyula' (pronounced 'joola') has changed throughout history. With the Mandinka and Bambara they form a linguistic and cultural population of more than 11.5 million.

The word *dyula* means 'trade' in Manding. Dyula can also refer to Muslim trader who can speak a Manding language (though not necessarily as his first language), or it can refer to a specific ethnic group which differentiates itself from other Manding groups. Here, 'Dyula' refers to the ethnic group of Manding speakers situated in northeastern and north central Ivory Coast, southwestern Upper Volta and contiguous areas of Ghana (where they are often called Wangara) and Mali.

The population size of the ethnic Dyula can only be guessed. Not only are census data outdated and unreliable, but the term, for instance, in the Ivory Coast (where they are most numerous) means an occupation category of people speaking a Manding dialect who are not ethnic Dyula. Certainly there are at least 1 million ethnic Manding-speaking Dyula in West Africa, of whom close to 98 per cent are Muslim.

Historically the ethnic Dyula community has maintained two distinct subgroups: the warriors,

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Mali
Mauritanya

arrangements and to employ any potential servant, as long as this appeared likely to facilitate the maintenance of effective government. This effectiveness was measured chiefly by the revenue reciepts. There is little that is identifiably 'Mongol' in the governmental institutions of the Mongols' empire, except the way in which they made so extraordinary disparate an assemblage work. The principal constraint was always the consideration that nothing should be done that might endanger Mongol military supremacy, on which in the last analysis the perpetuation of Mongol rule depended.

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MAULVI AL-HAQ

Moors

Community of Mali and Mauritania

The Moors, who are almost totally Sunni Muslim, live in western North Africa. Numbering nearly 4 million, they constitute about 58 per cent of Mauritania's population, or 1 million; 10 per cent of Morroco's, or 2.2 million; 3 per cent of Mali's, or 200,000 and about 60,000 in Senegal and The Gambia. A Moor is regarded as any person, irrespective of skin color, who speaks any of the numerous dialects of Hassaniya, a language which, in its purest form, draws heavily on the original Yemeni Arabic spoken by the Bani Hassan tribe

Soninke parcelnt

EDIT. N. K. SINGH, A. M. KHAN, ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE WORLD MUSLIMS:
Tribes, Castes and Communities, VOL.IV, 2001 DELHI. IRCICA DN. 41905.pp.
- Senegal
- Gambia
- Gina
- Mali
- Moritanya

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The Zerma-Songhay look up to the most noble among them: the Mayga and the princely Zerma families, and maintain cordial but quietly dominant relations with the lower castes of their community. To these belong the captive domestic servants and dependents (*horso*) and the various castes of craftsmen, blacksmith, celebrants, *griots* (praise singers), therapists and magicians, whose specialist duties and products are integral parts of Zerma-Songhay custom and community.

The ideological canopy of the Zerma-Songhay world could not possibly be of one cloth. On the surface and for all official figures, the Songhay culture is evidently Muslim. Indeed, the clothes people wear, the calendar and the code of law which regulates civil life from the naming of the newborn to the wake for the dead are manifestly Muslim. Few if any of the freeborn will choose to ignore the five prayers, of the day or any of the fasts of the Muslim year. In fact, the higher one's station on the social ladder, the more publicly exhibited the signs of devotion. On Friday, howling sirens escort the parade of limousines behind the president's to the mosque.

Islam has introduced new elements to the Songhay culture while leaving almost untouched the underlying framework of custom and tradition, for Islam has come to these regions, travelling with the caravans of traders and merchants and settling in marketplaces, fortified towns and administrative centres. On the other hand, more than 95 per cent of the Zerma-Songhay reside in the vast spaces between such sites, drawing their sustenance—their 'life's strength'—from the soil, the river or other elements of nature in respectful relations with the forces and spirits which govern these realms and in dependence upon the elders and the specialists among them who can transmit the secrets of these relations.

Even in the city, when night falls, after the limousines and the sirens have found their way back to the presidential residence and are quiet, the sound of the talking drums rises from one or another suburb, calling forth the nightly possession dances.

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O. KANE

Soninke

Community of Gambia, Ghana, Mali, Mauritania and Senegal

The Soninke, often called Sarakole, form a relatively large western African ethnic group of 2.5 million people, 47 per cent of whom are Muslims. Most live in Mali, Upper Volta and Ivory Coast, while smaller groups are found in Senegal, Gambia and Mauritania. According to their oral history, they are related to ancestors of the Caucasian race from the Saharan-Mediterranean region, probably Berbers, who exercised considerable authority and power in the Sudanese Sahel, in Ghana, near Koumbi, in the Ouagadougou until the end of the eleventh century and, later, at Diara, near Nioro.

Since then the Soninke have formed numerous communities during their migrations and are referred to by their neighbours under a variety of names. They

EDIT. N. K. SINGH, A. M. KHAN, ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE WORLD MUSLIMS:
Tribes, Castes and Communities, VOL.IV, 2001 DELHI. IRCICA DN. 41905.pp.

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Vai

Community of Guinea, Mali and Sierra Leone

The Vai (also found in literature as Vey and Vei) are an offshoot of northern Manding-speaking peoples of Guinea and Mali. The Vai seem to have moved into the forest region around A.D. 1500 and finally settled in an area straddling the Mano River on the Atlantic coast in what today in Sierra Leone and Liberia. Although the initial group was probably small in numbers, the Vai have enculturated surrounding peoples into their way of life. In addition, by maintaining contact with the Savanna Mandinka, they have perpetuated their former savanna culture in the forest region.

Today, the Vai, most of whom are Muslims, number about 63,000 in Liberia, 59,000 in Guinea and 18,000 in Sierra Leone, with all figures awaiting more accurate census and analysis. Some Vai living in Sierra Leone are rapidly acquiring the Mende language and losing Vai. On other cultural levels, they are also acculturating to the more dominant Mende patterns of life. In Liberia, although there has been considerable outmigration to the urban areas, Vai culture survives as a way of life distinct from that of the surrounding peoples.

Traditionally, the Vai have based their political structure on patrilineal kinship units with patrilocal residence. Patrilineal clans are territorial defined and form the largest stable political units. Confederations of clans have occurred periodically, but remain unstable, generally based on the personal abilities of particular political leaders. Upon the death of such leaders the confederations usually fragment into single clan units again.

Claims to specific territory are based on a first occupation basis by a particular lineage. Others who arrive later become strangers to the first inhabitants. The late arrivals, with their offspring, remain junior members of the political structure unless they intermarry with members of the original patrilineage or until a sufficient span of generations erases the stranger stigma.

Other forms of stratification exist within Vai society. Various types of servitude occur, including debt bondage, human pawning and chattel slavery. The social distinction and distance between chattel slaves and all other members of Vai society is most notable and particularly affects social, economic and political activities. Chattel slaves as well as their children remain socially distinct from all others in the society, engaging in only the most menial tasks. They are not permitted to participate in any political activity. At certain points in Vai history, this prohibition has led to slave revolts.

The Vai economy depends on a combination of swidden agriculture, with particular emphasis on rice as the staple food, and trade as middlemen between the peoples of the interior and ships stopping along the Vai coast. With these two activities, it has been possible for the Vai to overcome the usual limitations of tropical forest environment.

Most forest-dwelling swidden agriculturalists have been unable to sustain any great social stratification, but for the Vai it has been possible because of their access to the additional economic

حتى لو كان عدوها على بعد ١٥ ألف كلم وحتى لو كانت الظروف المناخية صعبة للغاية .

هذه الحرب هزت الارجنتين في الصميم ، فأسقط نظام الجنرال غالتييري Galtieri تمهيداً لعودة المدنيين الى الحكم . لكن الازمة لم تنته اذ ما زال الارجنتينيون يطالبون بسيادتهم على هذه الجزر التي يعتبرونها جزءاً من اراضيهم ، كما كان الحال خلال القرون السابقة .

ان خسارة ١٢٥ قطعة حربية بريطانية وبضع مئات من الجنود لا بد ايضا وان يطرح الكثير من التساؤلات والشكوك حول هذه الحرب وعن جدواها في وقت تحاول فيه رئيسة الوزراء **مارغريت تاتشر** ان تبرز فيه عظمة بلادها حتى لو كان الثمن باهظاً والنتائج على المدى البعيد غير مضمونة .

مالي ، جمهورية

Mali, République du

ـ جمهورية افريقية مستقلة .

ـ تقع في الطرف الغربي من قارة افريقيا ، تحيطها من الشمال والشرق الجزائر والنيجر ، ومن الشمال الجزائر وموريتانيا ، ومن الغرب السنغال وغينيا ، ومن الجنوب غينيا وفولتا العليا وساحل العاج . وهذا الموقع الجغرافي يجعلها تحت رحمة جيرانها بالنسبة لعلاقاتها التجارية لأنها لا تملك أي منفذ على البحر .

ـ تبلغ مساحتها ١,٢٤٠,٠٠٠ كلم٢ ، أي ضعف مساحة فرنسا ، وهي أكبر دول افريقيا الغربية .

ـ يبلغ عدد سكانها حوالى ٦,٤ ملايين نسمة ، ينتمون الى عرقين اساسيين : البيض والسود .

فالبيض يتألفون من عدة اثنيات أهمها : الموريتانيون والطوارق والبل وكذلك السود : المالنك والسنوجو والسراكولي والسانغهاي والدوغم والبولو السود والحمر . وهؤلاء يشكلون الأكثرية .

ـ تعتبر الفرنسية اللغة الرسمية ، رغم ان اكثرية السكان تتكلم لهجات محلية متعددة تجمعها قواسم مشتركة .

ـ يدين غالبية السكان بالإسلام (٦٠٪) وبالإحيائية ٣٥٪ و٥٪ بالمسيحية .

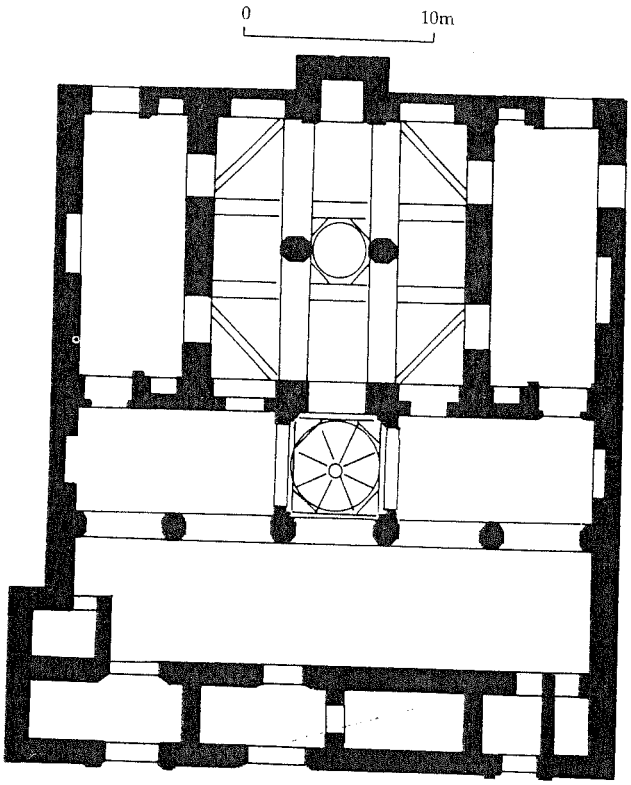
ـ أهم المدن : باماكو (العاصمة) . وسيغو ، وموبتي ، وسيكاسو ، وكيز ، وغاو ، وتومبوكتو .

النبذة التاريخية :

ارض حضارات كما تشهد بذلك الآثار التي عثر وما زال يعثر عليها بين الحين والآخر . فسكان مالي القدماء استطاعوا الاتصال بالشعوب الأخرى ومعرفة البحر الابيض المتوسط من خلال اجتيازهم الصحراء . وهكذا نشأت امبراطورية غانا Ghana التي ضمت قسماً من السنغال ومنطقة الفيضانات على نهر النيجر ، وقسماً من موريتانيا . ويظهر أن العاصمة كانت تشكل مركزاً تجارياً لتجار شمال افريقيا الذين لعبوا دوراً هاماً في نشر تعاليم الاسلام قبل أن يفرض من قبل المورافيد Almoravides على امبراطورية غانا Ghana سنة ١٠٧٦ ، ورغم ان هؤلاء لم يبقوا طويلاً فقد بدأت الامبراطورية بالتفكك ، فهاجمها ملك Sosso السوسو سمنغورو كانتي Samangourou Kanté سنة ١٢٠٣ وبنى سونديا تو كيتا Soundiato Keita امبراطورية مالي (١٢٣٥ ـ ١٢٤٠) بعد ان دمر العاصمة .

هوجمت امبراطورية مالي في القرن الخامس عشر من قبل الموسي Mossis وشعوب سانغهاي Sanghais بعد ان تعاظم نفوذ هؤلاء الاخيرين ، فاستطاعوا التحرر بقيادة زعيمهم سوني علي Sonni Ali الذي حكم في الفترة الواقعة ما بين ١٤٦٤ و١٤٩٢ فأرسى دعائم امبراطورية غائو Gao واستولى على مراكز التجارة في تومبوكتو

ANDREW PETERSEN, DICTIONARY OF ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE, LONDON 1996.



Mosque of Fakhr al-Din, Mogadishu, Somalia (after Garlake)

top. Although the mosque is badly damaged, it seems to consist of a central rectangular hall flanked by two side aisles. The mihrab in the centre of the north wall has a fluted semi-dome and, together with the pottery found there, suggests a twelfth-century foundation for the site. Although Barawa was probably founded at a similar date, the earliest buildings in the town date from the eighteenth century. One of these, a mosque, has a square minaret with elaborate carved woodwork. Probably the largest early site on the coast is Bur Gao whose are contained within a huge enclosure similar to that of Munghia. The principal standing structure on the site is a square building covered with a low domical vault. The site also contains a number of pillar tombs similar to those of north Kenya.

See also: East Africa, Kenya

Further reading:

N. Chittick, 'An archaeological reconnaissance of the southern Somali coast', *Azania* 4: 115–30, 1969.
H. C. Sanservino, 'Archaeological remains on the southern Somali coast', *Azania* 18: 151–64, 1983.

Songhay

The people who inhabit the banks of the Niger river between Gao and Dendi in West Africa.

The Songhay people were the ruling population of the empire of Gao during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some of them were Muslim before the eleventh century but some have remained pagan to the present day. Little is known of early Songhay architecture, although ancestor-worship seems to have been expressed through earthen burial mounds. Elements of this tradition seem to have been incorporated in Islamic monuments where prominent people are buried within solid-earth pyramid-like constructions, the most famous of which is the tomb of Askiya Muhammad at Gao.

See also: Gao, West Africa

South Africa

The Muslim community of South Africa seems to have originated from south-east Asia, mostly Malaysia. The Malays were mostly brought to South Africa as slaves in the eighteenth century, although some came freely as political exiles Although they were allowed to remain Muslim they were not able to worship publicly until 1804. Before that time prayer was carried out within houses or in the open air. The first purpose-built mosque was the Auwal Mosque in Cape Town built at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In its earliest form the mosque lacked a minaret and resembled a chapel from the exterior. Inside, there were two courtyards, a kitchen and storage rooms as well as a prayer hall. For planning reasons the building was not oriented to face Mecca; instead the mihrab inside was built at an angle to the rest of the building to correct this.

Further reading:

F. R. Bradlow and M. C. Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims: A Study of their Mosques, Genealogy and Origins*, Cape Town 1978.

Spain (Arabic: al-Andalus)

Large country in south-western Europe occupying the greater part of the Iberian peninsula and known in Arabic as al-Andalus.

Large parts of this country were Muslim from the arrival of the Arab armies in 711 to the fall of the amirate of Granada in 1492. Before the arrival of the first Arab armies Spain was ruled by the

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LEO AFRICANUS AND THE SONGHAY CONQUEST OF HAUSALAND

Humphrey J. Fisher

Leo Africanus is our earliest detailed written source for the history of the central Sudan, including Songhay on the Niger bend, the Hausa states east of the Niger, and Gaoga (wherever that may have been).[1] The Songhay conquest of Hausaland, the principal theme of this article, is one of the most vivid interludes in the whole of Leo's book. Various authorities have attached special significance to this early sixteenth century episode. Hogben and Kirk-Greene, for example, call the Hausa campaigns the most important military enterprises of the ruler of Songhay.[2] Ifemesia, although expressing various reservations about Leo's account,[3] places the Songhay invasions among the most important events of the sixteenth century, "a highly significant period in the history of Hausaland." He thinks that the Songhay presence probably helped to reduce internal quarrels within Hausaland.[4] Skinner carries this line of argument further, finding it a stressful period, a struggle for Hausa independence which may well have given birth to "a clear-cut national identity and the consciousness of it."[5] R. A. Adeleye looks more to the outward, international implications of the conquest: partly as a result of rivalry between Songhay to the west and Bornu to the east, "Hausaland became fully integrated into the commercial and ideological nexus which linked the Western Sudan societies together as well as with the wider Islamic World."[6] The Songhay excursion into Hausaland is also used as a tool helping to define other events: the redoubtable but elusive Queen Amina of Zaria, for instance, is to be placed in the fifteenth century, for she would not have found room on the crowded stage of the sixteenth.[7] Other scholars dwell simply upon the desolation which the Songhay forces wrought in Hausaland.

Quite a persuasive case, however, may be put forward in favor of the view that the Songhay conquest had no lasting importance at all, that Leo's account of it is grossly inflated, even that there was no conquest. I shall try to present this case here, looking first at the preparation of Leo's text, then at his itineraries within the Sudan, next at his detailed account of the conquest, and finally at the region's other sources available and known to me, which might be expected to make some reference to the conquest, but which maintain in fact a quite extraordinary silence about these events. The basic premise of my argument is a simple one: that events of substantial importance in one source may reasonably be expected to find some echo in other sources of contemporary relevance. To borrow a metaphor from the radar submarine detectors of the last World War, where there is no echo, there is unlikely to have been any submarine.[8]

The dating of Leo's *Description of Africa* is uncertain. Jean-Baptiste Ramusio's introduction to the first published edition, which appeared in 1550, says that Leo had written his book, in Arabic,

[1] The controversy over the location of Gaoga continues; see P. Kalck, "Pour une localisation du royaume de Gaoga," *Journal of African History*, XIII, 4 (1972), 529–548; and the rejoinder of R. S. O'Fahey and J. L. Spaulding, "Comment: the Geographic Location of Gaoga," *Journal of African History*, XIV, 3 (1973), 505–508, including a reply from Kalck. I am preparing a further article, on Gaoga, suggesting that it was probably southern Borno.

[2] S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria* (London, 1966), 81–82.

[3] See below, note 107.

[4] C. C. Ifemesia, "States of the Central Sudan," in J. F. Ade Ajayi and I. Espie, eds., *A Thousand Years of West African History* (Ibadan, 1965), 99–100.

[5] N. Skinner, "The Origin of the Name 'Hausa'," *Africa*, 38 (1968), 253, 257; his very interesting linguistic material, indicating an interrelationship between the Hausa and the Songhay peoples, would be just as valid without any conquest, for which he has simply followed D. Westermann's introductory remarks for G. P. Bargery, *A Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary* (London, 1934), x. Valuable confirmation for Songhay influence upon Hausaland, quite independent of any conquest, is to be found in P. Lovejoy, "The Role of the Wangara in the Economic Transformation of the Central Sudan in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Journal of African History*, XIX (1978) forthcoming.

[6] R. A. Adeleye, "Hausaland and Borno 1600–1800," in F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, *History of West Africa*, I (2nd ed., London, 1976), 563.

[7] *Ibid.*, 561n.

[8] Earlier drafts of this article have been read by various friends, among them Charles Beckingham, Finn Fuglestad, Mervyn Hiskett, Ivan Hrbek, John Hunwick, John Lavers, Paul Lovejoy, Allan Meyers, Harry Norris, and Father Patrick Ryan; to all, and to members of the

The International Journal of African Historical Studies, XI, 1 (1978)

New York

Journal of the Research society of Pakistan, c.20 (83) s 58-63. 1983 (Lahore)

SENEGAL, Mauritania, Mali, Niger

WEST AFRICA AND ISLAM BY PETER. B. CLARKE PUBLISHED BY EDWARD ARNOLE, 1982.

The author of this comprehensive history of the spread and development of Islam in West Africa is Peter B. Clarke, who has been a teacher of West African history at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria and is currently teaching at King's College, London. He has spent considerable time in Nigeria and Senegal, and as a result of his study and recent research this book is as important as T.S. Trimingham's pioneering studies of Islam in West Africa. However, to condense the entire history of Islam in West Africa from the 8th to the 20th century in about 270 pages is a difficult task. *West Africa and Islam*, therefore, presents a vast but bewildering picture of political events and religious movements in numerous West African communities, their important Muslim leaders, oppositions and conflicts. In spite of his superficial understanding of Islam, the author has maintained an objective attitude and tried to analyse the causes for the success of Islam as opposed to Christianity.

Although it was in the 7th century that the great Arab conquerer Uqba bin Nafi led his forces as far as Southern Morocco and from there to the Western Sahara, Sudan and the northern border of the present-day Republic of Niger, the author agrees with many Western historians that it was only in the first-half of the 8th century that Islam began to work its way across the trans-Saharan trade routes from North to West Africa. The Muslim merchants, mainly Berbers, stepped up their trade interests with the people of Sahara, Ancient Ghana and Kanem-Borno. Some of these Muslim merchants were also missionaries. West Africa was a "land of gold" and increasing number of Muslim traders established commercial centres in Sahara and West Africa. From 1,000 A.C. to 1,600 A.C. Muslim merchants, scholars and religious leaders were the principal agents

Net = Makale Senegal Pasef-indeks

of the spread of Islam. The majority of the people, who were converted, came from the ranks of the rulers, merchant class and urban inhabitants ; but in rural areas the people practised traditional rites and pagan worship. So in the first-half of the 11th century the Almoravid movement was started by Abdullah bin Yasin to purify Islam in Sahara. Peter B. Clarke critically examines the accounts of Arab historians and travellers and raises some doubts as to whether the founder himself and his successors were motivated solely by the desire to reform, defend and advance Islam. He also rejects the view of some Arabic scholars who believe in an Almoravid conquest of Ancient Ghana and the conversion of its inhabitants to Islam.

Another factor which was responsible for the spread of Islam in Western Sahara was the emigration of Arab clans from Southern Morocco. With the arrival of Arab warriors Arabic also became the *ligua franca* of the region, and by the end of the 16th century the Arabs occupied a dominant position in Western Sahara as the military and ruling class. Numerous groups or cells (*Zawaya*) of Muslim scholars were also established in Western Sahara, the majority of whom were devoted to peaceful expansion of Islam. The Muslim brotherhood—the Qadiriyya—was introduced for peaceful propagation. Later on, however, the militant tradition of Islam also emerged in the Western Sahara and the Senegambia in the 17th century. There were numerous jihad movements in West Africa, which continued into the 18th and 19th centuries.

The origin and development of Islam in West Africa presents a very colourful picture. The King of Ancient Ghana was the first to become a Muslim in the last quarter of the 11th century. Ancient Ghana was then at the height of its power and covered a vast area which today forms parts of Mauretania, Senegal and Mali. In the 13th century, Ancient Ghana was replaced by Mali as the most powerful and wealthiest Kingdom in West Africa. The author, however, insists that while Islam remained the religion of the rulers, the court officials and merchant class, Ghana never became a real Muslim State. While giving his own version, the author also refers

Hassan Elboudrari
Modes de transmission de la culture religieuse en Islam
Caire-1993, s.159-180. ON: 33210.

proposed and explored by some students of the subject, for example, between popular (often Sufi) forms of Islamic practice and the more legalistic and textual interpretations of the scholars. For the most part, this kind of distinction does not apply to the Islamic history of West Africa, where virtually all the greatest scholars and reformers in the past were also Sufis, at least in the sense that they were affiliated with one or several of the *turuq*; intellectually, as well as devotionally, they were full participants in the esoteric paradigm as understood in this paper. Of course, one can distinguish in Africa between popular and scholarly interpretations of Islam, but the point to be emphasized here is that historically there has been no faction, indeed, no individuals, who have systematically opposed Sufi interpretations of Islam. Until this century, Sufism and Islam had been synonymous in West Africa.

During the twentieth century two important developments have combined to challenge this state of affairs, the influence of certain aspects of Wahhabi doctrine in Africa and the gradual integration of the continent into the world capitalist system which began with the colonial conquests of the late nineteenth century. In recent years the activities of various Islamist movements in Africa have increased, often financed by the proceeds of Arab oil, thus quickening the pace of a process which had begun many decades earlier.

The purpose of this paper is not political analysis of this process, but an examination of epistemological transformations which seem to be accompanying it. Self-perceptions of Muslims in Africa are changing, along with how they learn and reflect about their religion. These epistemological changes are clearly manifested in the methods and institutions of contemporary Islamic schooling in Africa, as represented by the 'traditional' system of Qur'anic and classical schools, and the contemporary, modernised *madrasa* schools (or *médersas*, as they are called in the local parlance). The hypothesis to be explored is that during the twentieth century in West Africa, Wahhabi-inspired ideas and imperial Western institutions have conspired (unwittingly!?) to subvert the esoteric paradigm and its attendant institutions. This subversion has by no means led to defeat; the concepts and experiences of the esoteric paradigm still define Islam for the vast majority of Malian Muslims.

Süleymaniye Vakfı
Süleymaniye
İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi

A Word about Islam in Mali.

The Republic of Mali is a country of between 6 and 7 million people; recent estimates of the number of Muslims range from 70 to 90 % but these can be no more than educated guesses since no religious census has never been conducted. An Islamic presence has been established in Mali for perhaps one thousand years, but its present statistical dominance is a twentieth-century phenomenon. The ancient Malian centres of Islam were in the region of the Niger River bend, in such cities as Timbuktu and Jenne, and dotted along the trans-Saharan and trans-Sudanic trade routes. During the nineteenth century a series of *jihâd* established Muslim régimes in the administrative centres of formerly non-Islamic Bamana (or Bambara) states. These wars were extremely destructive of both life and property, and the new Muslim governments were greeted with bitter resistance and almost constant rebellion from the Bamana. The extension of French colonial hegemony into this region at the turn of the century had an ambiguous effect upon the Islamic establishment, and upon Islamic society as a whole. In some ways it confirmed Muslim leaders in their privileged positions in the emerging colonial society, while at the same time the French were anxious to strip them any real power. On the other hand, with the development of the new colonial infrastructures and the growth of new markets and commercial centres, conversion to Islam increased rapidly, first in the cities and later in rural areas, as more individuals and communities were integrated into the Muslim-dominated commercial networks.

Since its earliest introduction into West Africa, important sectors of the Islamic community have been associated with commercial activity, but during the past fifty years or so a new and vital Islamic leadership has developed within the commercial sector which seeks to displace the cadres of traditional *'ulamâ'*.[1] These most

1. See Lansiné Kaba, *The Wahhabiya, Islamic Reform and Politics in French West Africa*, Evanston, 1974, and J.-L. Amselle, *Les négociants de la savane. Histoire et organisation sociale des Kooroko (Mali)*, Paris, 1977. For a colonial study of the subject, see M. Cardaire, *l'Islam et le terroir africain*, Koulouba, 1965.

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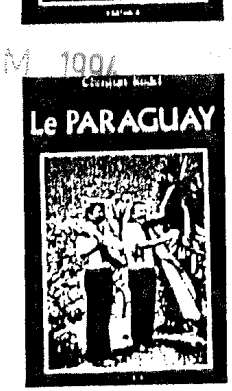
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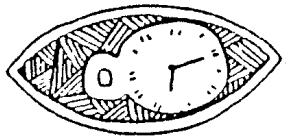
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Mali

Carsten Hock

Fliegen die Seelen der Heiligen?

Muslimische Reform und staatliche Autorität in der Republik Mali seit 1960

1960'dan itibaren
Mali Cumhuriyetinde İslam Reformu
ve Devlet otoritesi

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COMPTES RENDUS
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BARRIÈRE, Catherine, LIEUX ET OBJETS SACRÉS BAMANA DE LA RÉGION DE SÉGOU (MALI). DES REPÈRES DE TRANSFORMATION POUR UNE IDENTITÉ EN RECONSTRUCTION, thèse de doctorat nouveau régime, université Clermont-II, Ethnologie, soutenue le 9 décembre 1997.

Cette recherche porte sur l'évolution des croyances et des pratiques religieuses des Bamana dans un contexte de transition religieuse. Elle est fondée sur une étude comparative menée dans soixante-quatre villages situés dans un rayon de trente kilomètres autour de la ville de Segou.

Dans un premier temps a été établi un bilan de l'état actuel des lieux sacrés bamana, mettant ainsi en évidence les transformations du paysage villageois et invitant à une réflexion sur la construction religieuse du territoire en partant de quelques récits mythiques de fondation, appuyés par des plans de village et analysant leur évolution jusqu'à l'époque actuelle. En second lieu ont été effectuées des descriptions d'objets puissants traditionnellement employés à des fins guerrières, cynégétiques, magiques ou protectrices ainsi que des enquêtes sur les conditions de leur utilisation afin de saisir les permanences et les changements de l'organisation sociale et religieuse en pays bamana. Enfin des entretiens ont été conduits auprès des différents personnages (forgerons, devins, marabouts, chasseurs) qui exercent un rôle religieux ou qui agissent comme praticiens spécialisés dans la médiation des relations interindividuelles. Ces derniers développent alors une relation de clientèle et délivrent des charmes ou objets magiques dont les effets attendus s'orientent principalement autour de l'agression et de la protection.

D'importants changements ont pu être observés dans le paysage villageois qui est dorénavant marqué par la quasi-disparition des bosquets sacrés ayant abrité des génies ou protégé des objets puissants et par l'implantation de nombreuses mosquées relativement récentes parmi les villages de la zone qui ont une mosquée (90 %), 47 % l'ont érigé dans les années 1940 à 1970 et 22 % l'ont construite au cours des deux dernières années ; néanmoins ces transformations révélatrices d'un profond processus d'islamisation ne peuvent pas être

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Mali
1224-1300 C.E.

Early history

The state of Mali began as a small chieftaincy in the hills of the Mandinka plateau on the right bank of the upper Niger, upstream of modern Bamoko. The first capital of the chieftaincy was Jaraiba situated near the junction of the Niger and the Sankarani. About 1224 C.E. Samaguru lord of Susa conquered Mandiing. He put to death eleven out of twelve sons of the ruler of Mali. The twelfth son Sun Dyata escaped the massacre as he was a cripple. Sun Dyata in spite of his disability showed remarkable energy. He collected a force, defeated the usurper, and regained the throne of Mali. Thereafter he conquered Susa and annexed it to his dominions In 1240 C.E. he made further conquests and captured the gold bearing district of Bamboko. Under Sun Dyata Mali became a powerful state, and the neigh bouring chieftaincies became its vassals. Sun Dyata died in 1255 C.E. His rule lasted for some thirty years.

Mansa Wali

Sun Dyata was succeeded by his son Mansa Wali. He was the first ruler of Mali to be converted to Islam. He was a contemporary of Baybras the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt. He performed the Haj. He invited the Ulema from other Muslim countries to preach Islam. took steps to promote Islam, and under him conversions to Islam took place on a large scale. He constructed many mosques and madrassahs. His rule lasted for fifteen years and he died in 1270 C.E.

Mansa Wati

Mansa Wali was succeeded by his brother Mansa Wati. He was also a Muslim, and following in the footsteps of his predecessor he took steps to promote Islam. He did not live long and died in 1274 C.E. after a short reign of four years only.

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80
Songhay
1464-1591 C.E.

Traditional history

The negroes of the mid-Niger region were converted to Islam during the eleventh century. They established a principality of which Kukiya was the capital. Later the capital was shifted to Gao. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Songhay region was subject to the authority of Mali.

Sonni Ali

During the fifteenth century, under its ruler Sonni Ali Songhay threw off the yoke of Mali and became independent. Sonni Ali was a great warrior. He embarked on a campaign of conquests, and extended his conquests upto Jenne and Timbukto. Because of these conquests Songhay became a great power. Sonni Ali was a Kharijite, and he earned the opposition of the orthodox Ulema. In many respects he behaved as an unbeliever. Because of his laxity in belief he became unpopular with the Muslims. He, however, ruled with a stern hand, and severely punished the Ulema who were opposed to him. He ruled for twenty-seven years from 1464 to 1481 C E.

Sonni Baru

Sonni Ali was succeeded by his son Sonni Baru. He tried to follow in the footsteps of his father. He was not as strong as his father. The opposition against his rule mounted, and in a coup d' etat led by the Commander-in-Chief of the Sonni armed forces, the rule of Sonni Baru was overthrown in 1493 C.E., and power was captured by the Commander-in-Chief Muhammad.

Askiya Muhammad

On capturing power, Muhammad took over the title of Askiya, and he founded the rule which came to be known as the rule of the Askiya dynasty. Askiya Muhammad was a good Muslim. He

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5

SAINT AND SUFI IN CONTEMPORARY MALI

Benjamin F. Soares

Mali



00 Eyl 2008

Beginning in the late 1990s, a group of young Muslim religious figures, who call themselves Sufis, started to attract considerable attention, particularly in urban Mali. The most prominent are based in Bamako, Mali's capital and largest city. There is much agreement among Malians that these contemporary Sufis are new kinds of Sufis. Indeed, they are markedly different from both other Sufis in Mali and their historical predecessors from the colonial and pre-colonial past, all of whom have been closely associated with one of the main Sufi orders found in this country.

In this chapter I consider some of these Sufis – 'new Sufis' for convenience here – who have become influential religious figures with many followers and clients in Mali. The recent and ongoing processes of liberalization in Mali – political, economic and social – have profoundly influenced the practice of religion and Islam in particular. Over the past few years, new forms of associational life, increased transnational and global interconnections, and the use of new media technologies have had a major impact on Mali's religious economy, which has become more diverse and complex. The new Sufis offer a significant opportunity to reflect upon some of the changing modalities of religious expression in a place like Mali, which has undergone rapid processes of liberalization over the past 15 years.

Islam as an Object of Study

Many observers of Islam and of Muslims in West Africa have long assumed that the Sufi orders were the most important institutional form for the practice of Islam in much of Muslim West Africa (e.g., Hiskett, 1984). The attention to Sufi orders during the colonial period was of course directly related to both British and French colonial administrators' overtly political objectives of attempting to thwart any challenges or threats to colonial

authority that might possibly come under the banner of Islam (Seesemann, 2002). Given that the organized Sufi orders in West Africa were and remain to one degree or another corporate groups with identifiable leaders, they were obvious areas of interest and study from the nineteenth century through the colonial period in the twentieth century. In the late colonial period from around the 1940s, colonial observers shifted their attention to include the latest perceived challenge to colonial rule, those reformist and modernist Muslims who sometimes articulated critiques of the Sufi orders, their leaders, doctrines and practices. In the postcolonial period, with a few notable exceptions, observers of Islam in West Africa have continued to work within this same problematic by focussing on Sufism and Sufi orders and, to a lesser extent, on reformist Muslims. Thus, there have been various studies of those Sufi orders that historically have been the most important in West Africa, particularly the Qadiriyya, the Tijaniyya, and their various branches, as well as anti-Sufi groups and movements within various countries in West Africa or more generally across the region.[1]

Such a problematic, which might even be called a preoccupation with Sufi orders and their opposites, Muslim reformist critics, is perhaps best exemplified in the case of Senegal. Here there has been sustained scholarly production about the Sufi orders and especially the Mourides – a branch of the Qadiriyya – that has proceeded almost uninterrupted since early in the colonial period. Given the role Sufi orders and their leaders have played in national politics in Senegal, it is not at all surprising that political scientists have been in the forefront in analysing them (e.g. Cruise O'Brien, 1971, 1975; Villalón, 1995). Just when one thought that enough had been said about the over-studied Mourides, the scholarly production about them seems to have taken on a new life now that scholars have decided to pay attention to Senegalese migrants in Europe, North America and beyond.[2] However, the attention of scholars on Sufi orders in West Africa and especially in Senegal has only helped to reinforce the view that somehow the practice of Islam in Africa is equivalent to that of the existing organized Sufi orders. As Villalón suggests in this volume, Senegal represents a rather exceptional case for the importance of the Sufi orders even in West Africa. If one looks elsewhere in West Africa, for example Mali, Niger and Côte d'Ivoire, it is readily apparent that Sufi orders have never had the importance they may have in Senegal, not to mention other places in the Muslim world.

My objective in this chapter is not to downplay the importance of Sufism or Sufis in West Africa. To the contrary, it would be difficult to understand the history and contemporary practice of Islam in West Africa without comprehending the centrality of Sufism. But Sufism and its influence cannot, and should not, be reduced to its presumed institutional forms such as the handful of Sufi orders whose history we already know something about. While there have been very good studies of individual Sufis and the Sufi orders they have founded, led and propagated in West Africa, there has been

Mervyn Hiskett
THE COURSE OF ISLAM IN AFRICA, Edinburgh – 1994, s. 102-103
DN: 63205

Moreover, the polytheist establishment enjoyed an inherent advantage since any natural disaster: prolonged drought, an outbreak of cattle pest, the plague, or defeat in war, could be attributed to the wrath of the ancestral gods, offended by the ruler's dallying with the new religion of Islam. If the prayers of the *'ulamā'* failed to bring rain, or otherwise put matters right, the animist commonality would at once rally to their traditional leaders. The ruler then had little recourse other than to turn against the *'ulamā'* and reinstate the chief animists. To talk of 'magicians' in this context may be to understate the complex nature of a society resting on the ancient values of animism.

Islam in Songhay: the askiyas

When Sonni 'Alī died in 898/1492 – drowned somewhat conveniently in the Niger – his death occasioned civil war between the animist and Muslim factions. A certain Muḥammad Ture, a Songhay military commander of somewhat sterner Islamic fibre than Sonni 'Alī, emerged the victor and in 898/1493, Muḥammad Ture took the title 'Askiya'. He became known to history as Askiya Muḥammad. Early in his reign, he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca by way of Cairo and thus renewed the lineaments of Islamic legitimacy torn down by Sonni 'Alī.

While in Cairo, he made contact with the well-known Egyptian scholar, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, who became an adviser to him. Al-Suyūṭī gave much advice as to how to implement Islam in the Sudan. But he was on the whole pacific: he preferred to avoid resort to *jihād* and was also tolerant towards mixing.

At about the same time, Askiya Muḥammad contacted through other sources an altogether more fiery Muslim savant, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī, a North African. Al-Maghīlī condemned Sonni 'Alī as an unbeliever, sanctioned *jihād* against the polytheists and roundly denounced those venal *'ulamā'* who tolerated mixing. Both men, al-Suyūṭī and al-Maghīlī, believed in the coming of the *Mahdī*; but whereas al-Suyūṭi interpreted this event largely at an intellectual level, al-Maghīlī believed it required *'jihād* of the sword', there and then. At the time, al-Suyūṭī's more tolerant views appear to have prevailed in the courts of the Sudanese kings; later generations of Islamic reformers were inspired by the more violent teachings of al-Maghīlī.

Despite the powerful advocacy of al-Maghīlī and the more temperate persuasion of al-Suyūṭī, Askiya Muḥammad and his successors never abandoned mixed Islam. They used *jihād* as a cover to extend the borders of the Songhay empire, smiled kindly on the resident *'ulamā'* but made sure that the necessary equilibrium between Islam

and polytheism was maintained. The time was not yet ripe for al-Maghīlī's programme of wholesale Islamic reform.

The intellectual development of Timbuktu

During the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century, Timbuktu began to assume the attributes of a centre of learning. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the city in 754/1353 – that is while it was still part of the empire of Mali – he stated that 'Most of its inhabitants are of the Massufa tribe, wearers of the face-veil'.[6] The Massufa were a branch of the Sanhaja. It therefore appears that Berber scholarship was already established in Timbuktu before the decline of Mali set in.

The mosque of Sankore is thought to have been founded in Timbuktu late in the eighth/fourteenth century. It gradually developed into an institution of higher Islamic learning under the tutelage of these Sanhaja Berbers, and by the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century the mosque had reached the peak of its scholarly renown. Its *ijāzāt* ('learned genealogies', sometimes 'pedigrees') were fully equal to those of the other great Islamic centres of learning beyond the Sudan. Students from all over the Sudan, and even farther afield, came there to study higher Islamic learning.

At first the main intellectual influences on Timbuktu were North African, but by the tenth/sixteenth century these influences had begun to fade. They were replaced by those from Egypt, possibly because of the disturbed political conditions that existed in North Africa at this time, compared to the relative stability that prevailed in Egypt in the late Mamlūk period. Another factor is likely to have been the reputation throughout the western Islamic world of scholars such as al-Suyūṭī and others who flourished in Egypt during this century. Also significant may have been the general trend towards greater theological and legal pluralism in Egypt. Unlike the North African *'ulamā'*, the Egyptians did not insist on adherence to one *madhhab* alone. They permitted the individual freedom to make his choice among the four *Sunnī* rites, thus anticipating the *ijtihād* movement of subsequent centuries. Moreover, the Egyptian *'ulamā'* seem to have been more tolerant towards mixed Islam than their North African colleagues.

Mysticism in the western Sudan

The *Ṣūfī ṭuruq* did not make a substantial appearance in the western Sudan – as opposed to the Sahara where their appearance was somewhat earlier – until the middle of the eleventh/seventeenth century. Some traditions claim that al-Maghīlī was a Qādirī. If so, he made no known attempt to found an organised *ṭarīqa*, although long after his

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المساحة: مليون و٢٤١ ألف و٢٣١ كلم^2 (١٢٤١٢٣١).

العاصمة: باماكو Bamako. وأهم المدن سيغو Segou، سيكاسو Sikasso، موبتي Mopti، غاو Gao، كايس Kaes، تومبوكتو Tombouctou، سان San (راجع مدن ومعالم).

اللغات: عشر لغات هي لغات القبائل الرئيسية في البلاد: بومبارا، بول، سوننكي، سورحي، سنوفو، توماشيك، بوبو، بوزو، دوغون، وماندينكا. الفرنسية (رسمية)، ويتكلم الطوارق العربية.

السكان: يعدون نحو ١٢ مليون نسمة (تقديرات العام ٢٠٠٠)، ويتوزعون على ٢٣ قبيلة إتنية، أهمها مجموعة قبائل الماندي والبوظار. نحو ٩٤٪ منهم مسلمون، و٤٪ كاثوليك، و٢٪ إحيائيون (معتقدات أصلية).

الحكم: نظام الحكم جمهوري برلماني. الدستور المعمول به صادر في ١٢ كانون الثاني ١٩٩٢ بعد استفتاء عليه حيث نال موافقة ٩٩,٧٦٪ من الاصوات. ينتخب رئيس الجمهورية بالاقتراع المباشر لولاية من خمس سنوات. البرلمان من ١٤٧ عضوًا منتخبًا لخمس سنوات. وتقسم البلاد إداريًا إلى ثماني مناطق.

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The Impact of Islam on Medieval Ghana And Mali (10 - 14th Century)

Amin Tawfiq Tibi

This essay discusses the impact of Islam on West Africa where until the 14th century, two ancient African states - Ghana and Mali - flourished. This area witnessed the beginning of the impact of Islamic civilization thanks primarily to the activities of Maghribi traders.

Arabic sources are the only written sources available to us concerning the history of the Western Sudan in the Middle Ages, since the tribes of West Africa had not yet known writing at the time.

The spread of Islam in Western Sudan served as a unifying factor among the tribes of the region. Islam contributed towards the solution of the problem of tribalism.

Ancient Ghana reached the zenith of its power in the 10th century and its prosperity derived primarily from its control of the trans-Saharan gold trade.

Writing in 1068 A.D., the Andalusian al-Bakri says that the king of Ghana and most of his subjects were pagans and that the king was tolerant towards Muslims for he permitted them to have their own town and mosques and he depended upon Muslim functionaries for the running of his administration.

To the west of Ghana lay Takrur on the lower course of the Senegal river. The Takruris were the first people in West Africa to embrace Islam and they were active in spreading it among their neighbouring tribes.

From its inception, the Almoravid State was characterized by the **jihad** and was active in the propagation of **sunni** Islam and the eradication of heresies and paganism. In 1076 A.D., the Almoravids conquered pagan Ghana whose people, known as Soninke, were converted to Islam and, through these itinerant traders (**dyula**), Islam was diffused in many areas of West Africa.

The empire of Mali, which flourished in the 13th and 14th centuries, had as its nucleus the Mande tribes which inhabited the area lying between the upper Niger and Senegal basins. Mali's history begins with Sundiata (d. 1255 A.D.) who appears to have been pagan at the outset of his reign but he soon adopted Islam. Until the decline of Mali in the 15th century, its rulers (**mansas**) were all Muslims, and many of them performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.

The most famous ruler of Mali was Mansa Musa (r. 1312-1337 A.D.). During his reign, Mali attained the zenith of its power and prosperity. Following Mansa Musa's celebrated pilgrimage in 1324 A.D., Mali attracted a host of Muslim traders and scholars who contributed to its economic and cultural well-being and to its architectural development.

Thanks to Mansa Musa, close relations were established with Mamluk Egypt, Hafsid Tunisia and Marinid Morocco, with the result that Mali became an integral part of the Muslim world.

The Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta spent nine months in Mali in 1352-3 A.D. and was impressed by the prevalence of public security and justice, by the people's devoutness and piety, their strict performance of prayers and their zeal in memorizing the Qur'an.

This historical survey discusses the impact of Islam in an area which lies at the southern periphery of the Maghrib, namely the Western Sudan - the basins of the Niger and the Senegal - known as al-Sahil and al-Hawd, in which until the fifteenth century two ancient African states, Ghana and Mali, flourished. This area saw the beginning of the impact of Islamic civilization after Arab rule in North Africa had been consolidated at the beginning of the eighth century A.D. These Islamic influences continued to grow, thanks to the activities of Maghribi traders across the Sahara. It was largely due to the activities and settlement of these traders that Islam began to spread, initially among the Sahara tribes (Sanhaja al-Sahra') and then in those areas of the Western Sudan which they frequented.

It is noteworthy that the Arabic sources - geographical books, travels and biographical dictionaries - are the only literary sources available to us concerning the history of the Western Sudan in the Middle Ages, since the tribes of the Western Sudan had not yet known writing at that time. These Arabic sources are, therefore, per se a great contribution to the history of civilization. The most important of these sources, in chronological order, are the works of Ibn Hawqal (10th century), Abu Ubayd al-Bakri (11th century), al-Idrisi (12th century), Ibn Sa'id (13th century), Ibn Battuta, al-Umari and Ibn Khaldun (14th century), al-Qalqashandi (15th century), and al-Hasan al-Wazzan, better known as Leo Africanus, (16th century). From among the Sudanese themselves, we have 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sa'di, author of **Tarikh al-sudan,** and Mahmud Ka't (Ibn al-Mukhtar), author of **Tarikh al-fattash** (both of whom lived in the 17th centrury), and the celebrated scholar and **faqih** Ahmed Baba al-Tunbukti (late 16th and early 17th century), author of **Nayl al-ibtihaj bi tatriz al-dibaj.** In addition, there are the biographical dictionaries, in the compilation of which Maghribi and Andalusian scholars in particular distinguished themselves, for these works contain valuable pieces of information about contacts made by Muslim traders in the Sudan.

It must be emphasized that Islam penetrated into most areas of the Western Sudan not through military conquest but peacefully through the influence of traders and nomadic groups from the Sahara who used to frequent the fringes of the Western Sudan for trade and who set up stations and markets where they could exchange their wares for those of the Sudanese (Hunwick, 1970: 115). Thanks to these Maghribi traders, Islam began to spread not through missionary activities but through contact and example, particularly among pagan monarchs and their pagan functionaries. The emergence of the Almoravid state in the western Sahara in the middle of the 11th century - a state based on **jihad** and the propagation of orthodox Islam - played a significant role in the diffusion of the Maliki school **(madhhab)** of Islam among the tribes of the western Sahara as well as in the Sudan, thereby accelerating the pace of Islamization in

West Africa

DOROTHEA E. SCHULZ

Women's Associations, Mass Media, and Morals in Urban Mali

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Since 1991, when multi-party democracy was established in Mali, there has been a remarkable proliferation of Muslim associations that call for moral renewal of Malian society and for spreading the teachings of Islam. Some associations make extensive use of broadcast technology, helping them create transnational communities of believers at an unprecedented rate. Women play a prominent role in these associations, not only as followers, but as self-appointed spokeswomen and models of a new 'Islamic' way of life.

Many members of the Western-oriented elite explain the Muslim associations' current success by the substantial financial support they receive from the Arab world, but the reasons for their prominent position in the national arena are far more complex. They are the most recent expression of a long history of intellectual and material exchange between Muslim West Africa and the Arab world – and more recently, cities of the West.[1] Contrary to their supposed literalist readings of written sources and claims to authentic ritual practices – seen by the associations themselves as countering the corrupting influences of the West – these Malian initiatives can be understood as locally variable incorporations of Western consumer culture and notions of subjecthood and achievement, and of religious symbols and accessories from the Arab world. This heterogeneous and sometimes contradictory legacy of current Muslim movements in Mali is clearly expressed in the field of education, where the struggle for access to political and economic resources in the post-colonial state is predominant.[2]

There are but a few associations that call for the introduction of the *shari'a*. Most of them emphasize faith as a matter of personal conviction and moral conduct. Their view strongly individualizes religious identity. This concern with individual conviction offers an explicitly 'modern' element to the associations' search for identity in a public arena where the government, although controlling educational and broadcasting institutions, does not hold the monopoly over resources of ideological orientation. In fact, the government is deeply ambivalent about whether, and the extent to which, a 'Malian' path towards modernity should be based on 'occidental ' or 'Islamic' values.

A women's association was invited to perform at a baptizing ceremony.



PHOTO: DOROTHEA E. SCHULZ, BAMAKO, 1998

The public debate over Malian moral values

The competing versions of what constitutes the basis for 'authentically Malian' moral values constitute a central field of contention and ideological struggle among Muslim associations and socio-political interest groups. Central to the public debate is a concern with what is seen as the dissolution of traditional values and social solidarity under the onslaught of Westernization. Instead of criticizing the degrading living conditions which are a source of growing intergenerational and gender conflict, Muslim leaders attract followers by presenting these difficulties as a matter of moral decadence, proposing individual moral betterment as the remedy. Very similar to the moral wars waged in other countries in response to radical changes in living conditions, women, in their roles as responsible mothers and dutiful wives, are given a central role as guardians of tradition. Women's dress code and bodily enactment of chastity become central icons of moral conduct.

The movements differ substantially in their relationships with current political leadership and its decidedly secularist orientation. They also set themselves apart from the leading marabout clans and representatives of the Sufi brotherhoods that form a substantial part of the religious establishment. The new Muslim initiatives are especially critical of the practice of curing illnesses attributed to occult forces, which they perceive as corruption of Islamic practices. That they distance themselves does not necessarily imply that they do not believe in occult forces causing misfortune and illness. Rather, they condemn that many self-appointed marabouts turn the fabrication of amulets and other protective 'medicines' into an expanding, lucrative business.

The new Muslim associations are primarily an urban phenomenon, both in their social basis and in that they address concerns emanating from life in the city. The social background of members varies considerably: while some groups recruit their followers primarily from graduates from Western schools, other groups are composed of people from lower urban classes (artisans, petty traders, people working in the informal sector of town). Apart from regular attendance of group meetings and celebrations, a person manifests his or her membership by adopting a dress and behavioural style considered 'distinctively Muslim'.

A sanctioned space for women

Membership in an association provides access to a network that facilitates income-generating activities across national boundaries, spreading from Mali to its neighbouring countries and the Arab world. While this combination of religious and occupational identities and the resulting economic networks perpetuates a long-standing tradition, some new exchange items have been added to older commodities. These include home-made articles that recombine elements of Western, West African and Arab consumer style, such as all-purpose religious 'print' media in the form of T-shirts, dresses, scarves, posters and stickers featuring *surat*s, religious leaders and their most famous citations. Women's remarkable public visibility and engagement in group activities show that their significance extends beyond the limited status they are accorded by male authorities as emblems of an untouched Islamic tradition. Some older women from wealthy families, having acquired literacy in Arabic, hold gatherings at least twice weekly to teach women appropriate ritual conduct and Arabic. The historical antecedents of these female initiatives date back to colonial times, but they were then restricted mostly to elite women.[3] There are now far more women from various backgrounds publicly proclaiming and enacting their faith. In their claims and teachings, they deal with the dilemmas and difficulties arising from modern life in towns. Their teachings place a strong emphasis on their roles as mothers and wives, invested with greater responsibility as guardians of Islamic values. Self-restriction, patience, modesty, frugality, and submission to the will of one's husband and in-laws are the norms that should guide and express the newly found Muslim identity of these women. In the face of the difficulties and moral dilemmas of everyday life, communal prayers and learning give women a sense of spiritual empowerment and, occasionally, of moral superiority.

Women's group activities can be seen as an attempt to create emotional certainty and normative orientation in a situation where patriarchal authority and ideology are increasingly questioned. Women's increasing contributions to family maintenance, in particular among the lower classes, collides with the ideal of man as the principal provider. A major incentive for women to attend group meetings is that they offer social, emotional and some financial support. Socializing with women with similarly modest life-styles liberates women from the social pressure to prove sociability through their capacity to spend. Also, the small contributions collected during group meetings are given out to members to enable them to overcome financially difficult situations or to start a small-scale trade enterprise. The meetings provide a sanctioned space for informal interaction, the exchange of information, and even gossip. Many men strongly oppose their wives' joining a credit savings group (which even many women distrust because of the many stories of failure and misappropriation of group funds), but no husband can prevent his wife from joining such a group without risking being called a 'bad Muslim.'

Reaching out to a transnational community

A major factor facilitating Muslim women's public prominence is the extensive use of local radio stations and audio-cassettes to disseminate to a larger public their visions of an Islamic renewal and of the role that women should play. These women's credibility as spokeswomen of 'Islamic morals' is widely acknowledged – and often more appreciated than that of male representatives of Muslim associations. Although these female speakers articulate their call for moral renewal in ways that support male authorities' conservative outlook on gender roles and conduct, women's sermons appeal to many men and women, not only members of associations, because they articulate a widespread concern with the loss of social solidarity. Moreover, they represent current difficulties of urban life as something to be resolved by individual women's 'better' conduct. Thus, one implication of women's use of broadcast media is that it allows them to very audibly accord themselves a prominent role in the moral renewal.

Broadcasting changes the character of the sermons, because it dislocates the site of reception, expands the audience, and allows for a recombination of various narrative styles. Audio-taped sermons can be dissociated from the original, often public and male-dominated, setting of its deliverance and may be circulated among a wider audience and in various settings, such as at home, on the market and in the street. As women have easier access to the sermons, they can debate their contents and turn the message into something meaningful to their lives. As many preachers blend various oral genres, religious sermons turn into a type of popular entertainment broadcast on the media and consumed during work and leisure time activities.

The audio-taped (and increasingly video-taped) sermons and proclamations of an 'Islamic renewal' address an audience that is no longer defined by territorial boundaries, but reaches out to a transnational community of believers, with the Arab world as its centre of reference but including expatriates in North America and Europe. In this sense, Malian Muslim associations not only respond to locally specific dilemmas of Malian urban life, but are constitutive of a transnational community that promotes 'religious identity' as part of a modern life-style reflected in the eclectic incorporation of icons of Western consumer and 'Islamic' religious culture. ◆◆

Notes

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2. Brenner (1993b), 'Representations of power and powerlessness among West African Muslims', in: Jean-Pierre Chrétien (ed.), *L'invention religieuse en Afrique*, Paris: Karthala, pp.213-234.
3. Sanankoua, Bintou (1991), 'Les associations féminines musulmanes à Bamako', in: Louis Brenner and Bintou Sanankoua (eds.), *L'enseignement islamique au Mali*, Bamako.

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Mali

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