NOTES

This book has been compiled by myself. Alida Jaye Boye, drawing primarily, but not entirely, upon the work of Professor John Hunwick: his writings on the Songhay Empire, relations between North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa, the transsaharan slave trade and Islamization in West Africa, not to mention his three special areas of expertise: Timbuktu, Nigeria and Ghana. Extensive use is made of his publications with Brill Academic Publishers, *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire; Al-Salâdî’s Ṭarîkh al-sudan down to 1613 and other Contemporary Documents* (1999), and *Arabic Literature of Africa Volume IV – The Writings of Western Sudanic Africa* (2003), as well as his numerous publications with Markus Wiener (see Bibliography).

Translations from the Arabic are drawn principally from two sources: John Hunwick’s translation of the Ṭarîkh al-sudan in *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire, and Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History* edited and translated by J.F.P. Hopkins and N. Levitson (Cambridge University Press, 1983; repr. Markus Wiener, 2000). In order to minimize confusion, we have taken the liberty of standardizing spelling for citations in cases where this in no way changes the meaning.

For areas beyond Hunwick’s expertise, I have relied heavily on the work of other scholars, in particular descriptions by David Robinson of the Umarian regime, William Allen Brown of Hamdallahi, and Elias Saad of Timbuktu’s scholarly traditions. These in turn draw upon previous African scholars, particularly those who have studied the oral traditions such as Amadou Hampâtè Ba, Youssouf Taté Cissé and Bintou Sanankoa.

ABBREVIATIONS

ALA IV

Atelier CNRST

Barth

Caillat

Chemins du Savoir

Corpus

Saad

TSE

TF

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

 pages 5–6
1 Šahārāt Jeppe, Senior Lecturer at Cape Town University, South Africa.
2 *TF* pp. 313.
4 The governor of Timbuktu wrote a letter to Senussi Ali, ruler of the Songhay, insulting him, saying he was a bad Muslim. This he interpreted as a declaration of war. Al-Maghâli wrote works leading to the persecution of the Jews. The fundamentalist Ahmadu Lobbé, with the assistance of his scribe, sought to legitimize his authority over the Niger Bend, and particularly the settlable groups providing river transport, by forging the Ṭarîkh al-jınátisî as well as sending letters to high officials in North Africa proclaiming him as the 12th Caliph. Al-Bakkyâ al-Kantûrî of Timbuktu accused the fundamentalist ruler of the Caliphate of Hamdallahi, Ahmadu Ahmadu, of shallow learning, saying he lacked knowledge and instruction to pursue a jihad. Umar Tall wrote works legitimizing his jihads.
6 For example *The Epic of Askia Muhammad* or *The Epic of Sunjata, founder of the Mali Empire*. See also Ba, A.H. and J. Duget (1962) *L’Empire Poua du Mânova (1828–1833)*, Abidjan: Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines.
8 This pertains particularly to the Fula and the Tuareg. Families from several ethnic groups claim descent either from the Prophet Muhammad or from Saudi Arabia/Yemen, making distinctions between Arabs, Berbers, Moors and local groups rather blurred.
10 Volumes I–IV were published between 1993 and 2003, Volumes V–VI are under preparation as of 2008.
11 The Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, based in London, has
published several catalogues of manuscript collections from the region. Electronic databases include AADAB, designed through a collaboration between the University of Oslo and the Institut de recherché et d’histoire des textes (IRHT) in Paris, the Arab Manuscript Management System (AAMMS) based in Chicago; and the database of the West African Arabic manuscripts collection at Northwestern University, Evanston.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

Timgad: Where the Camel Meets the Canoe, pages 32–62

1 Barth (1965) p. 685.

2 These are only averages; annual and seasonal variations occur.

3 Tin’ in the Tamashek language means ‘well’. Benjaminine, Tor Arve and Gunnvor Berge (2004) Une histoire de Timgad, trans. from Norwegian into French by Yves Boutron, Arles: Actes Sud, p. 87. Al-Sadi in the Tashrib al-Sudan gives a different explanation: that the slave woman was called ‘Tinmk, in which their language [Songhay] mean [the one having a] lump’. TSE p. 29.

4 Al-Sadi al-Kadi in the Tashrib al-Sudan, ‘Timgad was founded by the Maghribian Tuareg towards the end of the fifth century of the hijr [c. 1100]. They would come there in summer to graze their herds on the banks of the river. Then in the rainy season they would return northward by stages to Avaran their farthest point in the upper lands, and encamp there. Thus did they choose the location of this village, pure, undefiled and proud city. Blessed with divine favour, a healthy climate, and [commercial] activity which is my birthplace and my heart’s delight. It is a city unsullied by the worship of idols, where none has proscribed save to God the Compassionate, a refuge of scholarly and righteous folk, a haunt of saints and ascetics, and a meeting place of caravans and boats.’ TSE p. 25. Al-Sadi defines the ‘Tuareg’ as the ‘Massina, they trace their descent from Sankara’ TSE p. 35.


6 Leo Africanus’ original name in Arabic was al-Husain b. Muhammad al-Wazzan al-Zayyati.

7 In much of the literature, including the Tashrib al-Sudan, the various Berber groups are referred to as Tuareg. The name ‘Tuareg’ (or ‘Tawerq’ in Arabic) is a term used by foreigners or outsiders.

8 Ibn Battuta (1355) Corpus p. 301.


11 The language of the Fulani is Fulfulde, but the Fulani of Senegal and Guinea call themselves Fulɓe and their language Fulɓe.

12 A pattern which is still played out today in inter-ethnic social relationships, often referred to as ‘linking relationships’ or ‘placentaria’.

13 Between Tamanrasset and the frontier of Mali at a place called Ghar is a little-known desert where the tracks and watering- places can be found only by experienced guides drawn from the well-weathers who nomadize in that wilderness. The merchants hire them as escorts at a high price.’ Ibn Khaldun (1374–1378) ‘The Book of Examples and the Register of Subject and Predicative in the Days of the Arabs, the Persians, and the Berbers’ Corpus p. 355.

14 Ibn Battuta (1355) Corpus p. 283.

15 Interview with Sidi Mohamed Ould Youbba (2007). The French explorer René Caillié travelled across the desert in 1818 at about 2 miles per hour with a camel of about 1,400 camels each bearing a load of 500 pounds and composed of 30 men on foot.’ Caillié (1853) pp. 106 and 422.

16 During the heyday of trans-Saharan trade, caravans were probably much larger, although the accuracy of reported numbers cannot be verified. Ibn Khaldun in his ‘Book of Examples’ written in the 14th century reports on a caravan of 12,000 camels (Corpus p. 350). The Moroccans were said to have set off to invade Timgad in 1519 with as many as 10,000 camels carrying munitions, tents, water and other provisions, according to a Spaniard in Muravaki gathering intelligence for King Phillip II of Spain. ‘An Account of the Sadian Conquest of Songhay by an anonymous Spaniard’, TSE p. 170.

17 Ibn Battuta (1355) Corpus p. 203.


19 TSE p. 270.


24 A North African traveller provided the Spanish geographer Al-Qazwini who wrote in 1275 with the following description of a city which developed in the vicinity of one of the salt mines in the northern Sahara: ‘the ramparts of the city of Timgad were of salt as also all its walls, pillars, and roads. The doors, too, were made of slabs of salt covered with leather so that the edges might not crack... all the land around that town is a salt pan where salt and alum are mined. If an animal dies there it is thrown into the desert and turns to salt. Salt is very precious in the land of the Sudan... its inhabitants are the slaves of the Massintha and their job is to collect salt all the year round. The caravan comes once a year.’ Al-Qazwini (1275) The Marvels of the Creatd Reigns and the Monuments of the Lands’ Corpus p. 178.


25 Leo Africanus (1526) TSE p. 281.

26 Mahomed Bajour, through the liberality of Askja Daoud, purchased a copy of al-Qums al-mukhtal, the great dictionary by al-Faradhdali, for 80 dinars. TSE p. 108.

27 This would be equivalent to the price of two horses, according to the sum quoted by Leo Africanus for such a purchase in Gao.

28 Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kabir was known to send someone to meet the caravans in order to have the first bid. Shaykh al-Mukhtar Kabr (2007) ‘Présentation du Centre Sheikh Sidi Al Moultafar Al Kadi Koutou pour la Recherche et la Documentation à Gao’ TSE p. 248.


30 From Manuscript no. 5777, Almed Baha Institute, Timgad. Interpretation by Seydou Dione in ‘Relations Commerciales entre Tombouctou et Ghadarans du 14è à l’Epoque Colonielle’ Atelier CNRSF p. 50.


32 TSE p. 148.


34 Al-Bakr (1608) The Book of Routes and Reaches’ Corpus p. 68.


43 TSE p. 9.

44 Al-Umiri Corpus pp. 270–271.


48 Ibid. p. 93.

49 TSE p. 114.

50 TSE, also TSE p. 105.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 2
Timbuktu: A Sanctuary for Scholars, pp. 80–100

Page 81 Leo Afric anus (1926) TSE p. 281.
1 'People came there from all directions, and over time it became a commercial emporium. The most frequent traders there were the people of Wagadu, followed by others from that general area. The previous centre of commerce had been the town of Biru, to which caravans came from all directions. The cream of scholars and holy men, and the wealth from every tribe and land settled there – men from Egypt, Awjila, Fezzan, Ghadames, Tuwat, Dar'a, Taffalt, Fez, Sus, Biru, etc. Little by little, together with representatives of all the tribes of the Sanhaja, they moved to Timbuktu until they filled it to overflowing. Timbuktu's growth brought about the ruin of Walata, for its development, as regards both religion and commerce, came entirely from the west.' TSE p. 30.
2 TSE p. 91.
3 Ibid. p. 158.
4 TSE p. 122.
5 The Moroccans were, however, very impressed by Ahmed Baba's works and set him up to teach during his stay (see page 115).
6 Three copies of the Tarikh al-fattah have been found to date. These each differ either because pages have been lost or because the work has been forged or manipulated to legitimize later claims. In editing and translating the text in 1913, Foudas and Delafosse included passages found only in one of these copies of the manuscript, so that the currently available text published in Arabic (and translated into French) is an amalgam of original 16th- and 17th-century material and 19th-century forgery.
8 The Mallians built a madrasa in Cairo where their entourage stayed during pilgrimages to Mecca. Al-Umari Corpus p. 261.
9 The 'chain' of transmission of Islamic knowledge or authority, particularly the transmission of spiritual allegiance and mystical knowledge, is a sibila. An isad is a document listing scholars through whom authority has been transmitted. The isad of a particular scholar will thus show both where his knowledge originated and how it might have been transformed.
11 Ahmed Baba gave an ijaza to a scholar giving him permission to transmit everything for which he himself had received a license whenever he wished and in any words he wished on the condition that it be free of corruption and inaccuracy. Such ijazas provide us with a fuller picture of Ahmed Baba's mentors and the sources from which the preceding generations of Timbuktu scholars received at least part of their education. Hunwick, John O. (1965) 'Further Light on Ahmad Baba al-Tinbukhti'. Research Bulletin, Centre of Arabic Documentation, ii/1, pp. 20–21.
13 Estimates of the population of Timbuktu in the 13th and 16th centuries have ranged widely, from 25,000 to 100,000. R. Mauny (1961), in Tableau géographique de l'Afrique africain au moyen age, Dakar: IFAN (Mém. de l'IFAN, 61), estimated that Timbuktu had a total of only about 25,000 inhabitants. Local historians in Timbuktu tell of a population of 100,000 of which every fourth inhabitant was a student (interview with Salem oud el Hadfi in 2007). In the Tarikh al-fattah it is reported that there were 26 workshops in the tailoring industry, where many students worked, each with 50–100 apprentices (TSE p. 115). Elias Saad estimates about 200–300 scholars during this period (Saad p. 83). When René Caillée visited Timbuktu in 1848, he estimated Timbuktu's population at 12–12,000 (Caillée p. 65) while Heinrich Barth reported 15,000 inhabitants with an additional 'floating population' of as many as 10,000 (Barth p. 341). Timbuktu's population today is said to be about 30,000, greatly increasing when there is an event such as a festival in town.
14 TSE pp. 73–74.
15 From an interpretation by Mohamed Baye of various manuscripts from the Ahmed Baba Institute presented in 'Science de l'Education à travers les manuscrits de l'HERIAB', Atelier CNRST p. 46.
16 Ibn Battuta Corpus p. 300.
17 Barth p. 372.
18 In 1902, John Hunwick came across nearly 200 documents at the Ahmed Baba Institute relating to the purchase, sale, inheritance and endowment of slaves as well as claims to free status. One document records how a woman who gained a quarter-share of a slave through inheritance gave it away as a charitable donation in expiration of her sister. Another is a letter concerning whether a master should pay his slave's taxes during the colonial period. Hunwick, John O. (1992) 'CEDRAB: le Centre de Documentation et de Recherches Ahmed Baba at Timbuktu'. Sudanic Africa 3, pp. 173–81.
19 When W.W. broke out, many scholars of West Africa wrote letters of support for the French, but while most wrote very brief letters, the scholars of Timbuktu threw up an elaborate juridical treatise in which they all surveyed 'the whole history of their city.' Saad p. 221.
24 Arabic script generally only represents the consonants and the long vowels and eliminates the short vowels. Vocalization is the process of adding the short vowels. The text of the Koran is always vocalized, but so too are also some canonical texts on grammar or law when precise.
pronunciation and/or comprehension needs to be ensured. The work of vocalising may have been done by the proofreader. See also Glossary.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 3
Timbuktu: Scholars and Libraries Past and Present, pp. 106-109

1 'Al-Ifrîn’s account of the Sadian conquest' TSE p. 318.
2 Saad p. 62 and Appendix 2 p. 247.
3 These biographies are extracted from ALA IV unless otherwise indicated.
4 Marking musa are similar to cashwires, but when untrusted can be very toxic. (Thanks to Dr Bert Smestad Paulien, Department of Pharmacy, University of Oslo.)
5 Saad p. 60.
6 TSE p. 72.
7 TSE p. 54.
8 Ibid. pp. 40-42. See also Saad p. 43.
9 Saad p. 71.

11 Since war could not be fought against other Muslims, only 'unbelievers' could be captured and held as slaves. No consideration was ever given in Islamic teachings to what colour of skin made people enslavable. According to Muhammad al-Sanamar al-Jarnai 'Ismâ'îl al-tûfîqîyas al-fa’îriyyat al-sudan, MS 1755, HÉRIAB, Timbuktu, the Prophet Muhammad said that 'The Arab has no virtue over the non-Arab, nor has the non-Arab over the Arab, nor has the White over the Black, or the Black over the White, except in terms of devotion to God. Surely, the nobleness of you in God’s sight is the most devout.' See also Drissa Diakité’s review of medieval Arab authors writing about black Africa: 'Le “pays des noirs” dans le récit des auteurs arabo-anciens', Notre Librairie, 95 (octobre–décembre 1968), pp. 16-25.
12 'Al-Ifrîn’s account of the Sadian conquest' TSE p. 315.
13 Baghavogh was also a kind of father or uncle to Ahmed Baba. When Ahmed Baba lost his father, Baghavogh married his mother.
14 Ahmed Baba (1556) Op cit p. 341. A similar description can be found in the Turkish al-sudan, TSE p. 62.
15 TSE pp. 118-120.
16 This manuscript is preserved in Timbuktu nowadays in a private library under the direction of Ismael Daidé Haidara, who gave John O. Hunwick permission to publish this page of sale and translate it; see Hunwick (2001) Sudanic Africa, vii pp. 111-14.
18 Based on an interview with Salemould el Hadje (2007).
19 Ibid.
22 Based on an interview with the Timbuktu scholar Mahamane Mouhammadou (known as Hamou) (2006).
23 Ibid. See also ALA IV p. 64.
24 The Ahmed Baba Institute for Higher Education and Islamic Studies (IHÉRIA), formerly the Ahmed Baba Centre for Documentation and Research (CEDIRAB).
26 Based on an interview with Imam Mahmoud Baba Hansaye (2007), who was responsible for organizing the inauguration of the Ahmed Baba Institute.
27 Based on an interview with Mocar Sidi Yahiya al-Wangari (2006) and a resume of his presentation at the Chemins du Savoir Conference in 2005 in Rabat.
28 In 1974 an estimated 500 volumes were pillaged, apparently by unknown intruders from a neighbouring country. For a description of the library see: Abdel Kader Haidara (2006) ‘Bibliothèque Mammara Haidara de Tombouctou’ in Chemins du Savoir pp. 41-56.
33 Based on an interview with Mahmoud A. Zoubir, first director of the Ahmed Baba Institutes, who worked closely with Mammara Haidara to create access to the manuscript heritage of Timbuktu.
34 Interpretation by Michael Carter, Senior Lecturer in Arabic, Centre for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Sydney, Australia.
Arabic words, proper nouns and titles in the main text have been written in the most accessible form possible, without diacritics, and following the Oxford English Dictionary when applicable. This glossary also includes various alternative spellings as found in the literature; these are in brackets after the main entry. Arabic transliterations provided here generally follow standards presented in Arabic Literature of Africa compiled by John Hunwick; however, diacritics are omitted, with the exception of some ayes and hamzas which are preserved for purposes of pronunciation. The Arabic definite article 'al-' is ignored in alphabetization.

The names of historical individuals who have living relatives follows modern Maalith (often French) usage rather than academic norms for transliterating Arabic into English. Thus the French 'Kounta' is maintained rather than the English standard 'Kunta'. People of the past are presented using the more academically accepted spelling 'Muhammad', while 'Mohamed' is maintained for those who use this spelling today. Place names also follow current usage in Mali (with the exception of Timbuktu, which in Mali is called Tombouctou). Dates throughout the text refer to the Common Era (C.E. equivalent to A.H.) rather than the Hijri or Islamic calendar. Places are also located on the map (p. 8).

Special thanks to Albrecht Holtzsche, Knut Vixer, Charles Stewart and Gunnar Berge for assistance with this glossary.

Abu al-Hasan known as the 'King of the Maghreb', r. 1351–31 Sultan of Morocco who for a brief period united much of North Africa, capturing the strategic city of Tripoli in 1357.

Abu Isaaq Ibrahim al-Sahli, c. 1290–1356 Architect-poet from al-Andalus who contributed to the development of the Sudanese architectural style of West Africa when he returned from Mecca with Mansa Musa in 1324 and supervised, among other royal projects, the construction of the Djingareber Mosque in Timbuktu.

Ag Mamoud, 'son of' Ahmad al-Bakkay al-Kounti Ahmad al-Bakkay b. Muhammad b. al-Mukhtar al-Kounti al-Wali, r. 889–945 Grandson of al-Mukhtar al-Kahin al-Kounti, al-Bakkay was the effective civil power in Timbuktu in the mid-19th century and the host and protector of the German explorer Heinrich Barth.


Ahmadu Ahmadu (Ahmadu II) Ahmad b. Ahmad b. Ahmad b. Muhammad Lobbo, r. 1833–62 Succeeded his father Seku Ahmadu (Ahmadu I) as third and last ruler of Handallabi, the Islamic state of Masina, but was defeated and put to death by Umar Tall in 1862 after being declared an 'unbeliever' for supporting the ruler of Segu, whom he claimed to have converted to Islam.

Ahmadu Lobbo Ahmad b. Muhammad Buhu b. Abi Bakr b. Sir'd al-Fullani, r. 1818–43 Pulani fundamentalist of the Qadiyya Sufi order who founded the Islamic state of Masina, known as the Caliphate (or Dina) of Handallabi, in c. 1818, which he ruled until his death.

Ahmed Baba (Ahmed Baba) Ahmad Baba b. Ahmad b. al-Hajji Ahmad b. Umar b. Muhammad Agni al-Timbuktu, al-Sudani, al-Musul, al-Shali, 1556–1627 One of Timbuktu’s greatest scholars, Ahmed Baba was active during the last years of the Songhay Empire, and was then deported to Marrakesh following the Moroccan invasion in 1531. His teaching in Morocco as well as his extensive work Na’ji al-Shahaj detailing the biographies of Maliki scholars brought much prestige to Timbuktu scholarship. The Ahmed Baba Institute (IHERIAB) in Timbuktu is named after him.

Ag Mamoud, 'son of' Ahmad al-Bakkay al-Kounti Ahmad al-Bakkay b. Muhammad b. al-Mukhtar al-Kounti al-Wali, r. 889–945 Grandson of al-Mukhtar al-Kahin al-Kounti, al-Bakkay was the effective civil power in Timbuktu in the mid-19th century and the host and protector of the German explorer Heinrich Barth.

Ali bin Ziyad al-Quti Ali b. Ziyad al-Quti al-Talutulti al-Andalus, active mid-19th century Visigoth who fled Toledo in southern Spain and settled in Timbuktu. His descendant, Mahmoud Kati, was the primary author of the great Timbuktu chronicle the Tarik al-Albash.

Amarovides from Afr. al-Murabitun Militant Islamic movement of Sanhaja nomads which originated in Western Sahara, destabilized ancient Ghana, then conquered and united Morocco and al-Andalus during the second half of the 11th century.

al-Andalus (Andalusia) Refers to those parts of the Iberian Peninsula dominated by Muslims or Moors between 711 and 1492. Al-Andalus gave its name to the modern-day province of Andalusia in southern Spain, but at its height extended over an area far greater than this, reaching all the way from modern Portugal in the west to the southern borders of modern France.

Aqil Family of scholars prominent in Timbuktu until the Moroccan invasion in 1531, after which they were deported to Morocco. Their most acclaimed member was Ahmed Baba.

Arago Arabic-speaking peoples who originated in the Arabian Peninsula. In West Africa, this would include Hassaniya Arabs, speakers of a dialect of Arabic who live in an area stretching north and westwards from the Niger Bend to the Atlantic and southern Morocco.

Arzew (Arouane) Small town 260 km (160 miles) north of Timbuktu on the route from Timbuktu to the Taghaza salt mines and the trading entrepot of Tuat. Arzew was founded by a Sufi sheikh of the Kel al-Souq in the late 16th century. It is the capital of the Arzew region.

Armama (Armata, al-Ruma) from Ar. al-Ruma, 'mucketeers' An army composed of Spanish, Berber and Arab mercenary soldiers who participated in the Moroccan conquest of Timbuktu in 1531. They settled in the city and intermarried with the local elites, becoming the ruling caste.

Askiya (Askiya) Title of the dynasty of rulers of the Songhay Empire which reigned from 1495 to 1608.

Askiya Dawud (Dawud) c. 1495–8 Ruler of the Songhay Empire during the Askiya dynasty who is known to have established public libraries during his reign.

Askiya Muhammad Askiya al-Hajj Muhammad Tune, r. 1493–1529 ‘Commander of the Faithful’ and founder of the Askiya Dynasty of the Songhay Empire. A Soninke, he led a successful coup d’état against previous Songhay ruler Sonni Ali. Askiya Muhammad is one of the heroes of the Timbuktu chronicles, while Sonni Ali was condemned by them as a bad Muslim and a tyrant. Apart from the change of dynasty, this owes much to the fact that Sonni Ali drew his legitimacy from local Songhay tradition while Askiya Muhammad based his legitimacy on Islam and provided support to the scholarly class. Under Askiya Muhammad, the Songhay Empire expanded beyond the core riverine territories established by Sonni Ali as far north as the salt pans of Taghaza with tributaries as far as Agades. Attempts were also made to control areas as far west as the Senegal Valley.
Awdaghast (Tagaousert) Town west of Timbuktu in what is today southern Mauritania. Founded in the early Middle Ages, Awdaghast was a centre for the gold trade in the times of ancient Ghana. Its conquest by the Almoravids in the late 11th century put an end to the golden age of ancient Ghana. Al-Bakri described the town in 1068, telling us about the early development of Islam in the area. "In Awdaghast there is one cathedral mosque and many smaller ones, all well attended. In all the mosques there are teachers of the Koran." (The Book of Routes and Realms translated in Corpus p. 68.)

Azzawad Desert territories of northern Mali stretching from the River Niger to the salt mines at Taghaza, and northeast of Timbuktu to the present-day border with Mauritania.

Al-Azhur Mosque Az., al-azhar 'the most florishing and resplendent' Al-Azhar Mosque was founded in Cairo in the year 972 CE. The university attached to the mosque is known as the cradle of Islamic learning, and scholars from Timbuktu often stopped at Al-Azhar during their pilgrimages to Mecca.

al-Bakri Abu Ubayd Abd Allah b. Abd al-Azziz al-Bakri, d. 1068 One of the most important sources for the history of the Western Sudan, al-Bakri lived in al-Andalus and compiled information from Andalusian and North African merchants who had travelled across the Sahara through what is now Mauritania. His writings include the Kitab al-masalik wa-malaikhat, "The Book of Routes and Realms" (1068), featuring a rare description of ancient Ghana.

Bamako Capital of the modern Republic of Mali.

Barashish Arabic speakers of the Hassaniya dialect in the area of modern-day Mauritania, these peoples are often referred to as simply Arabs or Moors.

Baraaba Az., 'blessing, blessedness' Quality of divine grace or spiritual power that may inhere in a person or an object, enabling unusual or 'miraculous' things to occur.

Bilad al-sudan Az., 'Land of the Black' Africa south of the Sahara. In Arabic the Bilad al-sudan is primarily a historic term referring to lands adjacent to those inhabited by the lighter-skinned Berber and Arab populations of Saharan Africa, the Dar al-sudan ('Lands of Islam'). Through trade and Islamisation, by the 12th and 13th centuries the domains of the Sahara and the Bilad al-sudan had become the melting pot of the Niger Bend, and cities such as Timbuktu had a mixed Muslim population of Berbers, Arabs and black Africans which has been maintained to this day.

Boujebeha (Bou Djeiba, Bouobehay, Boujibeha, Boujibahay) Village in the desert 220 km (140 miles) north-northeast of Timbuktu and 500 km (30 miles) southwest of Arawan.

Bozo Fishefok inhabiting the northern section of the River Niger. Although not ethnically Malinke, they speak Manding, the language of the Malinke, a sub-group of the Mandé.

Caliphs From Az. khalifa, 'successor, representative' The highest political leader of a community of Muslims; the Prophet's successor in his earthly role.

calophon An inscription at the end of a manuscript book giving the title of the work, the name of the copyist, and the date (or at least the year) of completion. Sometimes the calophon names the person for whom it was copied. This information is often displayed on the page in triangular form, the lines becoming narrower towards the end.

Dakar al-Khayyat Dakar al-Khayyat wa Shu'aara' al-Ammar. J. Dhikr al-Salat ala al-Nabi al-Mubarak. By Imam Muhammad b. Sulayman al-Janili, d. 1451 'The Guide to Blessings and the Advent of Light in Blessing the Chosen Prophet'. Written in Morocco in the 15th century, this devotional work — a prayer to the Prophet — is among the most popular of its genre. It was quickly disseminated throughout the Muslim world and is still read across West Africa today.

Djenné [jenné] City located south of Timbuktu on a branch of the River Niger. Djenné was one of the great centres of Islamic learning and trade, and a sister city to Timbuktu. Today, it is famous for its magnificent mosque, the largest adobe structure in the world, which was constructed in 1907 during French colonial rule.

Djinguereber (Jingere Ber, Jinguerej) Songhay, 'Great Mosque' The 'Great Mosque' of Timbuktu built in 1325 on the order of Malian Emperor Mansa Musa by Abu l-Abbas Ibrahim al-Sulhii, an Andalusian architect and poet who accompanied the emperor on his return from pilgrimage to Mecca.

Dogon Dogon people who live along the Timangari cliffs (also known as Dogon Country) about 200 km (124 miles) south of Timbuktu.

Fatwa Az., 'formal ruling or opinion on a point of Islamic law' A fatwa would be given by a legal councillor or mujtahid.

Fez (Fr., Fez. Ar., Fas) City in Morocco and centre of the Moroccan book trade into the 19th century.

fikih Ar., 'Islamic jurisprudence' The academic discipline providing understanding of the Sharia, the Islamic law.

Fula (Fulbe, Poul, Pulaar) Semi-nomadic cattle breeders and herders from central Mali who have also spread over much of modern Sahelian Africa from Sudan in the east to Senegal in the west.

Fulfulde The language of the Pulaar (Fulbe, Peul), also used in Guinea and Senegal where it is known as Pulaar.

Futa Jallon (Fouta-Jallon, Fouta Jalon) Highland area in Guinea serving as the principal source of the Niger, Senegal and Gambia Rivers. An area which historically attracted Fula people.

Futa Toro (Fouta-Toro, Fouta Toro) Area in the middle Senegal River valley in what is now northern Senegal, bordering the desert of southern Mauritania.

Gao City on the left bank of the Niger River southeast of Timbuktu. The former capital of the Songhay Empire.

geomancy Divination through numbers or lines drawn in the sand.

Ghadames (Ghadamis) City in western Libya on the border with Algeria. Historically, Ghadames was a gateway to Tripoli and for routes leading to Egypt, while to the south it also established commercial ties with Kano in northern Nigeria. Trade from Ghadames played an important role in the commercial life of Timbuktu from the 15th to 19th centuries. Al-Bakri described the town in 1068: 'The inhabirants are Muslim Berbers... Between Ghadames and Jabel Nafusa takes seven days' travelling through the desert. From Nafusa to the city of Tripoli is three days.' (The Book of Routes and Realms translated in Corpus p. 85.)

Ghana, ancient Empire Of Located in areas of what today are southern Mauritania and western Mali, and including the cities of Awdaghast and Walata, ancient Ghana (also known as Wagadu) was the northernmost territory of the Soninke people. The capital lay most likely somewhere between the Niger and the Senegal Rivers, though its precise location is not established. The Empire probably developed in the 9th century and reached its height in the 10th century, maintaining considerable power in the region until it was weakened by Almoravid attacks in 1076. Modern Ghana takes its name from the ancient Empire of Ghana, despite its different location.
Glossary

Gordon Laing 1793–1826. Scottian. Laing was the first European explorer to reach Timbuktu. He was killed in his return journey across the desert in 1826.

Hudhî ʿAzīz, ‘saying, report’
Oral traditions relating to the sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad.
The corpus of Hudhî is one of the major sources of Islamic law.

Hajj ʿAzīz, ‘pilgrim, pilgrimage’
Honorary title accorded to one who has made the Greater Pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj).

Handallahi
The Caliphs of the Umayyad House of Quraysh were an Islamic state in Masmida. The capital, also Handallahi (meaning ‘Praise be to God’), lay 80 km (50 miles) northeast of Djenne. It was founded in c. 1808 by the Fatimid Ahmadu Lobi, who was succeeded in 1845 by his son Seku Ahmadu (Ahmadu II), not to be confused with the son of Umar Tall with the same name, and then by his grandson Ahmadu Ahmadu (Ahmadu III). Handallahi ruled over much of the Inland Delta of the Niger in the first half of the 19th century, making several attacks on Timbuktu and gaining hegemony for a period. The Caliphate of Handallahi was defeated by Umar Tall in 1862.

Hassaniyya Arabs
Speakers of a dialect of Arabic who live largely in modern-day Mauritania in an area stretching north and westwards from the Niger Bend to the Atlantic and southern Morocco. Often referred to as Arabs or Barabish.

Hausa (Fr. Haoussa)
Language and people of southern Niger and northern Nigeria.

Heinrich Barth 1821–65
German explorer who provided one of the most well-researched accounts of life and politics in Sahelian West Africa in the mid-19th century in his famous work Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, being a journey and expedition undertaken under the auspices of H.H. M.’s Government in the Years 1849–1853. This included an account of his seven-month stay in Timbuktu in 1853.

Hijra (Ijira) ʿAzīz, ‘emigration’
Applied especially to the Prophet Muhammad’s move from Mecca to Medina in 622, which marks the beginning of the Islamic calendar.

Ibn (bin or b.) ʿAzīz, ‘son of’

Ibn Battuta
Shams al-Din Abu Abd Allah Muhammad, 1304–72
One of the great travellers of the 14th century. Ibn Battuta was born in Tangier, Morocco. Between 1355 and 1355 he visited most of the Muslim world of his day and then ventured on to East Africa, India, Ceylon, Sumatra as well as possibly China. His West African journey was his last, beginning in February 1355 and ending in December 1355. He stayed six months with Mansa Sulayman, ruler of the Mali Empire, and visited Timbuktu, providing us with what is most likely the earliest first-hand account of the city. His travels were recorded in his Risala or ‘Journey’ which was edited by his secretary Ibn Juzayy.

Ibn Khaldun
Abu Zayd Abd al-Rahman (Ibn Khaldun, d. 1496)
North African philosopher and historian who included a brief dynastic history of the Mali Empire from information recorded in 1353–54 in his general history of Islamic civilization, the Kitab al-Ibar or ‘The Days of the Arabs, the Persians and the Berbers’.

al-Idrisi
Abu Abd Allah Muhammad al-sharif al-Idrisi, 1100–1165
A descendant of the Banu Hammud dynasty which had ruled Malaga until 1055. al-Idrisi also claimed to be descended from the Prophet Muhammad; hence the al-sharif in his title. Geographer, cartographer and traveller, in 1134 he wrote the book Nuzhat al-mushtaq fi kitab ar-al-safi. ‘The Pleasure of Him who Loves to Cross the Horizons’, often referred to as the Book of Niger since it was written for Roger II of Norman Sicily. This provides us with an account of areas of West Africa from what is today Senegal to Lake Chad. Al-Idrisi is known particularly for his maps.

Ibn Sina (Avicenna) 980–1037
Persian Muslim polymath, especially renowned as a physician and philosopher. Avicenna is the Latinized version of his name.

Ijtihād ʿAzīz, ‘authorization, license’
Certificate or authorization, usually written, specifying the works studied and completed by a student, as well as the level at which they were studied, and providing licence to teach that material to others.

Isām ʿAzīz, literally ‘person in front’
Refers to the prayer leader in a mosque, particularly the Friday prayer. The term is also used of great scholars with their leadership functions, and of political leaders of a community of Muslims, equivalent to caliph.

Isnemen
Tuareg Muslim scholars.

Jihād ʿAzīz, ‘struggle’
Military struggle to preserve and expand the realm of Islam. Also refers to spiritual struggle against the evil within oneself. The former is considered the ‘major’ jihad, while the ‘minor’ effort is the struggle against the lower instincts of one’s soul.

Kabara
Port of Timbuktu on the River Niger, c. 20 km (12 miles) from Timbuktu.

Kano and Katsina
Rival religious, commercial and political centres in Hausaland, in what is now northern Nigeria. Katsina was the site of a major 19th-century jihad.

Kel al-Suq (Kel Fassouk)
Tuareg group hold in esteem for their sanctity and learning, and with a reputation as mediators rather than participants in conflicts.

Kitâb al-Mudīḥah ʿIbn al-Jawzi
A handbook for preachers containing instruction for and examples of sermons, as well as much material taken from Koranic studies, language, Prophetic tradition and history which may be used to ‘astonish’ the audience (the literal meaning of the title). Ibn al-Jawzi of Baghdad (1126–1209) was a jurist, historian, preacher and prolific writer.

Kitāb al-shijii ʿIbn al-Jawzi
A work of piety centred on the Prophet Muhammad, his qualities and the reverence due to him, written by the Almoravid Qadi Ilyas (d. 1149).

Kunata (Kunta, al-Kunti)
A clan of desert nomads, most likely of Berber origin, who became great spiritual leaders in the 8th and 9th centuries through promotion of the Qadizyya Sufi order. The Kunata are now dispersed throughout West Africa.

Leo Afric anus
Writer and explorer Leo Africanus was a Muslim of Spanish origin whose parents moved to Fez. He travelled throughout North Africa and twice through West Africa in the early 16th century. In 1518, he was captured by Sicilian corsairs who presented him to Pope Leo X as a slave. Within a year, the Pope had baptised him as Johannis Leo de Medicis, after which he became known as Leo Africanus. He remained in Rome for some years, and in 1530 published the book Descriptione dell’Africa (Description of Africa), which includes an invaluable description of Timbuktu under the Songhay Empire.

Madrasa ʿAzīz, ‘place of study’
Islamic school of a type found throughout the Muslim world, often organized by an individual teacher.

al-Maghili
Muhammad b. Abd al-Karim al-Maghili al-Tillansani, 1440–c. 1527
Muslim scholar from North Africa who advised the Songhay rulers and wrote a treatise on the Jews. It was on his advice that Jews were officially expelled from the Songhay Empire.

Maghreb (Maghrib) ʿAzīz, ‘place of the setting sun’
Generally applied to North Africa from Morocco to Libya.

Mahmud Kati
Mahmud Kati b. al-Hajj al-Mutawakkil Kati al-Karmi al-Timbukti al-Wakiri, d. 1533
Principal author of the Tarikh al-jarid, one of the great chronicles of Timbuktu.

Maliki school
One of the four schools of Islamic law.
Originating in the work of Malik ibn Anas (715–93), it is the dominant school of law practised in North Africa, though not to the exclusion of others. Works on Maliki law such as the Risala by Ibn Abi Zayd (d. 924) from Qayrawan, and the Mukhtasar by Khalil ibn Ishaq written in the 14th century were widely diffused throughout the region, legitimizing the authority of legal scholars who studied and interpreted them.

Mande
Ethnic and linguistic group of the Sahel which includes the Soninke, Malinke, Bambara and Wasuara (Dyula).

Mansa Bambara, 'ruler' or 'king'
Mansa Musa (Mansa Musa I, Qaisan Mansa) r. 1312–37
Ruler of the Malian Empire known for his famous pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324. On arrival in Egypt, his gifts and purchases in gold were so prodigious that they caused a lasting collapse in the price of gold.

Mansa Sulayman r. 1341–60
Ruler of the Malian Empire at the time of Ibn Battuta's visit to West Africa in 1353–55. Reporting to Ibn Battuta in his Rihla or 'journey' to be an unpopular lying on account of his avarice, in contrast with his predecessor Mansa Musa who was generous and 100,000. Sulayman may have been less generous out of necessity because Mansa Musa had emptied the treasury and run the country into debt.

al-Mansur
Sultan Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur al-Dhahabi, r. 1578–1603
Moroccan Sultan who ordered the invasion of Timbuktu in 1591. He had visions of 'capturing' the gold trade, hence his nickname 'al-Dhahabi', the Golden.

marginallia
Annotations written in the margins of a book or manuscript.

Marrakesh
Southern Moroccan city that was the capital of Morocco from the 12th–17th centuries. The Timbuktu scholar Ahmed Baba was held captive there for 14 years.

Masina (Macina)
Area south of Timbuktu, in the Inner Delta of the Niger River; location of the town of Hammadi, capital of a major 17th-century Islamic reform movement and state.

Masufa (Masula)
Known as the 'people of the Saharan', the Masufa were originally a sub-group of the Sanhaja. Timbuktu was founded in c. 1100 by some Masufa who had migrated eastward from the western Sahara. They were influenced by Almoravid ideology, but not necessarily active propagators of it. Ibn Battuta found Masufa in both Walata and Timbuktu in 1352–53, and they remained an important element of the population of Timbuktu down to the

Moroccan conquest. The leading scholarly family of 16th-century Timbuktu, the Aqi, were Masufa.

mibqal Ar., unit of weight
Weight varying from 3.5 to 5 grams according to the customs of different times and places. Also applied to a gold coin of this weight called a dinar. A slave in 16th-century Timbuktu was worth 80 mibqal (see page 43).

Mossi
Non-Muslim people from southern Mali who briefly conquered Timbuktu in c. 1400.

muezzin Ar. mu'ādhāthin
 Caller to prayer at the mosque.

muwifl Ar., 'one who delivers judicial opinions (fatwa/ijāda)'
A legal councillor or scholar who gives formal legal opinions or fatwas, as opposed to the judge (qadi) who passes legally binding verdicts.

mukhaddith Ar., 'scholar, traditionalist, transmitter of the Hadith'

Muhammad Baghaygoho
Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Mahmod b. Abi Bakr Baghaygoho al-Wangari, d. 1594
Revered scholar of Timbuktu from the clan of the Wangari, long-distance traders of West Africa. Muhammad Baghaygoho was Ahmed Baba's teacher.

al-Muktadr al-Kahfi al-Khantii
Great leader of the Kounta, renowned for his qualities of leadership and sanctity, political astuteness and commercial acumen. He founded a zawiya in Azawad, some 400 km (300 miles) northeast of Timbuktu, from where he exercised his inconsiderable powers in various inter-tribal disputes, especially those between his own tribe and the Barabids. His descendants maintained a wide range of contacts with other Islamic leaders across a region extending from southern Mauritania to Bornu and southwards to the forest zones of Ivory Coast and Guinea, and including Ahmadu Lobi of Musina.

Mukhtasar by Khalil ibn Ishaq
Written in Cairo in the 14th century, this book sums up the general rules of Maliki law. It was a popular text for teaching and study in Timbuktu. According to the 16th-century Timbuktu scholar Ahmed Baba, over sixty commentaries upon the Mukhtasar had been written by scholars from across the Muslim world, seven of them from Timbuktu.

Mungo Park 1771–1806
British explorer who made an extraordinary attempt to reach Timbuktu in 1805. He got as far as Timbuktu's port of Kebah but was killed further downstream. Mungo Park discovered (for the Europeans) the route of the river Niger.

Niger Bend (La Boucle du Niger, Fr.)
The Niger Bend is the northern part of the great curve of the Niger River, Kabora, the port of Timbuktu, is located at the northernmost bend of the river, rendering the city of Timbuktu an ideal meeting place for caravan and river traffic, while its proximity to the flood plains of the Inland Delta assures its supply of grain.

Niger River
(Aṣufi in Arabic, Djeliba in Mande, Isso Ber in Songhay)
At 4,660 km (2,855 miles) in length, the Niger is the third-longest river in Africa. After descending from the highlands of Guinea, and being joined by other smaller rivers, it flows into its Inland Delta in central Mali, a network of lakes and waterways that overflow their banks each year following the heavy annual rains. From there it flows south to the Bight of Benin and the Atlantic Ocean.

nīkār Ar.
In Arab cultures, part of a person's name indicating family, ethnic or geographic origins. For example, the nīkār of Ahmed Bani is 'al-Sanā'i' (of the Sanaja), al-Masmawi (from Musina), al-Takriti (from Takrit), al-Timbukti (from Timbuktu).

Pasha Ar., bhraka
Turkish title, used also by Moroccans for a military rank of the first order. The area of the Niger Bend conquered by Morocco in 1591 was designated a Pashalik and was ruled from Timbuktu by a Pasha appointed from Marrakesh until 1612 when the local Arma administration appointed its own Pasha and gained autonomy.

The Prophet Muhammad
The Prophet Muhammad, the founder of Islam, was born in Mecca in 570 CE and as an adult would go to a hill north of the city to offer prayer to God. There he had contact with the angel Gabriel, and through him received messages from God. These revelations, which Muhammad continued to receive throughout his life, form the verses of the Koran. By the time of the Prophet's death in 632 CE, most of Arabia had converted to Islam.

qādi Ar., 'arizār, judge'
According to the Maliki school of law, the qādi is a supreme judicial post with authority over the entire population of a city for settling disputes. The qādi hears cases brought before him and has the sole power to make a decision, which cannot be appealed. The qādi of Timbuktu was selected by the scholars of the city.

Qidiyya
Sufi brotherhood or order originating in 12th-century Baghdad in the teachings of Abu al-Qadir al-Jili (d. 1165) and later adopted by North African and Saharan tribes such as the Kunta, who diffused the Qidiyya throughout West Africa.

Qayrawan (Qairawān, Kairouan, Caireum)
City in Tunisia and a major centre of Muslim pilgrimage.
Qatif Ar., ‘of the Goths or Visigoths’ The Visigoths (a sub-group of the Goths) were one of the Germanic peoples who settled in France and Spain after invading the Roman Empire in the 5th century CE.

René Caillié 1799–1858 French explorer who in 1828 successfully disguised himself as an Arab and became the first European explorer to reach Timbuktu and return alive.

risala Ar., ‘treatise, written report, epistle’ The Risala by Ibn Abi Zayd al-Qayrawani (b. 934), a treatise providing a synthesis of Islamic law of the Malikite school, was widely diffused throughout the region.


Sahara from Ar. sahara, ‘desert’

Sahel from Ar. saheli, ‘shore, coast’ The Arabs conceived of the Sahara as a great ocean, with the Sahel as its shore. This belt of land running the width of the African continent lies between the Sahara to the north and the more fertile lands to the south. It is a semi-arid region with average annual rainfall ranging from 100 to 600 mm (4 to 24 in.).

Sanhaja The Sanhaja, who claim their remote ancestors came from Yemen and spread over the western Sahara, were the main pastoral group in the Sahara around the year 1000. Often confused with the Tuareg, in the Azawad region north of the Middle Niger the Sanhaja had by 1600 mixed with and been overtaken by the Tuareg, becoming culturally and linguistically completely assimilated. Given their very similar cultural traits – but not the same ethnic group – the metalwork, face veils, and social organization of the Berber – this amalgamation cannot have been very great. Al-Sadi in the Tarikh al-al-sanad conflates the Sanhaja with the Tuareg. The Massufa, the first settlers of Timbuktu from whom were described the greatest Arab family of scholars, are a sub-group of the Sanhaja.

Sankore Mosque Mosque in the Sankore Quarter of Timbuktu, the district where many of the city’s scholars lived and assembled. It was built in the 14th century.

Segu (Ségou) Town southwest of Timbuktu on the banks of the River Niger. It was the seat of power for the Bambara kingdoms until conquered by Umar Tall in 1861.

Sharir Ar., ‘path’ The laws and regulations of Islam, as derived from the Koran and the Sunna and formulated by Islamic legal scholars.

 sharif Ar., ‘noble’ Horristic title accorded to those claiming descent from the Prophet Muhammad or his family.

shaykh (shiekh) Ar., ‘elder’ Honorary title applied to exalted religious personalities and communal or tribal leaders. It may also be used of a teacher at an Islamic institution of higher learning, the spiritual master of a Sufi aspirant, or the spiritual leader in a Sufi brotherhood. ‘My shaykh’ would signify ‘my chief mentor’.

Sidi from Ar. sayyidi, ‘my master’ Term of respect given to a man of religion.

Sidi Yahia al-Taladili Sidi Yahia b. Abd al-Rahman b. Abd al-Rahman al-Tha’abb al-Taladili, d. 1467 A Sufi shaykh who claimed descent from the Prophet Muhammad, Sidi Yahia al-Taladili arrived in Timbuktu in the middle of the Tuareg rule in c. 1450 from North Africa near Algiers. He became imam of the Sidi Yahia Mosque, which was built in his honour, and eventually the patron saint of Timbuktu.

Sidi Yahia Mosque (Sidi Yahya, Sidi Yehya, Sidi Yahya) Mosque built in Timbuktu in honour of Sidi Yahia al-Taladili. Although it has been rebuilt several times, the mosque still stands in the middle of the old city.

Songhay (Songhai, Songho, Songhoi) People and language of a primarily agrarianist ethnic group living along the northern bend of the River Niger. Known as ‘Messieurs de the soil’.

Songhay Empire In the early 17th century, the Songhay took over the territories of the former Mande Empire, including Timbuktu, and reaching as far as the Haussa states of Kano and Katsina in present-day Nigeria and the Air Mountains in present-day Niger. The Songhay capital was Gao, an ancient city east of Timbuktu along the River Niger. The Songhay were defeated in the Moroccan invasion of 1919.

Soninke The northernmost of the Mandè peoples, the Soninke were rulers of Ancient Ghana, some of whom were among the earliest West African converts to Islam following contact with Berber and Arab traders from North Africa. The Soninke inhabited the territory stretching from the banks of the Senegal River (the area of the goldfields) to the banks of the River Niger, thereby controlling an important link in the gold trade.

Sonni Ali Ber c. 1464–92 Songhay ruler who rapidly conquered an extensive swath of territory around the Niger Bend, including Timbuktu. The Tarikh al-al-sanad portrays him as a wicked tyrant: ‘A man of great strength and colossal energy, a tyrant, a miscreant, an aggressor, a despot, and a butcher who killed so many human beings that only God Most High could count them. He tyrannized the scholars and holy men, killing them, insulting them, and humiliating them. (TSE p. 59).

Sorko Songhay-speaking fishermen and hippopotamus hunters who live along the banks of the River Niger and lakes upstream from Timbuktu. Known as ‘Masters of the wafer’.

Sudanic Africa A term generally referring to the Sahelian region, known in medieval Arabic as the Bilad al-al-sanad or ‘land of the blacks’, but which may also include the whole of black Africa.

Sufi A Muslim mystic, often a member of one of the Sufi orders or brotherhoods.

Sulism Islamic mysticism, an aspect of popular Islam practised all over the Muslim world either under an individual master or shaykh, or as part of an organized brotherhood or order. Sufi seek to achieve a personal experience of God through prayers, rituals involving rhythmic motion or music, seclusion, or similar. Sufi lodges often have strong local foundations in rural or urban life, and can have social functions in addition to their religious ones. Among the most notable international orders are the Qadiriyya, the Shadhiliyya and the Naqshbandiya. The Tijaniyya-order, established in the early 19th century, has undergone tremendous growth particularly in West Africa in the 20th century.

Sultan Secular title of a sovereign ruler in the Islamic world.

Sunna Ar. ‘habib, custom’ The body of accepted practices derived from the distillation of the words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad as mostly laid down in the Hadith. The Sunna forms a code of conduct for Muslims, an exemplary model guiding many details of their lives.

al-Suyuti Jalal al-Din Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Bakr al-Suyuti, d. 1505 Celebrated Egyptian polymath who taught a number of West African scholars and advised rulers, including Aukiya Muhammad of the Songhay Empire, who studied with al-Suyuti during a brief stay in Cairo while making a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Tadmekka Town in the southern Sahara, 400 km (250 miles) northeast of Timbuktu, settled by the Tuareg group the Kel al-Seq. Its name means ‘this is Mecca’ because of all the towns in the world, it was said to be the one that most resembles Mecca.

Taghaza (Taghaza, Tegezza) Village located near salt deposits 735 km (450 miles) north of Timbuktu. Ibn Battuta described Taghaza in his Rihla or ‘Journey’ from 1355. ‘This is a village with nothing good about it. One of its marvels is that its houses and mosque are of rock salt and its roofs of camel skins. It has no trees, but is nothing but sand with a salt mine... Nobody lives there
except the slaves of the Masuufa who dig for the salt. The Sudan (people from the 'land of the blacks') come to them from their land and carry the salt away.'

Takur (Takur, Tekur)
Name of a state on the bank of the River Senegal which flourished around the same period as the ancient Empire of Ghana and was eventually subsumed by the Malian Empire. Arabs used the term to describe the whole lands of Muslim West Africa from the Senegal River to the Air Mountains to Hausaland and west of Lake Chad.

Tamashheq (Tamashheq, Tamacheq, Tamajegh, Ar., Tawarq) Dialect of the Berber language spoken by the Tuareg, who call themselves 'Rel Tamashheq' or those who speak Tamashheq.

Tasossene (Tasossen, Tadren, Taradzani) Location of rock salt deposits in the central Sahara, now in northern Mali.

tarikh Ar., 'date, dating, chronology, history'

Tarikul-Ifzbosch Tarikul-Ifzbosch fi akhbar al-buldan wa-fuyuth wa-akhib al-sen ma-akhib waqat? al-Takur wa-usa'a'in al-ummar wa-tafigh annah al-abhid min al-aksr 'The Seerker's Chronicle', a history of Timbuktu written by Malik ibn Kati and completed by his descendants in 1635. This chronicle covers the period of the Songhay Empire from the reign of Sorni Al (c. 1464–94) down to the Moroccan conquest of 1511 and sketches the earlier empires of Ghana and Mali. Part of its purpose was to rationalize a social hierarchy based on a dichotomy between slave and free, this latter category also essentially embracing the servile groups.

Tarikul-ul-sudan 'History of the Blacks' by Abd al-Rahman al-Sadi. This covers the Middle Niger region from the founding of Timbuktu in c. 1300 to the Moroccan occupation in 1511, including specifically the history of the Songhay Empire from the mid-15th century until 1951, and the history of the Pashahli of the Arama of Timbuktu from that date down to 1635.

tariq Ar., 'way' or 'path' The system of practices of a particular Sufi tradition, often organized as a brotherhood or order.

tifinagh The written alphabet of the Tuareg, which derives partly from the ancient Libyan script.

Tijaniyya Sufi brotherhood or order founded by Ahmad al-Tijani (1725–1815), born in Ayn Madi in Algeria. His followers believe al-Tijani received his word directly from the Prophet, and therefore that their tariq is the most authentic and divinely blessed. Similarly, al-Tijani is considered the most exalted of 'saints' from whom all others benefit and after derive their inspiration. Such claims were a source of conflict with other Sufi groups, but were also a powerful factor in attracting followers. The Tijaniyya spread from Senegal and Mali in particular in the time of Umar Tall, and is now one of the largest tariqas in West Africa.

Timbuktu (Fr., Tombouctou) City on the River Niger founded in the early 12th century and which reached its height in the 15th and 16th centuries. Timbuktu is known as the 'City of 333 Saints' because it is surrounded by cemeteries of mystic saints (walid) who protect the city.

Tlemcen (Ar., Tilimsan) City near the Mediterranean in present-day Algeria. Strategically located along the land route between Morocco and the east, Tlemcen was significant for trade relations between the Mediterranean and West Africa.

Tuareg (Fr., Touareg) Nomadic tribe of the Sahara and Sahel who inhabit the massifs of the Adrar-n-Iforas in Mali, the Ari in Niger, and the Hoggar in Algeria. The Tuareg call themselves 'Rel Tamashheq' or those who speak the Tamashheq language; the name 'Tuareg' is a term used by outsiders. Known as 'Masters of the desert', they were originally a Berber people whose traditional economy was based on raising cattle, camels and goats, and providing security to the great trading caravans passing through the desert. They are Muslim, but unlike in many Muslim communities, it is the Tuareg men not women who traditionally veil their faces.

Tukulor (Toucouleur) Semi-nomadic herders who were most likely driven south to the province of Futa Toro by the expansion of the Berber, as well as from the desert; what is today southern Mauritania. The most famous Tukulor is Umar Tall, who through his jihad in the mid-19th century gained control over large areas of West Africa including Timbuktu. Ethnically and culturally they are Tuareg very close to the Fatari.

Tuareg (Tuat, Tuwai, Tuwary) Oasis town and entrepot in the northern Sahara, with trade routes radiating out to Fez, Algiers and Tunis in the north, and Gao, Agades and Katsina in the south. Slaves were assembled here before being taken to North Africa and Europe.

ulama Ar., 'learned men' Scholars-Jurists of Islam.

Umar Tall (al-lugay Umar) Umar b. Sa'id b. Uthman b. Mukhtar b. Ali b. Mukhtar al-Futu al-Tuni al-Galidi al-Tijani, c. 1734–1864 A Tuareg Fulani born in the province of Futa Toro in the central Senegal River valley. Umar Tall was initiated into the Tijaniyya Sufi order in his youth. In c. 1856 he left his homeland to undertake a pilgrimage to Mecca. Much of the rest of his life is a story of conflict and conquest. He was the founder of a short-lived but extensive empire covering much of what is now Guinea, Senegal and Mali. He conquered Segu in 1856 and took Hamdallahi ibn Hamdallahi in 1862, putting to death Ahmadu II. His attempts to impose the more ascetic and militant Tijaniyya order on the Qadiriyya adherents of Timbuktu and the Nige Bend led the Konna chief Ahmad al-Bakri and other opponents of Umar Tall and besiege Hamdallahi, sending Umar Tall to his mysterious death in 1864.

ulami Shihab al-Dn Abu 'Abbas Ahmad b. Yahya b. Fa'il Allah al-Adawi, known as Ibn Fa'il Allah al-Utrari, 1701–49 Syrian historian who wrote in the early 18th century the Mawlik al-adab b n'amalik al-umur, 'Pathways of the Metropolises', an encyclopedia for bureaucrats which included a description of the Malian Empire.

Visigoth Branch of the Goths who settled in France and Spain after invading the Roman Empire in the 4th century ex. vocalization The process of adding short vowels to what normally is unvocalized Arabic text. Arabic script generally only represents the consonants and the long vowels, but not the short vowels. Only added where precise pronunciation and/or comprehension needs to be ensured; especially in manuscripts of the Koran, but also in some canonical texts on for example grammar or law.

Wahhabiyas Conservative branch of Islam based on the teachings of Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab (1703–72), a radical fundamentalist Muslim reformer born in the Arabian Peninsula. It is the official doctrine of the modern state of Saudi Arabia.

Wada'at (Oualata, Wolaita) Oasis town in the southwestern Sahara, in present-day Mauritania, founded in the 12th century.

waal Ar. 'saint' Muslim mystic, usually a scholar, who has achieved such closeness to God as to possess special powers or ijaraka.

al-Wangari (al-Usungari, Duula) Famous scholar and merchant family of West Africa from which Timbuktu scholar Muhammad Bagayyohu al-Wangari (d. 1594) was descended.

zawya Ar., 'lodge' Sufi lodge used for the study and teaching of Islam and sometimes used by religious leaders for spreading their message. In the southern Sahara, tribal groups who specialized in learning were identified as zawya people.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TIMBUKTU</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>GENERAL</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>622</td>
<td>The Hijra, the Prophet Muhammad’s flight from Mecca to Medina, which marks the beginning of the Islamic calendar.</td>
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<tr>
<td>600-625</td>
<td>Muslim Arabs conquer coastal North Africa all the way from the Red Sea to the Atlantic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>c.1000</td>
<td>Vikings reach America.</td>
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<tr>
<td>c.1100</td>
<td>Founding of Timbuktu, originally a seasonal camp for nomads</td>
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<tr>
<td>1095</td>
<td>The First Crusade.</td>
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<tr>
<td>c.1200 to mid-1400</td>
<td>The Malian Empire flourishes, extending at its height from the Atlantic Ocean to Ga.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1215</td>
<td>The Magna Carta is signed, limiting the powers of the King of England.</td>
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<td>1325</td>
<td>Malian Emperor Mansa Musa visits Timbuktu on his return from Mecca and orders the construction of the Great Mosque, the Djingereber.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1337</td>
<td>The Egyptian economy is seriously upset by Mansa Musa’s liberal distribution of gold during his visit to Cairo.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1342-1400</td>
<td>The pagan Mossi tribes sack Timbuktu, but the Malians recover and continue to rule the city for another hundred years.</td>
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<td>1352</td>
<td>The great Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta visits Timbuktu during the reign of Mansa Sulayman.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1340-1600</td>
<td>At least 12 million Africans are forcibly transported to the Americas through the transatlantic slave trade.</td>
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<td>1438</td>
<td>The Malian Empire disintegrates and the Tuareg seize Timbuktu, controlling the city for thirty years.</td>
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<td>1450</td>
<td>Sidi Yahia al-Tadallisi arrives in Timbuktu from North Africa, near Algiers; he serves as Imam of the Sidi Yahia Mosque, which is built in his honour, and eventually becomes patron saint of Timbuktu.</td>
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<tr>
<td>c.1450-1850</td>
<td>The Spanish Inquisition is established; it is not officially abolished until 1834.</td>
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<tr>
<td>c.1468</td>
<td>Ali bin Ziyad al-Kati, father of Mahmud Kati (principal author of the Turikhi al-fattan), flees Andalusia to find refuge in the Sahara and eventually Timbuktu.</td>
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<td>1478</td>
<td>Jews banished from Spain.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1492</td>
<td>Reign of the Songhay Emperor Sonni Ali, who sacks Timbuktu and in 1468 purges its scholars.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1493-1591</td>
<td>Reign of the Askia dynasty of the Songhay Empire, a Golden Age for the scholars of Timbuktu.</td>
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<td>1492</td>
<td>Christopher Columbus reaches the Americas.</td>
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<td>1506</td>
<td>Spanish-born Muslim traveller and writer Leo Africanus visits Timbuktu.</td>
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<td>1502</td>
<td>Muslim Moors banished from Spain.</td>
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<td>1517</td>
<td>Ottoman Turks occupy Egypt.</td>
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<td>1531</td>
<td>Timbuktu scholars including Ahmed Baba are exiled to Morocco.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1591</td>
<td>Ottomans take Tlemcen and Tuat, in present-day Algeria.</td>
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<td>1608</td>
<td>Ahmed Baba returns to Timbuktu, where he dies in 1627.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1612</td>
<td>The Arma administration of Timbuktu appoints its own Pasha and breaks away from Moroccan rule.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1616</td>
<td>William Shakespeare and Miguel de Cervantes die.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
1655 Timbuktu chronicle the Tarikh al-sudan is completed by Abd al-Rahman al-Sadi.

1663 Timbuktu chronicle the Tarikh al-fatattah is completed by descendants of its principal author Mahmud Kati, who died in 1593.

1737 The Tuareg occupy Timbuktu.

1766 The Bambara from Segu occupy Timbuktu.

1770 The Tuareg besiege Timbuktu.

1810 The Kounta take control of Timbuktu.

c.1818 Muslim fundamentalist Ahmadu Lobbio leads a Fulani rebellion and establishes the Islamic Caliphate of Hassailahia in Masina, the area of the Inland Delta of the Niger.

1836 Hassailahia gains hegemony over Timbuktu. Major Gordon Laying, the first European explorer to reach Timbuktu, is ordered out of town and meets his death in the desert.

1828 Frenchman René Caillié is the first European explorer to visit Timbuktu and return alive.

1839 The full course of the River Niger is drawn on European maps for the first time.

1835 Ahmadu Lobbio dies, prompting a revolt in Timbuktu. Hassailahia blockades the city, starving it into submission.

1833 Heinrich Barth, a German explorer and scholar sent on behalf of the British government, visits Timbuktu during the rule of Ahmadu Ahmadu, grandson of Ahmadu Lobbio; he receives protection from the Kounta.

1862 Umar Tall launches a jihad against the descendants of Ahmadu Lobbio; his forces reach Timbuktu.

1864-80 The Kounta mobilize and defeat Umar Tall, maintaining leadership over Masina from 1864 to 1880.

1880 The Tuareg take control of Timbuktu.

1880-92 The French gradually consolidate and extend control over a huge swathe of West African territories, which in 1892 are renamed the French Sudan.

1894 The French gain control of Timbuktu, but do not finally defeat the Tuareg in the northern regions until 1916.

1940 The Republic of Mali gains independence.

1960-68 Modibo Keita serves as the first President of independent Mali.

1968-91 Military dictatorship in Mali under General Moussa Traoré.

1992-2002 Alpha Oumar Konaré serves as the first democratically elected Malian President.

2002- Amadou Toumani Touré succeeds as President of Mali.

1642 Tuscan scientist Galileo Galilei dies under house arrest after being persecuted by the Catholic Church for his defence of Copernicus's theory that the earth circumnavigates the sun.

1700s Rise of the Wahhabiyah, a conservative branch of Islam, in the Arabian Peninsula.

1807 Britain outlaws the slave trade.

1798-1801 Napoleon Bonaparte invades Egypt. The discoveries made by the group of scientists who accompany him stimulate huge popular interest in Europe in Africa's antiquities and culture.

1808 Muhammad Ali builds a powerful Egyptian Empire, penetrating the Nile Valley and fighting against the Wahhabis of Arabia.

1859 Charles Darwin publishes On the Origin of Species.
SELECTED WORKS BY JOHN O. HUNWICK


—(1992) CEDRAB: the Centre of Documentation and de Recherches Ahmad Baba at Timbuktu', AJHSJ 3, pp. 73–81.


CATALOGUES AND OVERVIEWS OF MANUSCRIPTS OF WEST AFRICA


PROCEEDINGS


FURTHER READING


Riley, James (1877) Lost of the Big Commerce, wrecked on the Western Coast of Africa in the Month of August 1873. See: Sidi Harres’s Narrative of a Journey from Waloon across the Great Desert to Timbuctoo, and back again to Waloon, pp. 44–90. London: John Murray.


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John O. Hunwick, Alida Jay Boye and Joseph Hunwick

CREDITS

Images of manuscripts reproduced by permission of the libraries of Tid Al-Bakay in Appendix XIV of Barth’s work; and to Fatima Harkar at the Institute for African Studies in Rabat for rightly insisting that we include a section on the Jewish communities. Special thanks also to Cynthia Jay for drafting a map of West Africa.