

Notes

16. Al-Sa'di, pp. 20-21, 51. We are given this impression (concerning the early growth of learning) indirectly from an anecdote concerning the arrival of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Tamīmī in the early fourteenth century.
 17. Separation was largely an outcome of the emphasis in Islam on the unity of ritual, law and belief. See J. S. Trimingham, *The influence of Islam*, pp. 53 ff.
 18. See Paul E. Lovejoy, 'The role of the Wangara'.
 19. Ibn Hauqal, *Configuration*, vol. 1, p. 313.
 20. Al-Bakri, (*Al-Mughrib*), pp. 164-83. Twelfth-century geographers continued to refer to twin cities, but the phenomenon seemingly disappeared during the age of the empire of Mali.
 21. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 179. The reference there is to Ja'aba, presumably Jaghaba, a variant on Zaghaba. The same source identifies a Khaṭīb of Gao both as Muhammad Jaghaiti and Muhammad Zaghaiti. See also Lamin Sonneh, 'The origins', p. 59n; T. Lewicki, 'Un Etat Soudanais', on the interchange of Za and Ja.
 22. Besides being identified as the merchant class among the Malinke, the Wangara are associated with the Soninke as ancestors both of the Songhai monarchs and of the influential Muri Kuyra clerics. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 38, 48. These and other traditions tend to complicate the questions of ethnic origins and ancestry.
 23. Even the Mossi kingdoms must have facilitated the extension of Muslim Wangara commerce and settlement southwards. This gave rise to Bighu as a major link towards the Akan goldfields. See Ivor Wilks, 'A medieval trade-route'.
 24. The legend, recorded by al-Sa'di (p. 12), suggests that settlers owed a sense of allegiance to the kingdom.
 25. Certainly, Muslim law never recognized a special status for cities, beyond the stipulation that the Friday congregational prayers could be held only in cities and large settlements. As will be seen in Chapter 4, scholars in Timbuktu were aware of this stipulation, but its significance to urban organization is rather an elusive problem.
 26. This was a permanent feature in the history of Timbuktu and will therefore be discussed as we proceed, especially in Chapter 6.
 27. Al-Sa'di (p. 20) praises the moral and economic advantages of Timbuktu all in the same breath. To him, it was 'a pure, blameless and splendid town, graced by *baraka*, liveliness and dynamism'.
 28. Most pilgrim caravans from the Western Sudan used the Timbuktu-Gao-Tagedda route. See *Tārīq Ahl al-Maghrib*, fos 30-1.
 29. An addition to *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, peculiar to the defective MS C, claims that the Ghabibi descended from a group of slaves sent by Askia Daud in a fit of generosity to al-Qādi al-ʿAqib. (See p. 107). Current tradition affirms their mixed slave origins. Unlike the Bella, believed to have always been clients and protégés of the Tuaregs, the Ghabibi were slaves and clients of the settled population, including the body of scholars and notables. See Horace Miner, *The primitive city*, p. 21.
 30. Internal struggles among the various Tuareg and Barābish clans often led elements of the defeated parties to settle in Timbuktu. Such settlers among the former, at least, usually lost their designation as Tuareg; at times they may have contributed to the ranks of the Bella.
 31. See, for example, Raymond Mauny, *Tableau géographique*, pp. 495-503. For a more detailed treatment of the demographic factor, see Chapter 3 below.
 32. The growth of Timbuktu was interrupted sometime roughly around 1400 by the Mossi conquest and, then again, towards the end of the fifteenth century, during the reign of Sunni 'Alī.
 33. Fulānis from the Jingerebir quarter have been migrating for a long time towards Massina and the movement to Mopti continues to this day. However, a part of the Fulāni population has mixed with the Ruma, the Songhai and, to a lesser extent, the Wangara and Shurfa. If we exclude the 'whites', sometimes Tamashagh or Arabic
1. Sekene Modi Cissoko, 'L'Intelligentsia de Tombouctou'. Also Cissoko, *Tombouctou et l'Empire Songhay*.
 2. J. O. Hunwick, 'Aḥmad Bāba and the Moroccan invasion'.
 3. As explained elsewhere in this study, the difficult nature of the eighteenth-century sources largely accounts for the underdevelopment of research on later periods.
 4. See especially *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh* (*Tārīkh el-Fatāsh*), attributed to Maḥmūd Ka'ū ben El-Hadj Ej-Moiaouakkel Ka'ū. References throughout will be made to the Arabic text except where recourse to the French translation is necessary.
 5. Various figures are offered in the French sources concerning the number of the schools around the turn of the century. See, for example, Mgr. A. Haquard, *Monographie de Tombouctou*, p. 42. Cf. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 180-1.
 6. Al-Sa'di, for example, deplores the disinterest in history among members of his own generation in the mid-seventeenth century. Yet his work was not preceded by any chronicle of equal size and importance. See al-Sa'di, *Tārīkh al-Sūdān*, pp. 1-2. Again, references throughout will be made to the Arabic text.
 7. See Paul Marty, *Études* pp. 89ff. The French established a 'Franco-Arab school' which, according to Marty, 'conquered professors and students in Timbuktu all in one stroke'.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 2. Marty seems to use the term *Jamā'a* technically to designate the body of notables who negotiated with the French at the time of the conquest.
 9. Recent research on Muslim cities has tended to emphasize the role played by the schools of law in the absence of more formal criteria of urban integration. See A. H. Hourani, *The Islamic City*, especially the contribution by Ira M. Lapidus, pp. 195-205.
 10. For comparison with Jenne, see J. Spencer Trimingham, *A history*, p. 39, n. 3.
 11. See, for example, Oleg Grabar, 'The architecture', especially pp. 31-9.
 12. See al-Bakri, *Al-Mughrib*, p. 172.
 13. Authors who have suggested an Islamic impact for the Almoravids in the Sudan (besides the southern Sahara) have not seriously documented their viewpoint. At most, and as suggested by Hodgkin in another context, the Almoravid movement may have checked 'the spread southwards from the Maghrib of "deviant" forms of Islam'.
 14. See al-Zuhri, *Kitāb al-Jughrafiya*. Al-Zuhri's reference to the Islamization of Ghana led certain early French scholars (like Delafosse) to conclude that the old kingdom was conquered by the Almoravids. Although recent writers (like Levtzion) have followed this suggestion, we do not find much, if anything, to substantiate it.
 15. As Trimingham emphasized (*A history*, p. 37), the adoption of Islam as an 'imperial cult' involved no attempt by rulers to propagate it in their domains. Nonetheless, the patronage of mosques by Mansa Musa and others, coupled with the facilities of travel extended to Muslims, positively encouraged the diffusion of Islam in commercial centres.

speakers in the Sankore quarter, the various groups which make up the total population are indistinguishable from each other and are all Songhai-speaking. Among the Songhai Chabibi the distinction is one of status, rather than ethnic origin, and the same is true of the Bella.

34. Scholars from the Zaghaiti Wangara clan represented in sixteenth-century Gao are encountered at an even earlier time in far-away Kano. Compare *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 151, with *Asī al-Wangariyyin*, pp. 7-42. The Sanhaja scholars, exemplified by the Aqī association with Massina, present us with problems of origin equally as intense as those of Soninke and Wangara.

35. See Felix Dubois, *Tombouctou la mystérieuse*, p. 262.

36. Al-Bakri, *Al-Mughrib*, p. 183. Tadmekka, at nine-day's journey from Gao, is now generally believed to be safely identifiable with al-Suq.

37. See H. T. Norris, *The Tuaregs*, pp. 22, 43.

38. A Tadmekka origin may perhaps be postulated for the Tuareg And-Agh-Muhammad family. The strongest evidence of early Tuareg interest in Muslim learning in Timbuktu lies in the tradition recorded by al-Sa'di that the Sankore mosque was built by a wealthy woman from the Kei Aghlāl (Aghlāliyya). The relationship of And-Agh-Muhammads and Aghlāl to the Maghsharen is obscure. See al-Sa'di, p. 62 and *passim*. On Tiroqqa, see al-Bakri, *Al-Mughrib*, p. 182.

39. Al-Ya'qubi's ninth-century information suggests that Gao was almost as important as the kingdom of Ghana. For Gao trade with Egypt, see T. Lewicki, 'A propos'.

40. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the dynasty represented by the steles at Sane, just north of Gao, is to be distinguished from the Za dynasty whose kings are listed by al-Sa'di (pp. 2-5). See J. Sauvaget, 'Les epitaphes'. According to Hunwick, the transfer of the Songhai to Gao was a late (fifteenth-century) development. See J. O. Hunwick, 'The mid-fourteenth century capital', p. 204.

41. See Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddima*, p. 119. Cf. Ibn Khaldūn *Histoire des Berbères*, vol. I, p. 267.

42. Ibn Batūta, *Voyages*, vol. IV, p. 437.

43. Compare al-Sa'di, *Tārīkh al-Sūdān*, pp. 11-15 with al-Zuhri, *Kiṭāb al-Jugharāfiya*, p. 125. Ghana is described as the capital city of Janāwa. Al-Sharīshi in the thirteenth century mentioned many 'houses of learning' in Ghana. See extract in al-Munajjid (ed.), *Mamlakat*, p. 11.

44. Al-Sa'di received his information on Jenne from the Jenneko 'Abdullāh who had an interest in emphasizing the antiquity and power of his dynasty. Compare with al-'Umari, extract in al-Munajjid, *Mamlakat*, p. 45. 'No one under the Malian sovereign bears the title of king except the lord of Ghana...' (French translation: al-Omari, *Mazālik al-Absār fi Mamālik al-Anṣār, L'Afrique moins l'Égypte*, translated by Gaudelroy-Demombynes (Paris, 1927), p. 59.)

45. Al-Sa'di, p. 12.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 21. Al-Sa'di goes on directly to say that, earlier, 'shopping' used to be at Bīru. This suggests an eastward shift in the main commercial route, a shift which was favourable to Timbuktu.

47. Al-Sa'di seems to suggest that Begho (Bighu) was a town in a larger area called Bīru. 'Muhammad Fūdī Sānu al-Wangari migrated from his town in the land of Bīru'. See al-Sa'di, pp. 16, 17. For the views of Delafosse and Houdas, see *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, tr., p. 68n. Cf. Ivor Wilks, *A medieval trade-route*, p. 338. Wilks assigned the Dyula (Wangara) colonization of Bighu to somewhere around 1400. A much earlier beginning is justified by reference to people from Bīru (presumably already Muslim) among the settlers who gave Bīru or Walāta its importance before the rise of Timbuktu.

48. Cf. Levzion, 'The early states', p. 138. Levzion, however, suggests later dates, while we believe that the growth of Timbuktu and Jenne began in the twelfth century.

49. Ibn Batūta did not visit Zāgha but heard of its people as 'ancient in Islam; they are people of religion who have a quest for learning'. See Ibn Batūta, *Voyages*, vol. IV, p. 395.

50. We know of two important Zaghawi scholars of nineteenth-century date. See Ahmad Bāba... al-Zaghawi, *Anwa' al-Kuṭr fi-l-Sūdān*, fos 2-10. Also Muhammad b. al-Hajj Hasan b. al-Hajj b. Sulaimān, *Shifā' al-Nās*, fos 37-50. Both treatises are levelled against superstition and, indeed, Marty (II, 1965) described Dia as a centre for the fabrication of amulets in which charges of charlatanry were frequent. A relatively early Timbuktu scholar is known as al-Faṭḥ Mahmūd al-Zaghawi. But the strongest evidence of the influence of Zāgha comes from information about scholars from nearby Kābura. Cf. Ibn Batūta, *Voyages*, vol. IV, p. 395.

51. See Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, vol. II, p. 164. 'For several centuries Dia has been the Islamic metropolis of Massina. It was, according to one legend, the mother of Jenne (Dienne), to which it gave its name, which had been Diana...'. For the introduction of masonry from Jenne to Timbuktu, see Dubois, *Tombouctou la mystérieuse*, p. 263.

52. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 61 ff. Presumably, the decline of Zāgha accelerated at the conquest of the town by the Songhai empire.

53. Al-Sa'di, p. 21. By 'al-mu'awalat' al-Sa'di actually refers to 'legal procedures of transaction'.

54. Cf. note 46 above. Al-Sa'di (p. 21) drops all further reference to Wagadu. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh* (p. 119) mentions a campaign by Askia al-Hajj to Wagadu, but this occurs in an insert which is peculiar to MS C. As partly indicated elsewhere, we do not accept the association of Wagadu or Ghana with the tenuous Sahelian location of Kumbi Saleh. As Trimmingham also noted (*A history*, pp. 49-50) that association, though widely reiterated in the current literature, 'rests on precarious grounds'. The Arab geographers consistently denote a riparian location for the capital of Ghana.

55. Al-Sa'di, p. 21. Among the places named, Bīru alone belongs to the Sudanic belt.

56. Mansa Musa went to North Africa by way of Walāta and Tuat, while returning via Gao. Ibn Batūta, on the other hand, went to Mali via Walāta, returning by way of Gao and Tagedda. Aside from these two itineraries, we have little information on the trade-routes at the time.

57. The excavations at Kumbi Saleh have neither been systematic, nor published systematically. Cf. Levzion, *Ancient Ghana and Mali*, p. 25.

58. Ibn Batūta (*Voyages*, vol. IV, p. 395), for example, mentioned the Saghaniūgh as 'whites belonging to the Ibadite sect', but this is probably an error suggesting that both Soninke and Wangara may have intermarried with North African settlers from an early period. In later times, the Saghaniūgh came to be seen principally as Wangara while Ibn Batūta specifically distinguished between the two at Zaghari.

59. Ibn Batūta's account does not indicate whether Walāta was more important than Timbuktu in his time, though it suggests that Gao was larger than both.

60. Miner, *The primitive city*, p. 47, says, 'While more homogenous towns defended their integrity against invaders, Timbuktu capitulated without defense to one conqueror after another'. Our study shows that every conquest was met by one form of resistance or another.

61. The history of Massina prior to the nineteenth century *jihāds* is covered by a number of sources, but it is yet to be investigated or studied seriously. On the *jihāds*, see William Brown, *The Caliphate*.

62. See al-Sa'di, p. 22. The author's own family contributed settlers to Jenne.

63. The schema inherited from the early French writers (and especially Delafosse) was adopted by Levzion in his *Ancient Ghana and Mali*, but with a most ambiguous set of results.

64. Cf. note 14 above. Al-Zuhri's text mentions that Ghana established an ascendancy at Tadmekka with the help of the 'Almoravids'. Levzion apparently understood this to mean that Ghana became a junior partner of the Almoravids in conquering Tadmekka.

after having allegedly under obscure circumstances been conquered by the Almoravids. Compare Levitzion, *Ancient Ghana and Mali*, p. 45, with al-Zuhri, *Kitāb al-Jughrāfiya*, pp. 182–3.

65. Al-Sa'di, p. 65, suggests previous hardship on the part of the citizens in connection with events dating to the conquest of Timbuktu by Sunni 'Alī. At that time, they regretted having previously withheld their children from military exercises.

66. The two posts of *imām* and judge were combined in the *khatīb* until the early sixteenth century at Jenne. See al-Sa'di, p. 18.

67. The tradition is attributed to Sidi Yahya al-Tadulsi who flourished before Songhai times. See al-Sa'di, p. 18.

68. Ibn Baṭūta mentions that both were buried at Timbuktu. Al-Tuwaiḥin had built a sumptuous palace for Mansa Mūsā at his capital. His presence later at Timbuktu may attest to some need for his architectural skills in the growing town. Compare Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoires des Berbères*, vol. I, p. 265 with Ibn Baṭūta, *Voyages*, vol. IV, p. 431.

69. Al-Sa'di, pp. 8–9. The author has little information on the Mossi conquest beyond a quotation from Ahmad Bāba (probably from a work no longer extant) on the extent of the damage. He says that after the Mossi conquest 'the Malians returned to Timbuktu and ruled it for a hundred years'. Since Malian rule altogether lasted about a century (see al-Sa'di, p. 72), an error in wording appears probable.

70. Al-Sa'di p. 7, assigns Mansa Mūsā's pilgrimage vaguely to the beginning of the eighth century of the Hijra. He nonetheless dates the beginning of Malian sovereignty to 737 A.H (1433/4 A.D.).

71. Ibn Khaldūn received contradictory information concerning the conquest of Gao. According to one version, this took place under Sakura, three reigns earlier than Mansa Mūsā. According to another version, Gao was conquered by a general of Mansa Mūsā called Saghamanja. The second version seems questionable because, among other things Saghamanja (possibly Sagha Mangha) may have been the title of a Songhai governor who was delegated authority by Mali over Gao. In any case, it seems doubtful that Mūsā would have returned from the pilgrimage via Gao had not the area been conquered for Mali well before his reign. See Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoires des Berbères*, vol. I, p. 264.

72. See Dubois, *Tombouctou la mystérieuse*, pp. 265–6. The people allegedly invited Mansa Mūsā because they were tired of the exactions of the nearby Tuareg.

73. Al-Sa'di, p. 5. The mosques of Gundam and Dukurai were also believed to have been built by Mansa Mūsā but the seventeenth-century chroniclers treated these still earlier traditions with caution. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 34.

74. Compare al-Sa'di, p. 8, with *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 34. An extract is in Bernard Lewis (ed.), *Islam*, vol. I, p. 24.

75. In the appointment of governors at Walāta, the Malian monarchs were sensitive to local opinion. One governor, a certain Farba Husain, was discourteous to visiting white merchants, but his lieutenant in charge of imposts at Walāta, the Manshaju, was dismissed from his post on the basis of one single complaint from a Masufa merchant-scholar. See Ibn Baṭūta, *Voyages*, vol. IV, pp. 385, 416.

76. Norris, *The Tuaregs*, p. 45, sees the investment ceremony observed by Ibn Baṭūta at Timbuktu as typically Tuareg. See Ibn Baṭūta, *Voyages*, vol. IV, pp. 430–1.

77. Ibn Baṭūta omits reference to any Malian officials at Gao as well as Timbuktu. Ibn Baṭūta, *Voyages*, vol. IV, pp. 437–8.

78. On problems of the chronology of the Malian kings, see Nawal Morcos Bell, 'The age of Mansa Mūsā'.

79. Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoires des Berbères*, vol. I, p. 267. See also note 41 above.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 265. The evidence suggests that the power of Mansa Mūsā had been formidable in the Saharan fringes, including Wargala.

81. Al-Sa'di, pp. 9–10. The presence of the Malian garrison is recorded only in connection with the Mossi conquest.

82. Muhammad Naḍ's clan, Ajir, is said to have been of Shinjiti origin. The emigration to Timbuktu, possibly after a residence in Massina, was probably of much earlier date. See al-Sa'di, p. 22.

83. See al-Sa'di, pp. 27–8, 47–8. The Kāburi *nisba* reappears in Timbuktu in the sixteenth century and, again, in the nineteenth century.

84. Ibn Baṭūta heard of Kābura but distinguished Zāgha alone as a centre of learning. However, he suggests a relationship between the two in saying, 'Kābura and Zāgha have two sultans in obedience to the king of Mali'. See Ibn Baṭūta, *Voyages*, vol. IV, p. 385.

85. Al-Sa'di, p. 48, mentions an anecdote indicating that Muhammad al-Kāburi was black.

86. See al-Sa'di, pp. 27–8 and *passim*. Remotely, the present-day Keltina al-Hājj may be descendants of al-Qaḍi al-Hājj.

87. See al-Sa'di, p. 57. It seems doubtful that the title of *kātib* would have remained with Mūsā (the title of *qāḍī* being far more prestigious) unless at some point he had served in a secretarial capacity to the kings of Mali. Alternatively, traditionists may have confused him with al-Hājj Mūsā al-Wanjaraṭi (al-Wangari) who had been ambassador of Mansa Sulaimān to Morocco. See Ibn Baṭūta, *Voyages*, vol. IV, p. 409. Al-Sa'di was certainly acquainted with Ibn Baṭūta's text.

88. Al-Sa'di, p. 57. Holding court at one's house implies limited jurisdiction, as will be mentioned in Chapter 4.

89. According to al-Sa'di, p. 57, 'He was one of the scholars of the Sūdān who travelled to Fez to acquire learning during the regime of the people of Mali by order of the just sultan, al-Hājj [Mansa] Mūsā'. Cf. note 85 above.

90. 'Abdallāh al-Balbālī allegedly first came to Timbuktu in the company of Kātib Mūsā (Al-Sa'di, p. 57). The *nisba* to which al-Balbālī refers is the oasis of Tabalbalat, west of Tuat. See also Levitzion, *Ancient Ghana and Mali*, p. 202.

91. The genealogy of Muhammad ('Aryān al-Ra's) is our only guideline on this but the influence of this man suggests respected clerical descent. See al-Sa'di, pp. 15–16, 55–56.

92. The rise of the Maghsharen at this time resembles the growing power of the Kel Tudmekkat who put an end to the Ruma ascendancy in the mid-eighteenth century.

93. Al-Sa'di, p. 9.

94. Al-Sa'di, p. 23. Unfortunately, the text is somewhat ambiguous concerning the distribution of the revenue.

95. Apparently, Akil tried to forego Umar's share of the revenue and the latter responded by calling on Sunni 'Alī. See al-Sa'di, pp. 23–4.

96. Muhammad's mother was daughter of Sum 'Uthmān, an important person who, however, is not otherwise identified. Since Muhammad's father is not mentioned, there may be grounds for matrilineal succession among the Sanhāja and Masūfa of the city. See al-Sa'di, p. 22.

97. Al-Sa'di, pp. 22–3 and *passim*. The author relates that Muhammad Naḍ and Sidi Yahya died on the same night as further evidence of their close friendship. Since Sidi Yahya became the *wali* of Timbuktu *par excellence*, the tradition attests to the high respect in which the memory of Muhammad Naḍ was held.

98. Al-Sa'di, pp. 23–4.

99. The man is identified as And-Agh-Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Uthmān b. Muhammad b. Nuḥ. The usage of Agh (son of) and And in the names of members of his family clearly attests to Tuareg descent. See al-Sa'di, p. 28.

100. See H. T. Norris, 'Sanhaja scholars of Timbuctoo', especially p. 637.

101. See al-Sa'di, pp. 22, 35–6. The author quotes Ahmad Bāba, the celebrated descendant of Muhammad Aqit, to the effect that the latter hated the Fulanis (the dominant group in Massina) and feared that his sons would intermarry with them. Perhaps at some point prior to the mid-fifteenth century, the Sanhāja had been dominant over the Fulanis in

Massina. A biographical notice on Ahmad Bāba, occurring on a Moroccan copy of one of his works, claims that he was originally from Walāta. However, the author of this notice seems ill-informed; among other things, he confuses between Ahmad Bāba and his teacher, Muhammad Baghayughu. See Ahmad Bāba (Aqit), *Mirāj al-ṣā'id*, fo. 1.

102. The grandfather of Misir And 'Umar, an otherwise obscure scholar, interceded with Akil on behalf of Muhammad Aqit. At first, Akil objected, but upon hearing that Muhammad had become a peaceful 'family man', consented. Al-Sa'di, pp. 35-6.

103. The intermarriage clearly enhanced the status of the Aqits; al-Sa'di includes their biographies among the descendants of 'And-Agh-Muhammad al-Kabir. Al-Sa'di, pp. 28ff. There descended from him many of the *shaikhs* of learning and piety, some on their father's side and others on the mother's side.

104. Habib and al-Ma'mūn were cousins; we have virtually no information on their fathers besides a reference to Habib in a much later source as son of Muhammad al-Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Tanīmi. See *Diḥr Fuqahā' Tumbuktu*.

105. The kinship relationship between Sunni 'Ali and Askia Muhammad remains problematic and the problem would appear to bear on the significance of maternal descent. Songhai traditions suggest close kinship, holding Muhammad to be a son of Sunni 'Ali's sister. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 48, points to a vague (Wa'kore-Wangari) origin. In his queries to al-Maghili, Askia Muhammad attributed Sunni 'Ali's pagan practices to his mother's people, inhabitants of Fara. See Hunwick, *Al-Maghili's replies*, pp. 163-71.

106. Triand, *Islam et sociétés*, especially p. 155. Triand speaks of 'the triumph of the Muslim party' at the accession of Askia Muhammad.

107. Trimmingham, *A history*, p. 94. If we may assume that the Songhai transferred their throne to Gao shortly before Sunni 'Ali, then accommodation with urban Islam led by scholars would indeed have been a major consideration.

108. Compare *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 45-6 with al-Sa'di, p. 76. Hunwick suggested an attempt on the part of Sunni 'Ali to maintain a distance between Islam and the indigenous Songhai cult. See J. O. Hunwick, 'Religion and state'.

109. The expansion of the Songhai kingdom had begun under Sunni 'Ali's immediate predecessor, Sulaimān Dama, who is said to have conquered the kingdom of Mima in Massina, after the latter had established its independence from Mali. It is remotely possible that Sulaimān acted on behalf of Malian authority, unlike Sunni 'Ali, who sought no legitimization for his conquests. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 42-3.

110. The *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, though more detailed on Sunni 'Ali's campaigns than al-Sa'di's *Tārīkh al-Sūdān*, offers a confused chronology and sequence of events. See especially pp. 48-9.

111. When Sunni 'Ali ascended the throne, the cautious Muhammad Naḍ wrote congratulating him and told him not to worry on his account as he counts himself among his relatives'. See al-Sa'di, pp. 64-5.

112. The chroniclers seem uncertain about the date of Sunni 'Ali's accession to the Songhai throne. What concerned them is the beginning of his conquests, it seems. For example, al-Sa'di quotes al-'Alqami, an Egyptian scholar, to the effect that 'he appeared in al-Takur' in the year 869 A.H. (1464/5 A.D.). See al-Sa'di, pp. 64-5 and *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 44.

113. The text of *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh* (see p. 48) is ambiguous; it dates the conquest of Tumbuktu to 4 Rajab 873 A.H. (1468 A.D.), but assigns the return of Muhammad b. 'Umar from Walāta (where his family had fled Sunni 'Ali) to that same year.

114. See al-Sa'di, pp. 24, 65. Unfortunately, we know nothing about Akil's subsequent actions.

115. *Ibid.* Quite possibly, the first evacuation, facilitated by Akil, merely transported the goods of the wealthy families out of fear of plunder.

116. These details are known only from al-Sa'di (pp. 65-7). The narrative of *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, based apparently on Songhai traditions, is more concerned with 'Ali's campaigns than with events at Tumbuktu.

117. See al-Sa'di, p. 66. A second stage in the exodus caused 'those remaining in the Sankore quarter to flee to Walāta also'.

118. *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 75. In the initial appointment of Mahmūd b. 'Umar to the judgeship, Askia Muhammad acted on the advice of Abu Bakr.

119. *Ibid.*

120. See Norris, *The Tuaregs*, pp. 38, 53. It is possible that some of the refugees settled at Ansamun, a settlement in the Tagedda complex which later produced outstanding scholars.

121. Al-Sa'di, p. 69. It would not be unreasonable to assume that the fugitives in Walāta sought the help of the Mossi king. The latter had entered Walāta after a siege in 885 A.H. (1480/1 A.D.) and was given a daughter of a certain And-Naḍ (son of Muhammad Naḍ) in marriage, thereby sealing some sort of alliance, however temporary.

122. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 48-9.

123. Quoting a certain Muhammad Bāba b. Yūsuf, the *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh* (p. 49) virtually scorns the people of Tumbuktu for the haste with which they followed the orders to transfer to Hawiki. Cf. al-Sa'di, pp. 70-1.

124. See al-Sa'di, pp. 30, 70-1. Also Ahmad Bāba (Aqit), *Nayf al-Ibtihāj*, p. 88ff.

125. Al-Sa'di, p. 212. 'Abdullah's objections to returning to Tumbuktu were levelled specifically against the Sankore quarter, but not Jingerebir. This suggests a disunited stand, among the scholars, at the time of Sunni 'Ali.

126. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Suyūṭi, *Al-Tarbi'a* fos. 345-79, especially p. 375. See also E. M. Sartain, 'Jalal ad-Din', p. 196, n. 2.

127. Al-Sa'di, p. 70. Al-Faqih 'Abd al-Jabbār Kaku may be 'Abd al-Jabbār b. 'Ali b. Muhammad al-Akhīabi al-Qāhiri al-Tūlūni, a student of al-Suyūṭi who resided in Mecca and was met there by al-Sakhāwī in 993 A.H. Al-Hājji Ahmad b. 'Umar Aqit would have met this scholar when he made the pilgrimage in 890 A.H. See Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-Lami'*, vol. IV, pp. 35-6.

128. See *Maghili's replies*.

129. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 44. According to the defective MS C (p. 14), Sunni 'Ali had learned from the *kubhān* that the twelfth true caliph was to arise (in the nineteenth century in the person of Ahmadu Lobbo?) among the Sanqara. This allegedly turned him against them.

130. On the attitude of Habib and al-Ma'mūn, see al-Sa'di, p. 66.

131. Levizion has suggested that the published first part of *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, which is peculiar to MS C, is a nineteenth-century emendation in its entirety. We, however, feel that the introduction up to p. 12 is authentic; the sections peculiar to MS C from then on are more readily identifiable as nineteenth-century additions. See N. Levizion, 'A seventeenth century chronicle'.

132. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 10.

133. *Ibid.*, p. 17. The reference in question is peculiar to MS C, but we believe that the date may be authentic. The author interrupts his narrative concerning the arrival of Ahmad al-Saqali in 925 A.H. and says: 'His arrival corresponded with the beginning of our composition. Since the pen has reached this point we have decided to give priority to the mention of his virtues before those of others...' It is difficult to see the wording here, though not the rest of al-Saqali's story, as a nineteenth-century fabrication. The man's arrival at the beginning of the sixteenth century agrees with what we know of his grandsons at the end of that century.

134. See al-Sa'di, p. 211. The birth of Mahmūd Ka't during the reign of Askia Muhammad is obscured in MS C of *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh* (p. 82, n. 4), the name being changed there to al-Qaḍi Mahmūd b. al-Hājji al-Mutawakkil Sanba!

135. A full discussion of this problem lies beyond the scope of this study.
136. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 12ff (MS C).
137. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Tahadduth*, vol. II, p. 158.
138. It is quite clear that Ḥabīb remained *Qāḍī* under Askia Muḥammad up to his death in 904 A.H. See al-Sa'dī, pp. 74-5.
139. Sartain ('Jalāl ad-Dīn', p. 96) indicates that al-Suyūṭī 'appears to have added no new material to his autobiography after about 896/1490'.
140. The possibility is quite remote; but if Askia Muḥammad gained a *taqlīd* (an investiture from the Khalifa) before gaining power, then his struggle with Sunnī 'Alī and his son Abu Bakr Dā'u, was more protracted.
141. See Ignatz Goldhizer, 'A contribution to the study of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and his literary activity', translated from German by Michael Barry and edited with additional notes by J. O. Hunwick. I am indebted to Dr Hunwick for access to the translation of this article before its publication.
142. See J. O. Hunwick, 'Notes on a late fifteenth century document'.
143. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Suyūṭī, *Risāla*, fos 139a-140b.
144. Quoted in Sartain, 'Jalāl ad-Dīn', pp. 197-8.
145. Norris (*The Tuaregs*, pp. 56, 60) hesitantly suggests that al-Suyūṭī's reference is to a Sultan of Bornu.
146. See al-Sa'dī, p. 217. The source assigns the birth of Muḥammad Bāba to 981 A.H., but judging by his age at his death, this is certainly a scribal error for 931 A.H.
147. Muḥammad Bāba b. Muḥammad al-Amin b. Ḥabīb b. al-Mukhtār al-Tunbuktī al-Mālikī, *Al-Mināḥ al-Ḥamīda*, fos 3-4. J. O. Hunwick has made a search for al-Aḥādīth *al-Muqana*, but did not find it though other short compositions by al-Suyūṭī on government are extant. In the composition, al-Suyūṭī is quoted describing Askia Muḥammad as 'the pious and just king, the *mujāhid* who upholds righteousness and truthfulness, the king of Takrūr, may God render the faith victorious at his hands . . . God has relieved his worshippers by his rule after the years of Sunnī 'Alī, just as he relieved them with 'Umar b. Abd al-'Azīz after al-Ḥājjāj.'
148. See al-Sa'dī, pp. 723-73. The author claims that 2500 soldiers accompanied Askia Muḥammad on the pilgrimage. This seems doubtful, since the pilgrimage went largely unnoticed in Middle Eastern chronicles of the time. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh* (p. 34) quotes al-Qāḍī Ahmad b. Ahmad b. And-Agh-Muḥammad to the effect that the Askia's company included 800 men as compared to the 8000 in Mansa Mūsā's company.
149. Manuscripts A and B, which are free of nineteenth-century emendation, say Askia Muḥammad 'was accompanied by seven of the jurists of his country', but these are not named. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 64, n. 1.
150. Al-Sa'dī, p. 73. The author, though more reticent, provides essentially the same information as manuscripts A and B of *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*.
151. See al-Sa'dī, p. 73 and *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 86-7.
152. See al-Bakrī, *Al-Mughrib*, p. 183.
153. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 86-7, 153-4. Apparently, the sword was inherited by one Askia from another until the defeat of the Songhai by the Moroccans when its fate became unknown.
154. The Maghsharen chieftaincy was incorporated into the new order and one Maghsharen-Koy married a daughter of Askia Daūd. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 118.
155. There exists considerable doubt concerning Askia Muḥammad's campaigns in Hausaland (see al-Sa'dī, p. 78). Although these are also recorded by Leo Africanus, they are not mentioned in the Kano Chronicle, nor in any other Hausa sources. See Humphrey J. Fisher, 'Leo Africanus'.
156. See Leo Africanus (Jean-Leon l'Africain), *Description de l'Afrique*, *passim*.
157. See al-Sa'dī, p. 88 and *passim*.
158. Al-Mukhtār al-Nahawī was absent at the time. On his return, he blamed Abu Bakr saying, 'Do you not have a son of your own who is qualified for the judgeship?' See al-Sa'dī, pp. 76-7.
159. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 59-61. The defective MS C, which claims that Askia Muḥammad was the first to establish judges in Timbuktu, Jenne and elsewhere, omits this story which occurs in MSS A and B.
160. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 75-7, is more explicit on the details of this story than al-Sa'dī, pp. 76-7.
161. See al-Sa'dī, p. 79. The text, in fact, speaks of 'Umar b. Abu Bakr, the Sultan of Timbuktu'. It is remotely possible that Askia Muḥammad had, in the meantime, appointed a grandson of al-Qāḍī al-Ḥājj ('Umar b. Abu Bakr b. al-Qāḍī al-Ḥājj) to the governorate of Timbuktu. Otherwise, a scribal error may account for the difference in the name.
162. See al-Sa'dī, pp. 27-8, 76-7.
163. See, for example, al-Sa'dī, pp. 82, 83.
164. Al-Sa'dī, pp. 40, 98; and *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 82. Ahmad Bāba (Aqī), in *Nayl al-Ibtihāj*, p. 340, says of Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd: 'Good fortune attended him and he obtained the degree of political power and leadership he desired, acquiring great benefit from it and profiting from this world extensively'. Quoted in Hunwick, 'Ahmad Bāba', p. 314.
165. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 109-11, 121. According to al-Sa'dī, p. 34, al-'Aqīb filled the land with justice whereby he had no equal in that anywhere.
166. Al-Sa'dī, pp. 52, 60.
167. Ahmad Bāba (Aqī), *Nayl al-Ibtihāj*, p. 218.
168. See al-Sa'dī, pp. 34-5. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 113, has Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa'id. Nothing is known of this scholar's paternal descent.
169. Al-Sa'dī, p. 19 and *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 88-90.
170. See al-Sa'dī, p. 108 and *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 113-4.
171. Compare especially *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 12 (MSS A and C) with pp. 74-5, both dealing with Ahl Muri Kuyra.
172. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 70. Also Levzion, 'A seventeenth century chronicle'.
173. See *Diwān al-Mulūk fī Salāṭīn al-Sūdān*, fos 88v-153v, especially fos 104rv.
174. See genealogy of the al-Sa'dī family in the Appendices.
175. The author of *al-Durar al-Ḥisān* was Bāba Kūrub. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj al-Amin al-Amin Kānu, the last scholar whose death is recorded by al-Sa'dī (p. 322), unless the two were the same. Their father might conceivably be the above-mentioned commentator on al-Suyūṭī's *Farīda*, Muḥammad Bāba b. Muḥammad al-Amin b. Ḥabīb b. al-Faḥḥ al-Mukhtār, whose father is at one point identified simply as al-Faḥḥ al-Amin. He had another son in Ḥabīb b. Muḥammad Bāba (al-Sa'dī, p. 211). On al-Ḥājj al-Amin Kānu, see *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 122-3.
176. See, for example, al-Sa'dī, pp. 27, 36, on al-Qāḍī al-Ḥājj and on Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abu Bakr b. al-Qāḍī al-Ḥājj. Al-Sa'dī (p. 56) says al-Amin's father had not been mentioned in his obituary, but one of the MSS describes the man as al-Amin b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad (p. 247). See genealogy of the al-Ḥājj family in the Appendices.
177. Al-Mukhtār b. Muḥammad Zankānu was a *sibṭ* (grandson through a daughter) of al-Qāḍī al-'Aqīb. See al-Sa'dī, p. 243. Cf. Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, pp. 18ff.
178. Al-Sa'dī, pp. 110-11. After Jingerebir, al-'Aqīb renovated the Market Mosque and Sankore, but the Askia seems to have had no interest except in the Main Mosque.
179. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 110. The text speaks of 'the year of the dispute' (*mu'āza'a*) between Daūd and al-'Aqīb.
180. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-11. The source mentions the episodes in a series of digressions on the virtues of Daūd and al-'Aqīb.

181. Indeed, according to al-Mawardi, delegating the imamate or leadership of the prayers in the main mosques was a prerogative of the ruler. See al-Mawardi, *Al-Ahkām*, p. 100.
182. Al-Sa'di, p. 118. Šāliḥ Takun was a nephew of Misir-and-Umar, the Soninke scholar mentioned in note 102, above, whose grandfather had interceded with Akil on behalf of Muhammad Aqit. See Al-Sa'di, p. 170.
183. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 124-5.
184. *Ibid.*
185. See Niamkey Georges Kodjo, 'La chute', especially p. 10. Compare with *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 125. Baghayughu had declined several posts, including the *Khubal* judgeship of Gao, preferring his position as *Imām* of Sidi Yahya. It seems doubtful that a competition could have arisen between him and the Aqits on the judgeship. See Ahmad Bāba (Aqit), *Nayf al-Ibithāij*, p. 340-2.
186. Muhammad Baghayughu studied under Ahmad b. Hājj Ahmad b. 'Umar Aqit and, in turn, taught the latter's son Ahmad Bāba who, later, became teacher of al-Mustafā b. Ahmad Baghayughu. Even the ancestor of the Baghayughus in Jenne, al-Qādi Mahmūd, had apparently been accredited in *Mukhtasar Khalīf* by Mahmūd b. 'Umar Aqit. Ahmad Bāba's biography of Muhammad Baghayughu, one of the longest and most laudatory in *Nayf al-Ibithāij* (pp. 340-2), indicates continued close ties between the two families up to the point when the Aqits were exiled to Morocco. See also *Nayf al-Ibithāij*, p. 114 (on the *Mukhtasar*).
187. Compare al-Sa'di, p. 118 with *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 124-5.
188. The fragment has been published by Houdas and Delafosse as an appendix to *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*. See p. 186. (Also translation 324; Muhammad Bankānu-Mar Bounkani). Compare with al-Sa'di, pp. 115-6.
189. Al-Sa'di, pp. 118-20.
190. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-2. See also p. 112 where, for some reason, al-Sa'di compares Askia AL-Hājj favourably with his earlier namesake, Askia al-Hājj Muhammad I.
191. *Ibid.*, pp. 125-6. The *ṭulba* and *fuqahā* led the campaign at Gao in defaming Muhammad Bān because, according to al-Sa'di, this Askia claimed for himself the posture of a scholar. A drought during Muhammad Bān's reign, coupled with a drastic rise in prices, helped to galvanize public opinion against him.
192. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 131.
193. See al-Sa'di, pp. 120-1. The source mentions the existence of several salt-mines which served as alternatives to Taghāza, but only *Taurd* (possibly an error for Taoudenni) is named. The mines of Taoudenni later overshadowed Taghāza and the Barābīsh, associated with the new mines, largely replaced the Maghsharen as the main power in the area.
194. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 126. According to this source: 'The struggle between Askia Muhammad Bān b. Askia Daūd and his brother Balma' al-Sādiq was the cause of the extinction of Songhai. It opened the doors of evil among them and led to the disruption of the system of their state from then on until the arrival of the Moroccan expedition.'
195. *Ibid.*, p. 138. The fact that Muhammad al-Sādiq sought Muhammad Baghayughu's house in his flight may suggest that this scholar had formally supported his bid for the throne. In any case, there is no evidence for Kodjo's claim that 'Umar Aqit (in opposition to Muhammad Baghayughu!) was behind al-Sādiq's rebellion. See al-Sa'di, p. 131.
196. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 131. This source, throughout, introduces numerous digressions which obscure the sequence and chronology of events. Cf. al-Sa'di, especially p. 126.
197. See al-Sa'di, p. 129; Kodjo, 'La chute', p. 14.
198. See al-Sa'di, p. 313; also p. 131. The Maghsharen themselves actually split into two parties at the time of the Moroccan conquest.
3. *The scholars as a learned elite*
1. Al-Qādi al-Hājj allegedly administered a potion to the people of Banku and this enabled them to withstand the Mossi and drive them back. See al-Sa'di, *Tārīkh al-Sūdān*, p. 27.
2. See al-Sa'di, p. 51. A break in Timbuktu traditions is also suggested by the fact that al-Sa'di quotes Ibn Batūta to the effect that Abu Ishāq al-Sāhili, Mansa Mūsā's architect, was buried at Timbuktu, yet seems unaware of the place of burial nor does he supply any information besides quoting the traveller. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
3. Gao, for example, is referred to by Ibn Khaldūn as the birth-place of the Khārijite leader Abu Yazid Makhlād b. Kaidād in 893 A.D. See Hunwick, 'Religion and state', p. 297. Cf. Ibn Batūta, *Voyages*, vol. IV, p. 395. Also Tom Hunter, *The development*, pp. 33ff.
4. See *Aṣḥ al-Wangariyyin*, especially Arabic, p. 21 (fo. 5). Cf. *Kano Chronicle*, vol. III, pp. 92-132, especially pp. 104-13.
5. See Ahmad Bāba, *Nayf*, p. 88; al-Sa'di, p. 37.
6. See Norris, 'Sanhaja scholars' pp. 634-40. Ahmad Bāba says that And-Agh-Muhammad al-Kabir was the first to serve the cause of learning among his family. See al-Sa'di, p. 28. However, we do not know if Muhammad Aqit was a scholar.
7. See H. T. Norris, *Saharan myth and saga*, *passim*.
8. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 106, 151. The same person is referred to as Muhammad Ja'aiti (or Jaghaiti) and Muhammad Zaghatiti.
9. See E. N. Saad, 'Islamization in Kano'.
10. See Ivor Wilks, 'The transmission', pp. 173ff.
11. Ibn Batūta, *Voyages*, vol. IV, p. 395. On the itinerary of Ibn Batūta, see J. O. Hunwick, 'The mid-fourteenth century capital', pp. 195-208.
12. Ibn Batūta, *Voyages*, vol. IV, p. 395. Also p. 409 on Mūsā al-Wanjarātī.
13. See al-Sa'di, pp. 16-8. This scholar, originally from Bitu, was instrumental in eliminating a structure previously used for 'pagan worship' in Jenne. Wilks ('The transmission') p. 180, n. 5.
14. Wilks, 'The transmission', pp. 177-8; Sanneh, 'The origins of clericalism', *passim*, prefers a much earlier date.
15. Ibn Batūta, *Voyages*, vol. IV, p. 395.
16. The earliest known scholar from Jenne, Murmagh Kanki, apparently a Soninke, also received his education in Kābura, though he was originally from the town of Tay, between Bighu and Kūbar. Al-Sa'di, p. 16.
17. In his childhood, Muhammad al-Kāburi may have seen 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Tamimi. This, in the eyes of traditionalists, may have made them contemporaries.
18. See Wilks, 'The transmission', *passim*. If Wilks is correct in assigning al-Suwāri to the fifteenth century, then his emigration to distant Diakha Bambuku may account for the fact that he is not mentioned in the Timbuktu chronicles.
19. Sunni 'Alī persecuted the al-Hājj scholars at Alfa Gungu. Al-Sa'di, p. 66; also, pp. 47-50. The earliest piece of literature extant from Timbuktu, a poem quoted by al-Sa'di, was composed by Sidi Yahya al-Tadulsi in praise of Muhammad al-Kāburi.
20. In the Dyula tradition, *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*, *Kitāb al-Shīfa* and *Muwatā'* *Mālik* were the basic curricula for gaining the title of karamoko. See Wilks, 'The transmission', p. 168.
21. See Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, vol. II, pp. 18-9.
22. Ahmad Bāba says that, as a child, he attended the *darūs* of Ahmad b. Muhammad Sa'īd before his death in 976 A.H. Since Ahmad Bāba was born in 963 A.H., his attendance was more that of an admirer than a real student. See *Nayf*, p. 95.
23. See, for example, al-Sa'di, p. 322 on Muhammad Bāba.
24. See al-Sa'di, pp. 29, 31, 55, 65.
25. Makhlūf b. 'Alī b. Šāliḥ al-Balbāl took up learning under 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar Aqit at

- an advanced age. See al-Sa'di, p. 39. Previously, he had been a merchant. Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 343-4.
26. See Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, p. 114. The author studied *Mukhtasar Khalil* at the three levels of *bāḥith*, *taḥqīq* and *taqīr* under Muhammad Baghayughu.
27. See al-Sa'di, pp. 30-1, on his *mulāzama* to Muhammad Sunni b. al-Faqih al-Mukhtār.
28. Muhammad al-Kāburī, for example, had a preference for teaching *Tahdhib al-Barādī*, a work not known to have been taught by any other scholar of Timbuktu. See al-Sa'di, p. 47.
29. Ahmad Bāba mentions a *ru'ya* he had which told him that Ahmad b. al-Hajj Ahmad, his father, received even higher recompense in the hereafter than Ahmad b. Muhammad Sa'd. This caused him great surprise. See Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 93-5.
30. Very few *ijāzas* are extant today which document the lines of transmission from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. Most of the extant *ijāzas*, though ultimately linking with Timbuktu scholars, are those of Saharan scholars from Arwān and the Kel al-Sūq. See al-Sa'di, p. 65. Al-Bartūli has no specific entry for al-Imām al-Zammūrī and indeed his biographies in *Faṭḥ al-Shukūr* suggest a break in Walāta traditions sometime in the sixteenth century. See, for example, the biography of Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Alī Sili (Sali) b. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Umar b. And-Agh-Muhammad b. 'Umar b. 'Uthmān (Paris MS, fo. 177).
32. The only known teacher of 'Abdullāh Boryo was Muhammad Bāba Misir son of And-Agh-Muhammad al-Mušallī al-Dalimi, who had been one of the *shuḥūd* (probably also one of the students) of Maḥmūd b. 'Unur. See al-Sa'di, pp. 31, 212.
33. See, for example, Abu Bakr, 'Acte du vent passé à Tombouctou'. See also discussion of books and libraries below.
34. See al-Sa'di, pp. 29-30 and *passim*. The author lists the Aqīs as descendants (on the maternal side) of And-Agh-Muhammad al-Kābir.
35. The daughters of And-Agh-Muhammad b. al-Mukhtār al-Nahawī had prominent sons in Muhammad b. Yumdhughabīn and Ahmad Māṭini b. Asikala, besides Muhammad b. Muhammad Kara, who attained the imamate of Sankore. See al-Sa'di, p. 30.
36. See, for example, the biography of 'Umar al-Wālī b. Muhammad b. 'Abdullāh al-Mahjūbī al-Walāti in al-Bartūli, *Faṭḥ al-Shukūr*, Nouakchott MS, 81r-83v.
37. See al-Sa'di, p. 66. Of the sons of al-Qāḍi al-Hājī, none are known except Abu Bakr.
38. Al-Sa'di, pp. 27-8, 214. The author describes Ibrāhīm simply as a descendant of al-Qāḍi al-Hājī, but on genealogical grounds, he is identifiable as Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar b. Abu Bakr b. al-Qāḍi al-Hājī.
39. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Muhammad Biru, *ijāzas*.
40. See biography of al-Imām 'Umar Mamma b. Muhammad . . . al-Walāti, in al-Bartūli, *Faṭḥ al-Shukūr*, Nouakchott MS, fos 85v-88v.
41. Several descendants of Muhammad Gurdū appear in the *sanad* of the nineteenth century San Sirifi. 'Abd al-Qāḍir b. Muhammad al-Sanusi, *ijāza*.
42. Besides these scholars, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ahmad al-Mujtahid taught al-Mustafa b. Ahmad Baghayughu and Muhammad Bāba b. Muhammad al-Amin, but his teachers are not known.
43. No students for Sidi Yahya are mentioned though it is on record that *ṭulba* from the Sankore quarter repeatedly sought him at his mosque in the centre of the city. Al-Sa'di, p. 51.
44. See Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 217-8, 343-4.
45. See al-Sa'di, pp. 47-50. Al-Kāburī's teaching of Sidi Yahya could hardly have been forgotten by traditionalists, since a poem by the latter in praise of his master is the earliest piece of literature extant for Timbuktu.
46. Indeed, most of the information on Muhammad b. Muhammad Kara is available from the biographies of his students rather than from a biography of him. Al-Sa'di, pp. 217-8, 238-9, 321-2. The title *Shaykh al-Shuyūkh* is reserved only for Muhammad al-Kāburī and Muhammad b. Muhammad Kara.
47. See al-Sa'di, p. 322. Muhammad Gurdū's father, a judge of Massina, is identified as Muhammad (Mudu) Sāj b. al-Faqih 'Malik b. Anas' b. 'Alī Sanba al-Saffūn b. Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm Ahmad al-Fulani. Reference to his father as 'Malik b. Anas' (the name of the founder of Malikism) suggests earlier subscription to Maliki studies. Muhammad Sāj sent his son for study in Timbuktu on a temporary basis, but 'Abdullāh al-Sa'di insisted on allowing him to settle in the city. Later, the author 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sa'di was patronized by Muhammad Sāj. See al-Sa'di, pp. 230-1 and *passim*.
48. Dying in 1066 A.H. at the age of 84, Muhammad Gurdū was 34 years of age on Ahmad Bāba's return to Timbuktu in 1016 A.H. See al-Sa'di, p. 322.
49. Al-Sa'di, pp. 321-2 and *passim*.
50. Al-Sa'di never directly refers to *Al-Durar al-Hisān fi Akhbār Muliḥ al-Sudān*; his prolegomenon (pp. 1-2) may suggest that he was dissatisfied with this earlier chronicle.
51. Al-Sa'di, pp. 217-8. Unfortunately, none of the students of Muhammad Bāba are mentioned, nor does his name appear in later *sanads*.
52. It is interesting that Muhammad Bāba and Muhammad Gurdū shared some of the same teachers. Al-Sa'di's text is inconsistent concerning the birth-date of the former, but in any case it seems that there was a great difference in age between the two. See al-Sa'di, pp. 217-8, 321-2.
53. See al-Sa'di, p. 217.
54. See al-Bartūli's biography of Ahmad Bāba, (J. O. Hunwick, 'A new source', pp. 568-93).
55. Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, p. 218ff. Also Ahmad Bāba's *sanads*, in Ahmad al-Maqqari *Rawḍat*, pp. 310-11.
56. Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 217-8, 343-4.
57. Ahmad Bāba's biography of al-Maghili (in *Nayl*, p. 230), is not altogether complimentary. In Hausaland, al-Maghili became a legend in his own right. See, for example, the references to Abdulkarim Mukaila (presumably Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Karim al-Maghili) in the Hausa history published by R. Sutherland Rattray, *Hausa folklore*, vol 1, p. 2-34. Cf. 'Abd al-Aziz al-Baṭrān, 'A contribution'.
58. See al-Maqqari, *Rawḍat*, especially p. 311. Also, Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 93-5, pp. 218ff.
59. Al-Maqqari, *Rawḍat*, pp. 304-12, includes the full texts of *ijāzas* received by the author from Ahmad Bāba. Other Moroccan students of Ahmad Bāba are quoted in *Faṭḥ al-Shukūr*. See Hunwick, 'A new source', especially p. 578.
60. See 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad al-Jazūli al-Tamanarti, *Al-Fawā'id*, fo. 45.
61. See Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, p. 335. Also al-Maqqari, *Rawḍat*, pp. 304-11.
62. Al-Bartūli, *Faṭḥ al-Shukūr*, *passim*. See, for example, Nouakchott MS, fos 81r-83v, and 85r-88r.
63. See Muhammad b. Sidi al-Mukhtār al-Kunti, *Kiṭāb al-Tarā'if*, Paris: Giroucourt MS 2407, no. 21, fos 232-1 (pages numbered backwards). For other copies, see the Bibliography.
64. *Ibid.* Al-Mukhtār's principal teacher, Sidi 'Alī, was student of Ahmad Ag-al-Shaikh al-Sūqī, in turn a student of Muhammad Baghayughu al-Fulāni. Confusing the latter with Muhammad Baghayughu al-Wangari caused the author to insert the name of the latter's student, the illustrious Ahmad Bāba, into the *sanads*. If the *sanads* indeed linked up with Ahmad Bāba, the chain should have been considerably longer.
65. Al-Bartūli, *Faṭḥ al-Shukūr*, *passim*. See also *infra*.
66. Verbal communication. See also Wilks, 'The transmission', *passim*.
67. Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 340-2, and *passim*. Also, al-Sa'di, pp. 33ff. Muhammad al-Bakri wrote a poem in praise of Ahmad b. al-Hajj Ahmad Aqī. His son, Zain al-'Abidin, had a correspondence with Askia Nūh, who took over Songhai leadership after the defeat of Askia Ishāq by the Moroccans. See *Tārīkh al-Futūsh*, pp. 167-8.

68. Al-Sa'di, p. 61. Again, this scholar associated in Cairo with Muhammad al-Bakri. Unfortunately, it was not possible to conduct a thorough search in the writings of the Egyptian for evidence on Timbuktū. See Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, GII, pp. 334, 339, SII, pp. 463–4.
69. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, which does not concern itself at all with the lines of transmission, mentions numerous *faqīhs* who do not fit in the known lines of transmission.
70. Muhammad Baghayūghu is praised, for example, for having virtually sacrificed his life (*afna 'umrah*) to the cause of teaching. See Ahmad Bāba, *Nayf*, p. 340.
71. Mahmūd Ka' sought funds for his sons, besides his students, and for purchasing books, from Askia Daūd. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 108–9.
72. See, for example, Dupuis-Yacuba, *Industries*, p. 179.
73. Muhammad Baghayūghu b. Muhammad Gurdū al-Fulāni was possibly born in 1002 A.H. (1593/4 A.D.), the year when Muhammad Baghayūghu al-Wangiri died. It was customary to give new-borns the names of illustrious persons who died in the same year.
74. See 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muhammad al-Sanūsī, *Ijāza to Sūn Sirfī*. The *ijāza*, dated 17 Jumada II, 1079 A.H., was made it seems in the presence of a large audience.
75. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Muhammad Bīrū. *Ijāza to Bāba 'Uthmān* . . . Al-Wāfi b. Tālīna b. Ag-Adda (Ag-Gin, also Ag-Gid) b. Sayyid Ahmad b. Adda was great-grandson of Ahmad b. Adda, who is alleged to have founded Arwān around 1600 A.D. As will be suggested (*infra*), however, Ahmad founded the chieftaincy and judgeship traditions of Arwān, already a Maghsharen settlement at his time. On the students of al-Wāfi, see *Tārīkh Arwān*.
76. Already in 1106 A.D. (1694/5 A.D.), we have a reference to the clan as 'the Fuqha of Kel Sūq'. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 63.
77. See al-Kuntī, *Kitāb al-Tarā'if*, Paris: Giroucourt MS 2407, no. 21, fo. 232. The reference there is to Sayyid Ahmad b. al-Shaikh (obviously Ahmad Ag al-Shaikh). Cf. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Batrān, 'An introductory note'.
78. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muhammad al-Sandūsi, *Ijāza to Sūn Sirfī*.
79. Al-Bartūli, *Faṭḥ al-Shukr*, *passim*. The author counted among his Shuyūkh al-Amīn b. Ḥabīb al-Jakani, a student of al-Qādir Abu Bakr b. 'Issa al-Ghaliwi who, in turn, had studied under Muhammad b. Mūsā b. Ijl. Moreover, the author's teacher, al-Amīn, had studied under Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Mūsā b. Ijl.
80. Al-Bartūli, *Faṭḥ al-Shukr*, Paris: Giroucourt MS, fo. 35r. A teacher of al-Bartūli's teachers, Sayyid Munir (probably b. Ḥabīb al-Shamshāwi), associated with Sulaimān, but the latter's *floruit* remains uncertain.
81. For example, al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī earned a rank among the scholars of Shīnjit (Shīnjit). See Ahmad b. al-Amīn al-Shinqīti, *Al-Wasīf*, p. 361.
82. See Al-Bartūli, *Faṭḥ al-Shukr*, Nouakchott MS, fos 85r–88r. A student of Muhammad b. Mūsā was al-Imām 'Umar Mamma of Walāta who died in 1201 A.H. (1786/7 A.D.).
83. This is according to Ahmad Banio, present-day *Imām* of the Sīdī Yahya Mosque. He traces his *sanad*, through Ahmad b. Muhammad Abba al-Wangiri to Muhammad Yahya b. Sālim. The latter studied under Babakr al-Mahjūbi, a student of al-Imām al-Mahjūb b. Sayyid 'Uthmān b. Muhammad 'Abdullah b. 'Umar al-Mahjūbi. The chain goes backwards among the latter four (from son to father) to Muhammad b. Mūsā b. Ijl. Though recited to this author from memory, this chain seems to be confirmed by the evidence on some of the scholars involved in *Faṭḥ al-Shukr*.
84. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muhammad al-Sandūsi, *Ijāza to Sūn Sirfī*. This discussion is also based on information from Alfa Humal, present-day *Imām* of Jingerbīr.
85. See, for example, the biography of al-Bashīr b. Abu Bakr al-Bartūli (*Faṭḥ al-Shukr*, Nouakchott MS, fos 32r–33r), a student of 'Umar b. Mūdū Hamad al-Fulāni.
86. Other 'jihadist' students of al-Mukhtār are mentioned in al-Batrān. 'A contribution', p. 350.

87. Several copies and fragments of *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh* exist, but none include the prolegomena except the defective MS C.
88. This according to Ahmad Bāba's son Zubair, an elder currently viewed by some as *de facto* Qādī of Timbuktū.
89. See Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam*, vol. II, pp. 13ff.
90. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, I, p. 965. The scholar reportedly declared that the three sons of 'Umar Aqīt (Ahmad, Muḥmūd and 'Abdullāh) were *walīs*. See al-Sa'di, p. 30.
91. According to his biography by Ahmad Bāba (quoted by al-Sa'di, pp. 41–2), Abu Bakr was author of several compositions in Sufism. See also al-Sa'di, p. 32.
92. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Maḥmūd Baghayūghu, *Aqīdat*.
93. See Ahmad Bāba, *Tuhfat al-Fudalā'*. An analysis of this composition, based on another copy, is to be found in Mahmoud A. Zoubair, *Ahmad Bāba*, pp. 162–4.
94. For the *silsila* of Sīdī al-Mukhtār himself see *Kitāb al-Tarā'if*. See also Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam*, vol. II, pp. 18ff.
95. Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam*, vol. II, pp. 13ff.
96. See Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya*, especially p. 159.
97. Al-Sa'di (p. 293) mentions that his brother Muhammad Sa'di was successfully operated on for an eye-ailment by a doctor identified as al-Ṭabīb Ibrāhīm al-Sūsī who, however, was a visitor to Timbuktū. We have no other reference to a physician in Timbuktū, though one of the late-eighteenth-century Walāta scholars, Ahmad b. Abu Bakr al-Bartūli, is described as 'the *ṭabīb* of his time' and is praised for extending his services to everybody, including slaves. See *Faṭḥ al-Shukr*, Nouakchott MS, fos 267–277.
98. See, for example, Mohammed Ibrahim el-Kettani, 'Les manuscrits', especially p. 61 on a Timbuktū copy of Ibn Sīda's *Muḥkam fi'l-Lughā*.
99. Khālid al-Azhari's extant works are all in grammar. This scholar died in 1499 A.D. See Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, GII, p. 27; SII, pp. 22–3.
100. See al-Sa'di, p. 30.
101. See Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, *Fihrist*, II, p. 47. The copy at Dār al-Kutub (the Egyptian National Library) carries no. 5277ff. The Bibliothèque Générale in Rabat has two copies: MS D 309 and MS no. 521.
102. The Archéval collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale is mainly from the royal library of Segu. The collection has three copies of the *al-Futūḥ al-Qayūmiyya* by Ahmad b. And-Agh-Muhammad; Fonds Arabes, MS 5709, fos 159–241; MS 4141; MS 5442, fos 195r–250v.
103. See Muhammad b. al-Tayyib al-Qādiri, *Al-Ikhlā'*. Much the same information is in *Nashr al-Mathāni* by the same author.
104. See for example, Charles Monteil, *Djenné*, p. 156. (Hadjarouna = Ajerrūmiyya.)
105. Muhammad b. al-Tayyib al-Qādiri, *Nashr al-Mathāni* (Moroccan facsimile edition, n.p., n.d.).
106. *Ibid.* See also al-Bartūli's biography of Ahmad Bāba. Translation in Hunwick, 'A new source', pp. 580, 582. Also Ahmad Bāba, *Al-Nukat*. Zoubair (*Ahmad Bāba*, pp. 98–9) lists other compositions on the same subject which have been preserved at the Zāwiya of Tamghrouit.
107. *Tafīr al-Jalālan*, recurrently published in the last century, reads more like a grammatical than an interpretative text. However, advanced students often studied it in conjunction with one or another of the works (one being by al-Suyūṭī) which delineated early verses in the *Qur'ān* superseded by later ones.
108. See, for example, the list of works studied by al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī in *Kitāb al-Tarā'if*.
109. See Ahmad Bāba, *Kifāyat al-Muḥājir*, fos. 290–2. Also, Ahmad Bāba, *Nayf*, pp. 93–5. For another Timbuktūan commentary in *Tawḥīd*, see also note 92 above.
110. Al-Kuntī, *Kitāb al-Tarā'if*, fos 231–2.

111. See Ahmad Bāba's biography in *Faḥ al-Shukūr*, translated in Hunwick. 'A new source', pp. 581–90.
112. See, for example, *Kano Chronicle*, p. 113.
113. See al-Sa'di, pp. 21, 31, 65. Also, *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*. *Kitāb al-Shifa fi Tarīf Huqūq al-Muḥṭafa* was one of three books which were central to the Suwarian tradition further south. See Wilks, 'The transmission', p. 168.
114. The *Risāla* and the *Tuḥfa* have been repeatedly published in Egypt and Morocco during the past century.
115. See Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 113–4. The author of the *Mudawwana* was 'Abd al-Salām (Shāhnū) b. Sa'īd b. Ḥabīb al-Tanūkhī (d. 854).
116. See al-Bartillī's *Faḥ al-Shukūr*, Nouakchott MS, fos 19v–21v. In fact, Ahmad Bāba was merely paraphrasing his father's teacher, Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Laqqānī of Cairo. See Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, p. 113.
117. Al-Sa'di, *passim*. The Royal Library in Rabat, Morocco, boasts of no less than seven volumes of commentaries on Khalil attributed anonymously to al-Shaikh al-Sudānī. Some of these, we believe, may be the works of Maḥmūd b. 'Umar or of Muḥammad Baghayūghu. See MSS 4338–9, 7027, 4708, 4341, 8745, 10478. See also note 118 below.
118. MS 4975 at the Royal Library, Rabat, Morocco, is a large volume described on the flyleaf as 'Part of the commentary of al-Shaikh Ahmad Bāba on *Mukhtaṣar Khulīf*'. However, this seems to fall into the same category of commentaries of anonymous Timbuktu authorship mentioned in note 117 above.
119. Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 113–4, 343. Cf. al-Sa'di, pp. 36–7.
120. See Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 217–8. This commentary is no longer extant, but another one on the subject of intention, entitled *Ghāyāt al-Aḥmād fī Faḥ al-Niyya 'ala al-'Amal*, is extant in two copies (from Tunis and Tanghrout) and have been discussed in Zoubair. *Aḥmad Bāba*, pp. 179–184.
121. Al-Sa'di, pp. 36, 169–70. The genealogy of the Misir-And-'Umar family is unfortunately uncertain.
122. The *Muwatṭa'* was often studied in conjunction with a commentary by al-Bajā'i (sometimes al-Bājī) which became the subject of a versification by Muḥammad Bāba b. Muḥammad al-Amin. See al-Sa'di, p. 218. Ahmad Bāba studied the *Mukhtaṣar* eight times during the course of his training and spent three years on the *Muwatṭa'* and its commentators. See *Faḥ al-Shukūr* in Hunwick, 'A new source', p. 575.
123. Our discussion is based on the Muslim jurists' own definition of the science of *uṣūl*.
124. On al-Suyūṭī's numerous works, see his autobiography, *al-Taḥadduth*, *passim*.
125. Zoubair, *Aḥmad Bāba*, has a list of Ahmad Bāba's works which updates Hunwick, 'A new source' (see especially p. 128).
126. Unfortunately, Zoubair did not classify the works according to their subject matter.
127. *Jamī' al-Mi'yār* is a collection of *fatāwa* or rulings on various aspects of Muslim law. Cf. Zoubair, *Aḥmad Bāba*, p. 125.
128. These are *Jalīb al-Ni'ma* and *Jawāb 'an al-Qawānīn al-'Urfiyya*, both to be discussed in Chapter 5.
129. This classification of Ahmad Bāba's works is not complete. Not all the extant works were accessible in the course of this study. The subject matter of others, known only by the title, is uncertain.
130. This is according to Sidi Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Sūsī as quoted in al-Qāḍiri, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, p. 152.
131. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Arabes, MS 5442, fos 249r. Some of the earlier linguists, however, including Sibawayh, are quoted indirectly.
132. Ahmad Bāba, *Kifāyat al-Muḥṭaf*, fo. 292.
133. Askia Daūd kept a royal library at Gao. See *Tārīkh al-Fattāsh*, p. 94.
134. Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 93–5. See also al-Sa'di, p. 37 (tr. 61). Commenting on books, in the margins, was in most cases a preliminary for writing a full-fledged commentary.
135. Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 93–5. Al-Sa'di, p. 42.
136. Al-Qāḍiri, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, p. 152. One book which has been preserved in Morocco from the library of Ahmad Bāba is volume 22 of Ibn Sida's *Muḥkam fī l-Lughā*, see fo. 981.
137. See Leo Africanus (John Leo), *A geographical historie*, p. 287.
138. See Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 340–2. Al-Sa'di, p. 44. Baghayūghu's students did not always return the books, it seems, but the master continued to be liberal despite the great loss.
139. See *Tārīkh al-Fattāsh*, p. 108. Elsewhere (p. 103) this source mentions that 50 to 80 *mithqāls* was the price of the more desirable slaves.
140. Ibn Sida, *Muḥkam fī l-Lughā*, vols 17–18, fo. 244; vol. 19, fo. 168; vol. 20, fos 278–9; vol. 22, fo. 981; vol. 23, colophon. The last folios of each volume actually carry the text of the agreement between owner and copyist. The colophon of the last volume indicates that the book came into the possession of Ahmad Bāba's son Muḥammad.
141. See Anonymous 'Acte de vente'. This includes the text and translation of a purchase contract found at the end of a Timbuktu copy of *Sharḥ al-Aḥkām*. It is not clear where this copy has since been deposited.
142. Henry Barth, *Travels and discoveries*, vol. V, p. 43.
143. For example, Ahmad Bāba relies rather extensively in his *Jalīb al-Ni'ma* on Ibn Khaldūn's *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, a voluminous and unconventional work which nonetheless found its way to Timbuktu in the sixteenth century.
144. See, for example, the biography of al-Maghili in Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, p. 230.
145. In fact both commentaries were on al-Maghili's *raʾjz* in that field. See Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 93–5, 399.
146. Ahmad Bāba, for example, studied *Nazm Abu Muqra'* in astronomy. The author (flourished c. 1331 A.D.) composed another *Unḥūma* on the hours. Another work studied in astronomy was al-Tajiri's (d. 1590) commentary on *al-Ḥashimiyya*. The *Muqaddima* by al-Tajiri is on the seasons. Cf. Hunwick, 'A new source', especially p. 583 and n. 145.
147. The author of *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān* (pp. 86–7) quotes Muḥammad al-'Irāqī following a composition by Sa'īd b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Gurdū. Genealogically (being the seventh-generation ancestor of an early-twentieth-century figure) Muḥammad al-'Irāqī seems to have flourished c. 1650, but he is mentioned neither by al-Sa'di nor by *Tārīkh al-Fattāsh*. Cf. Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, vol. II, p. 17.
148. See, for example, al-Sa'di, p. 217 and *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 5. It is probable that a yearly record of the Niger flooding towards Timbuktu was kept.
149. See Chapter 2, note 147.
150. See al-Sa'di, p. 218. Cf. Hunwick, 'A new source', p. 583, n. 147.
151. See al-Sa'di, p. 218.
152. Al-Sa'di, pp. 49, 218. Muḥammad Bāba also commemorated his teachers, Muḥammad Baghayūghu and 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Mujtahid, in two separate poems.
153. *Tārīkh al-Fattāsh*, pp. 178–9. Al-Sa'di, p. 21, paraphrases the *Muqāmāl*.
154. See Mawlāy Qāsim b. Mawlāy Sulaimān, *Ḥikr al-Wafayāt*.
155. See Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 217–8. Al-'Aqīb al-Ansamī's study under al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) lends credence to an early *floruit*. Al-'Aqīb b. Maḥmūd b. 'Umar may have been named after him, in which case the relations between al-Ansamī and Maḥmūd would date as early as 913 A.H. (1507/8 A.D.).
156. *Ibid.*; also al-Sa'di, p. 41.
157. This according to a nineteenth-century tradition peculiar to the defective MS C of *Tārīkh al-Fattāsh*, p. 58. There seems to be some basis for this tradition in the case of Jenne. Cf. al-Sa'di, p. 18.
158. Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 217–8. Al-Sa'di, p. 41.
159. See, for example, *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 21.

160. Ahmad Maghnia's Walāta origin is known only from traditions recorded in the twentieth century. See Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, vol. II, p. 18.
161. Al-Sa'di, p. 30.
162. See al-Sa'di, pp. 55-6, 219, 246-247. Al-Amin b. Ahmad died at an old age in 1041 A.H. (1631/2 A.D.) but he and 'Abd al-Rahmān belonged to the same generation as Ahmad Bāba.
163. See al-Sa'di, p. 211. See also Chapter 6.
164. Al-Sa'di, pp. 36, 52-6.
165. The last-named had a deputy and close friend in 'Abd al-Salām b. Muhammad Dikko al-Fulāni who also belonged to the first rank among scholars. See al-Sa'di, p. 241. Dikko is a *nisba* to the warrior clan of chiefs among the Fulānis.
166. Al-Sa'di, p. 215. The Zagharāni *nisba*, though possibly referring to Zāgha, also designates certain Songhai officials (see, for example, al-Sa'di, p. 160).
167. See al-Sa'di's obituaries, pp. 210ff., especially p. 240. On the antiquity of the Kel Antasar (Kel Ansar), see *infra*, Chapter 5.
168. The two brothers may be grandsons of Ahmad al-Ṣāqali on their mother's side. In that case, al-Shaikh Muhammad b. 'Uthmān could be the highly praised scholar Muhammad b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdullāh b. Abu Ya'qūb. See al-Sa'di, pp. 36-7, 166-7.
169. *Ibid.*, p. 167. The delegation, sent by al-Qādi 'Umar, was headed by his nephew Shams al-Dīn b. Muhammad b. Mahmūd.
170. Al-Sa'di, p. 322 (tr. p. 488).
171. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 148. Compare with al-Sa'di, p. 35.
172. Qāsim b. Sulaimān, *Dhikr al-Wafayāt*, especially fo. 24r.
173. See Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, vol. II, pp. 6-30. More on these notables below.
174. The title of 'Alim (scholar) or *Faqih* (jurist) continues to be more prestigious, but both became interchangeable with *Alfa*.
175. A grandson of Ahmad Bāba, Muhammad b. al-Faqih Sidi (Muhammad) b. Ahmad Bāba, is described as Shaikh al-Maddāhīn in the Sankore quarter. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, pp. 72, 64.
176. This discussion is partly based on Dupuis-Yakouba, *Industries*, and Hacquard, *Monographie*, especially pp. 40-4.
177. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 180.
178. In the late nineteenth century to the present, the tailor-*Alfas* worked primarily in embroidery, but in earlier times they practised more widely in the textile trade.
179. See Dupuis-Yakouba, *Industries*. Hacquard, *Monographie*, p. 44, suggests a larger number of 'ateliers'.
180. See Barth, *Travels and discoveries*, vol. V, pp. 19ff. Cf. Miner, *The primitive city*, p. 62.
181. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 4. The anonymous author was descended on his mother's side from a scholar named al-Faqih Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Abu Bakr Ṣādiq.
182. Dupuis-Yakouba, *Industries*, p. 179.
183. See Leo Africanus (Jean-Leon l'Africain). *Description de l'Afrique*. As already indicated, Leo confuses Timbuktu with the Songhai capital.
184. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 23, 55. Such claims, peculiar to MS C, tended to rationalize the reduction of certain tribes and villages to servile status in the nineteenth century.
185. See al-Sa'di, pp. 87-8 on the austerity of Askia Muhammad.
186. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 82. Al-Sa'di (pp. 33-4) says: 'No sooner was [Muhammad] born than he had already a thousand *mihqāls* in his property from the gifts of men who were happy at the arrival of a first-born to Abu'l-Barakat al-Faqih Mahmūd'. The gift came partly (or perhaps largely) from Askia Muhammad.
187. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 115. It is not clear whether these farms were in the form of a permanent endowment (*hubus*) nor do we know their number or locality.
188. See al-Sa'di, p. 47.
189. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, for example, p. 117, p. 146, for the years 1738 and 1740, respectively.
190. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
191. Barth, *Travels and discoveries*, vol. V, p. 89. Al-Bakka'i's nephew Hammādi, who rivalled him for the leadership of the Kunta, received an additional ten slaves, besides the same quantity of grain.
192. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 180-1.
193. The Ruma have never produced a full-fledged scholar, though, as we shall see, some of the Pashas sought to adopt that posture.
194. Muhammad b. Ahmad Baghayghu died in 1066 A.H. (1655 A.D.). Al-Sa'di, p. 322.
195. At a rate of 5-10 cowries per student, the donations of the students allegedly amounted to 1725. This suggests that Takariyya had as many as two or three hundred students.
196. Cissoko, *Tombouctou et l'Empire Songhay*, p. 160.
197. In the sixteenth century, a *mihqāl* may have purchased as little as 500-1000 cowries. In the eighteenth century, the value of a *mihqāl* ranged between 2000 and 3000 cowries, the exchange rate of 700 in 1711 being exceptional. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, especially p. 40.
198. See Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, vol. II, p. 84. An average of 20 students per elementary school is suggested there.
199. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 145-6. Cf. Raymond Mauny, *Tableau*, pp. 495-503.
200. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 150-1. The source offers the following breakdown of boats available at short notice in and around Gao: 400 large boats belonging to the Askiate; 1000 large boats under provincial officials and some 600-700 boats, some large and some small, belonging to merchants and other inhabitants of Gao. The large boats (*kunta*) are believed similar to the boat in which Caillié travelled to Timbuktu, a large canoe which carried a load of some 80 tons. See M. Tynowski, 'Le Niger', especially p. 87. Also René Caillié, *Journal d'un voyage*, vol. II, pp. 240-5.
201. See Barth, 1890, II, p. 322. Also Oscar Lenz, *Tombouctou*, p. 150. Caillié's estimate of 12 000-13 000 (*Journal d'un voyage*, vol. II, p. 312), was made in the hottest month of April when commerce was at its lowest ebb in the aftermath of the insecurity caused by the Fulani conquest.
202. See Barth, 1890, II, p. 322. Lenz was given to believe that the city possessed 3500 houses. He, however, attributed this figure to an earlier period. Barth estimated a total of some 1000 houses along with a few hundred huts. A count based on an aerial photograph by Miner (*The primitive city*, p. 15) produced a similar result.
203. Since these remains cover a rather extensive area, it seems doubtful that they all formed part of the compactly-built-up city. They may have been merchant houses which were used during, and even before, the Songhai period. Excavation may answer this question with the proviso that even the stone used by the masons in the area is of a soft quality and is believed to withstand the rains no more than a hundred years. Such stone used to be clay-coated, but mud bricks have always been the main construction material.
204. Barth (1890, II, p. 290), for example, mentioned the Sane Gungu quarter as inhabited by rich Ghadāmsi merchants on the southwest edge of the city. This quarter was no longer existent by the end of the century (see Miner, 1953, p. 37, for an alternative explanation).
205. See, for example, General Joffre, *My march to Timbuktu*, p. 95, for an estimate of 5000-8000. Hacquard, *Monographie*, p. 25, estimated 5000 'fixed' inhabitants in addition to a 'floating' population of some 4000. Now the population is generally, but very roughly, estimated at 10 000.
206. Caillié, *Journal d'un voyage*, vol. II, p. 331. The affiliations established by this traveller during his brief sojourn in Timbuktu suggest that his information on this question is quite reliable.

207. This discussion is based primarily on Dupuis-Yakouba, *Industries, passim*.

4. The scholars as administrators

1. The classical legislative process in Islam evolved two central principles concerning the governance of society and state in Islam. The first was the concept of the caliphate (*khiāfa*, or successorship to the prophet) and the second was the concept of the infallibility of the community of believers (*isnat al-Umma*) on matters covered by consensus. Both of these concepts influenced future administrative and ideological developments but along lines which are most difficult to investigate. See, for example, Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddima*, section VI, chapters 7, 9 and *passim*.
2. See al-Mawardi, *Al-Ahkām, passim*. In fact, Ḥukm al-Mazālīm was often in the hands of the *Qādi* while the *Muḥāsib* was sometimes the latter's delegate as overseer of roadways and markets. See *Al-Muqaddima*, section III, chapter 31.
3. *Al-Muqaddima*, section VI, chapter 7.
4. To take one example, Mālik denied the validity of *bi'a* (or act of allegiance to a ruler) made under compulsion or duress. This stipulation was not strictly retained by his school but elements of the same orientation are perceptible in the *Sudān. Ibid.*, section III, chapter 29.
5. See for example, Hodgkin, 'Islam and national movements', p. 323. The Almoravids, in Hodgkin's view, 'checked the possibility of the spread southwards from the Maghrib of "deviant" forms of Islam'.
6. We have no evidence on the sectarian identity of the early Islamic presence in Bornu. But by the late fifteenth century, there and in Hausaland, the emerging tradition of learning was Mālikī.
7. Several recent studies have suggested a dominant role for the judge in early Muslim cities. See, for example, S. D. Goitein, 'Cauro: an Islamic city in the light of the Geniza documents', in Lapidus, *Middle Eastern Cities*, especially p. 91.
8. In some cases, the coexistence of the Shāfi'i, Hanafi and Mālikī schools, represented each by its own judge, tended indirectly to reduce the influence of the main judge.
9. See *al-Muqaddima*, book I, section III, chapter 31.
10. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 83.
11. See note 1, above.
12. Barth, 1890, II, p. 314.
13. Mūlāy (Sidi) Ahmad Bābir, *Al-Sa'āda*, fos 49, 62.
14. See F. H. Ruxton, *Mālikī law*, p. 275.
15. *Al-Sa'di*, pp. 15-6 and *passim*.
16. See above, pp. 38-9.
17. *Al-Sa'di*, pp. 16-9. Excepting Mur-Magha Kankoy, a Soninke scholar it seems, also migrating from near Bfui, al-Qādi Muhammad Sānu (Saghanughu) al-Wangari is the earliest known scholar from Jenne.
18. *Al-Sa'di*, pp. 158-9.
19. For the most part the scholars seem to have reconciled themselves by this time that the Ruma were there to stay. *Ibid.*
20. We have consistently assumed that scholars bearing Mur (or Muri) in their nomenclature are Soninke. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh* (p. 48), says, 'Mur Hūkār, the ancestor of the Muri-Kuyra and their scholars, are all . . . originally from the West. Wa'kuri (Soninke) and Wankuri'.
21. *Al-Sa'di*, p. 158.
22. *Ibid.*, *passim*. The genealogy of the al-Hājī family in Appendix 4 shows quite a few scholars, but most of these are known only by name.
23. Ruxton, *Mālikī law*, pp. 273ff., especially p. 275. The Judge should not be too sharp and searching of eye. See *al-Sa'di*, p. 40, for the comparison between al-Qādi

Muhammad b. Maḥmūd, a master politician it seems, and his straightforward and fearless brother, al-Qādi al-'Aqib.

24. Ruxton, *Mālikī law*, p. 275. The Judge should also be 'of a well-known and respected family'.
25. *Al-Sa'di*, p. 302.
26. When al-Sa'di was dismissed from the imamate of the Sankore Mosque in Jenne, al-Qādi Ahmad b. Mūsā Dābu did not, it seems, intercede to prevent this highly unconventional action by a *ḥākim*. More details on this below. *Al-Sa'di* (p. 11) qualifies his high praise of the people of Jenne by saying that 'competition over worldly affairs was so much a part of their character that if one of them attained prestige, they all turned against him . . .
27. See Ruxton, *Mālikī law*, p. 276. 'It is further expedient that the Qādi should have attached to the court the least possible number of officers and attendants . . . Within his jurisdiction, a Qādi cannot authorize a substitute unless the district is of very considerable area.'
28. Ahmad Bāba, *Jalil al-Ni'ma*.
29. See above, p. 55. So far as we could tell, al-Sa'di has no reference to the Tusur Mundhu, a factor suggesting that his role was limited.
30. Ahmad Bāba, *Nayf*, p. 343.
31. Verbal communication by Sidi Ahmad Bābir of Timbuktu.
32. We seem to have several cases of succession by favoured students; however, while their succession was not always direct, they were at times in-laws of the deceased judge.
33. The list in Appendix 1 is based on a sequence of sources and, so far as the latest judges are concerned, on information received during field research.
34. See Appendix 2 for a full breakdown of the family affiliations of judges.
35. Ahmad Bāba, *Mir'aj al-Su'ūd*, Rabat: Bibliothèque Générale, MS D1724. Several other copies are extant. Also Zoubair, *Ahmad Bāba*, pp. 129ff.
36. *Ibid.* Zoubair's analysis (p. 137) of Maḥmūd b. 'Umar's view emphasizes that the burden of proof lies upon the pretended owner rather than the slave.
37. See *Al-Maghili's replies*.
38. *Al-Sa'di*, p. 74. The Soninke Mūr Sālih Jūr acted as intermediary between the Askia and the Mossi, to satisfy the prescription that 'pagans' be formally invited to Islam before the 'jihad'.
39. Ahmad Bāba, *Mir'aj al-Su'ūd*, and Zoubair, *Ahmad Bāba*, especially p. 138.
40. For example, Ahmad Bāba, *Al-Lam*.
41. See Ahmad al-Nāshiri, *Kitāb al-Istiqṣa*, vol. V, pp. 131-4.
42. Mounted charts of the inheritance shares (which are most complex) today dominate the rooms in which scholars in Timbuktu receive their visitors.
43. Many houses in the Jingerebir and Sarekeina quarters stand deserted and dilapidated today because, whether through disagreement or absence of the lawful heirs, the buildings were at some times unoccupied. Restoring such buildings is made difficult owing to the devastating effect of rains on mud-brick structure.
44. Ahmad Bāba, *Nayf*, pp. 340-2.
45. See *Al-Sa'di*, pp. 31, 96. And-Agh-Muhammad al-Mušālī was 'the greatest among the *shuhūd* of his Majlis'. Maḥmūd Bāghayughu served in a similar capacity *vis-à-vis* al-Qādi al-'Abbās Kab of Jenne.
46. The role of the *shuhūd* seems different from that of notaries who served as witnesses to legal deeds. Even the controversial document drawn in favour of the Abi Muri-Kuyra by Askia al-Hājī Muhammad was witnessed by lesser literati than the *shuhūd*. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 74.
47. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 138.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 78. The attorney for the plaintiffs, the 'Abi al-Mubārak Ruma family, was Bāba b. Muhammad Bāghayughu (b. Gurdu).

49. This is certainly suggested by the events which took place at the time of the Moroccan conquest. See al-Sa'di, especially, pp. 135-6.
50. *Tārīkh al-Futūsh*, p. 11. Other listed particulars of the Songhai system tended to favour the scholars as a whole.
51. To emphasize the plenipotentiary position of al-'Aqib, *Tārīkh al-Futūsh* (p. 124) claims that this Judge ordered the pursuit and, presumably, the execution of a fleeing *mu'adhdhar* (mosque functionary) who was ostracised for having deliberately misrepresented a known phrase in praise of the Prophet. However, the wording of the text (and especially the final detail that 'they captured him after a year etc.') suggests caution in accepting this story. It seems to be an extension of an earlier paragraph, peculiar to MS C, which makes al-'Aqib 'beautiful of voice in reciting the Qur'ān as also Askia Daūd and his son Askia al-Hajj' (p. 123).
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-1.
53. Al-Sa'di, pp. 155-60 and *Tārīkh al-Futūsh*, p. 122.
54. Recent studies have suggested wide powers for the Muhtasib in Muslim cities, but Ibn Khaldūn (*al-Muqaddima*, section III, chapter 31) indicates that the Muhtasib oversaw 'those laws whose implementation was beneath the *qādi*, because they were routine and simple'. The Ashra' Mundhu apparently held a similar position.
55. We are inclined to believe that the imprisonment of offenders in Songhai times was discharged by the Ashra' Mundhu.
56. Al-Sa'di, pp. 304-14.
57. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, pp. 160ff.
58. Indeed, the Saharan approaches to Timbuktu being difficult to control, taxation was centred principally at Kabara.
59. *Tārīkh al-Futūsh*, pp. 88-9. The jurist apparently invited the monarch to begin by punishing himself.
60. Al-Sa'di (pp. 99-100) tends to confirm *Tārīkh al-Futūsh*, though very indirectly, on the confrontation between Askia Ishāq and Mahmūd Baghavughu.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 100. The two agents did not occupy an official fiscal post. Rather, they seemingly acted as spies for Ishāq over the fortunes of the Timbuktu merchants.
62. See *Kano Chronicle*, vol. III, p. 110, for state-owned plantations manned by slaves in Hausaland.
63. See Jean Mansuy, *Maçons*, especially, p. 6. The masons also refer to a certain Misir Biri, a Sanhaja, as founder of the corporation. Since Misir generally prefaces the names of Walārans, the two traditions seem to be the same. Compare with Mansuy pp. 15-6 on masons from Zāgha.
64. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 21.
65. Dupuis-Yakouba, 'Note sur la population', p. 236.
66. See R. Brunschwig, 'Urbanisme'.
67. See Mansuy, *Maçons*, p. 6. There were three circles of membership of the corporation it seems. Entry to the third, and highest, circle was attained at around the age of 50.
68. At times, the procession was accompanied by a body of Ruma soldiers.
69. The location of Timbuktu itself, let alone Kabara on the Niger, has always been considered unhealthy (at least in the rainy and flood season) for camels, and because of this, camels were driven back to the more arid encampment places as soon as they were unloaded.
70. See Anonymous, 'Act du vente'. The Judge, Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Ali Sili, may perhaps be the scribe's nephew. *Faḥ al-Shukr*, Paris: Giroucourt MS, fo. 17r.
71. See *Riālat Ibn Abū Zaid*, fo. 796 (colophon). I am indebted to J. O. Hunwick for directing my attention to this source, which is also listed in el-Kettani, 'les manuscrits'. The copyist is identified as Ahmad b. Abū Bakr b. 'Ali b. Danbu Sili.
72. See Barth, *Travels and discoveries*, p. 23. The author mentions that the *mithqāl* of Mango, near Yendi, was 14 that of Timbuktu.

73. See Dubois, *Timbuctou la mystérieuse* p. 262. Also Miner, *The primitive city* pp. 19ff.
74. The relationships between these clans will be explored further below, especially in Chapter 6.
75. Particularly devastating were the internal struggles of 1148 A.H. (1735/6 A.D.). See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, pp. 98-9.
76. Barābīsh and Arwānī notables who have settled in Timbuktu have always tended to settle in the Sankore quarter.
77. Miner, *The primitive city*, p. 21, is ambiguous on this point. He sees only Ruma and Chabibi among the Songhai, designating the latter as 'serfs'. Yet clearly Mahāman Tafa Idye, chief of the Sankore quarter at the beginning of this century, hardly qualifies as a serf. See Marty, *Études sur l'Islam* vol. II, pp. 24-5.
78. Hacquard, *Monographie*, p. 40, says: 'The various corporations have their chiefs or amirs but, excepting the amir of the butchers, their rights amount to very little'. Unfortunately, this author does not elaborate on the butchers either, except that the corporations standardized the prices to an extent. The special position enjoyed by butchers is also suggested by the fact that during Songhai times, they took over the Ma'Dughu (the old Malian government house) at the western edge of the city and transformed it into a slaughterhouse. See al-Sa'di, pp. 7-8.
79. In his list of the occupations, Dupuis-Yakouba, *Industries*, mentions also 'measures of grain' and says that a measure was deposited in the hands of one of the descendants of the 'Kaya'.
80. *Ibid.* This source also mentions metal- and wood-workers (Dyam and Garasa), Tanners (Kuru-Mundyo), shoe-makers (Tamta-Koy), barbers and inn-keepers (Dy-mudi, often the Teifa themselves). Hacquard, *Monographie*, p. 40, indicates that the tanners were a class on their own, being composed largely of craftsmen originally from Sasanding.
81. See al-Sa'di, p. 110. Also *Tārīkh al-Futūsh*, p. 122. Neither source indicates when the Market Mosque was first built.
82. Mūlāy Ahmād Bābīr quotes Sīdī al-Mukhīār al-Kabīr al-Kuntī to the effect that every point of entrance to Timbuktu was guarded by the tomb of a *walī* and that Sīdī Yahya, buried in the centre of the city, was the *Qutb* among all the *walīs*. This in a short composition entitled *Ṣīfat Timbuktu wa-Awḡiyā'uha Muḥīṭān Biha*, MS in the possession of J. O. Hunwick. A similar account is to be found in Bābīr's *Al-Sa'āda al-Abadiyya*, op. cit., pp. 92ff.
83. Lenz (*Timbuctou*, p. 151) in fact says that Sankore was completely outside the city at the time of his visit.
84. See Chapter 2, p. 24. See also al-Sa'di, p. 21.
85. Al-Bakrī, *Al-Mughrib*, p. 175. Al-Idrīsī, *Ṣīfat al-Maghrib*, p. 11f.
86. The water generally rises enough to receive tolerably large boats at Kabara by early November. Smaller canoes make their way along the canal to Timbuktu in January and February. Hacquard, *Monographie*, *passim*. The canal leading from Kabara to Timbuktu is natural, but it has an artificial look about it on account of the custom whereby it is yearly cleared of sand when the Niger begins to swell towards the city.
87. Barth (1890, II, p. 324) learned that Badyndi (Bagindj) was fully flooded in an inundation which took place in or around 1640. The date is almost certainly in error; al-Sa'di records an exceptional flood reaching Timbuktu as early as November in the year 1616. See al-Sa'di, p. 221.
88. See, for example, Tringham, *A history*, p. 98n, and Levizion, *Ancient Ghana and Mali*, pp. 202ff.
89. See al-Sa'di, pp. 48-9, 51.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 63. For some reason, two other scholars declined the post at the time, though the inmate of Sankore was closely linked to the judgeship. Cf. *infra*.

91. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 91-2, includes a list of the earliest *walīs*. Muḥammad al-Kāburī, 'Uthmān al-Kāburī, Mūrī Hākār, Bukārī Sunna, Muḥammad Tūli, Mūrī Mana Bakua, Kusura Bir al-Wangari, Fudiki Muḥammad Sānu and Sanba Tanini all seem to be Malinke and Soninke scholars. Sidi Yahya and a certain al-Fuqih Ibrāhīm (probably of the al-Hājī family) are the only *walīs* listed who would have been considered 'white'. Compare with al-Sa'di, *passim*.
92. Al-Sa'di, p. 48.
93. *Ibid.*, pp. 216-7. 'Ali Sili, a friend of al-Sa'di's father, was a grandson through a daughter of the Soninke Bāba Misir Biru.
94. The kinship and intermarriage patterns suggest that the names Sili, Misir and Muri are Soninke.
95. See, for example al-Sa'di, p. 71. The last Askia before the Moroccan conquest is sometimes identified as Ishāq al-Zagharānī, probably a *nisba* to his mother's descent. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 133.
96. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-2. 'Abd al-Rahmān became *imām* of Sankore.
97. *Ibid.* 'Abd al-Rahmān Aqit b. Muḥmūd Aqit respected the Zagharānīs, honouring the memory of his teacher, but others it seems did not.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
99. See *Dhikr al-Wafayāt*, fo. 27v. Bamoy died in 1181 A.H. (1767/8 A.D.). *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh* mentions Mūrī Bakr b. Sāliḥ Wangarab (p. 36) and we know historically of a certain Alfa 'Abdullāh b. al-Imām Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Wangarab. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 71, mentions a certain Alfa 'Abdullāh, son of the erudite Ag Muya Wangarab.
100. Al-Sa'di, pp. 35-6. It seems that a fraction of the Fulānīs (the Jaghayati Fulāni) were at one point considered Wangara. According to one composition attributed to Ahmad Bāba, 'the Fulānīs are Muslims even though there are among them those whose conduct is unsatisfactory; evil-doings, treachery and raids predominate among them, but this does not disqualify them as Muslims'. See facsimile, fo. 516, included in the Appendix to Zakari Dramani-Issifou, *Les relations*, pp. 512ff.
101. Racial overtones, though not in a serious context, are present in a poem composed at the time of Barth's visit against Ahmad b. Ahmad b. Ahmad b. Ahmad Lobbo.
102. The Fulāni *Imāms* of Jingerebir included principally the Gidadus, the Gurdū and, most recently, the descendants of the seventeenth-century settler Muḥammad al-Ṭrāqī. This last family, as Marty (*Études sur l'Islam*, vol. II, p. 17) observed, became 'naturalized Fulani'. The present *Imām* of Jingerebir, Alfa Humal, belongs to this family.
103. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 75. *Dhikr al-Wafayāt*, *passim*, also records the obituaries of a few prominent *mu'adhdhins*.
104. Cailliet, p. 340. 'There are five mosques [besides Jingerebir, Sankore and Sidi Yahya] ... but they are small and built like private homes, with the exception that each is surmounted by a minaret; all of them have an inner court'.
105. Barth, 1890, vol. II, p. 324.
106. See al-Sa'di, p. 146. The Qaṣba Mosque, and partly the Qaṣba, survived until 1185 A.H. (1771/2 A.D.). See *Dhikr al-Wafayāt*, fo. 28v.
107. See al-Sa'di, p. 205. In fact, *ṣanā'* also means courtyard and, in another sense, has mystical Sufi connotations.
108. This tradition, widely adopted in Timbuktu, is also reported by Mūlay Ahmad Bābir in *al-Sa'ada al-Abadiyya*, fo. 93. However, *Dhikr al-Wafayāt* (fo. 28v) does not mention any such calamity in connection with the ruin of the mosque.
109. In fact, the mosque was built under the auspices of the Pasha 'Ali b. 'Abd al-Qadir who, as we shall see, sought to establish a dynasty independent of Morocco. See al-Sa'di, p. 232.
110. Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, section III, chapter 31.
111. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 83, mentions that Bāba b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad

- Baghayughu b. Gurdū was invested as *imām* of the Market Mosque by al-Qādi al-Mukhtār b. al-Qādi Muḥammad (Zankanu).
112. See, for example al-Sa'di, p. 113, on the transfer of state property from Sunnī 'Ali to Askia Muḥammad.
113. Al-Sa'di himself (*ibid.*, p. 235) acted as witness on some occasions. Sometimes when a Pasha refused to submit to deposition, the *imām* found himself in a difficult position. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 44.
114. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 131, mentions '*imāms* of the mosques', but does not specify which mosques were involved.
115. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 90. The mosque of the Qaṣba is also mentioned in this connection, but none of the others.
116. Barth, *Travels and discoveries*, vol. V, p. 81. The Lobbo sovereigns allegedly also 'increased the ruin of Sankore'.
117. An anecdote is recorded by al-Sa'di (p. 47) suggesting that Sidi Yahya preferred to teach pupils of his own quarter, in the centre of town, where learning was not as widespread as at Sankore.
118. Al-Sa'di, compare pp. 56-63 with p. 309.
119. 'Abdullāh Bābir b. al-Qādi Sayyid Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh b. Ahmad Maghia became *imām* in 1155 A.H. (1742/3 A.D.) and later retained the post when he became Judge in 1162 A.H. (1748/9 A.D.). See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, pp. 83, 148.
120. Al-Qādi Sayyid Ahmad b. And-Agh-Muḥammad took over the imamate of Sankore after having become Judge. See al-Sa'di, p. 63.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 60. A scribal error may be involved. Possibly the *imām*'s name was Ahmad Nāna Surgu.
122. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.
123. *Ibid.* This presumably explains why an individual whose family is not otherwise mentioned could attain such a high post.
124. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-2.
125. The title Commander of the Faithful is applied sparingly in the chronicles and would seem to have extended only theoretically to Askia Muḥammad's successors.
126. Al-Sa'di, p. 60.
127. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 309. The text has Duku ('Abd al-Salām b. Muḥammad), but current pronunciation renders the name Dikko.
129. Al-Sa'di, p. 142; Barth, 1890, II, p. 324.
130. There exists some ambiguity concerning the Alfasin Kunda; the Fāsiyyin eventually came to be identified with the Jingerebir quarter. Cf. Hacquard, *Monographie*, pp. 1-2 and *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, *passim*.
131. Today there exists a small mosque at Sarekeina, in the east-central part of the quarter, not larger than the houses there, which is presided over by an *imām* believed to be of Ruma descent.
132. In a sense, the Qaṣba Mosque was an extension of Jingerebir, for the exclusive use of the soldiery. See al-Sa'di, p. 146.
133. The two Waddāni families were descended from al-Hādī al-Waddāni, whose son Sani'ū was once *imām* of Sankore, and from Muḥammad Tashfin al-Waddāni. See, for example, *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, pp. 75, 85 and 115. (Also p. 152 on Bāba al-Mukhtār b. Muḥammad, a Zankanu.)
134. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 47. The three markets probably served each of the three main quarters - Sankore, Jingerebir and Sarekeina.
136. The earliest reference to a chief of a quarter (in this case a 'Shaikh') dates to 1211 A.H. (1796/7 A.D.) and implicates Sarekeina. See *Dhikr al-Wafayāt*, fo. 33v. Cf. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 72.

137. In Gao a special status had been allotted to a family of *sharīfs* there in the sixteenth century. The elder is identified as 'Alī b. Aḥmad, presumably son of Aḥmad al-Ṣaḥālī. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 107. The detail is confirmed by the authentic MSS A and B, though MS C makes its own additions on the subject. Cf. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, especially p. 29 on the Sharīfs of Timbuktu.
138. See Haquard, *Monographie*, p. 60. The presence of the dyers from Sasanding appears strictly to be the result of a nineteenth-century development.
139. More on this below in Chapter 6.
140. See, for example, Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, vol. II, pp. 6–25. Idji originally means 'son'. The obituaries of a few notables identified by this 'surname' are featured from the mid-eighteenth century onwards in *Dhikr al-Wafayāt* (see especially fo. 33r). In the *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān* (especially pp. 180ff), the lines of descent backwards to the Askias are fully specified.
141. Mali, Archives, 'Notes'. Also, Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, vol. II, p. 24.
142. *Ibid.* (Mali Archives, Dec. 1893, indicates that Alfa Sa'ūd had once been chief of Sarekeina). Also, Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, vol. II, p. 17.
143. See especially Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, vol. II, p. 21.
144. *Ibid.*, pp. 24–5; Mali, Archives, 'Notes'.
145. Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, vol. II, p. 17, says that Alfa Sa'ūd, while chief of Sarekeina presumably, had been put in charge of imposts on the salt-trade by Hamdia sometime after November 1893, when the latter became chief of Timbuktu.
146. Al-Sa'di, pp. 60–1.
147. Barth, 1890, vol. II, pp. 340–45. A *mithqāl* could indeed purchase some 300–400 pigeons, birds widely bred for local consumption.
148. We do not know the sequence of *imāms* at Sankore prior to Maḥmūd b. 'Umar. See al-Sa'di, pp. 62–3.
149. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
150. *Ibid.* The French translation (pp. 77–8) offers an alternate reading. Elsewhere (Arabic, p. 34), al-Sa'di emphasizes the wealth of 'Abd al-Rahmān's brother, 'Abdullāh, and adds: 'As for . . . 'Abd al-Rahmān, he turned away from the affairs of this world altogether; he would not accept them even for a moment. He had *mukāshafāt* and the people of his school relate many stories about that . . .'
151. See, for example, *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 87, on Sān Alfa Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Tagh (Baghayughu) al-Wangari.
152. Al-Mawardi, p. 101. A *ḥuffāz* (pl. *ḥuffāz*) is someone widely read in the Qur'ān and the *Tafsīr*.
153. See, for example, *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 138.
154. *Dhikr al-Wafayāt*, fos 28v, 31r, 34r.
155. See especially al-Sa'di, p. 156. At that time, the Sharīfs had apparently a recognized chief (Shaikh al-Muwalladin) in 'Umar (b. Zayyān?) b. Aḥmad al-Ṣaḥālī.
156. See Aḥmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 217–8, 343–4. Al-Balbālī had other *nawāzil* with Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Yastani al-Fasi (p. 338).
157. Al-Mawardi, *Al-Aḥkām*, p. 103.
158. One other Anṣamuni scholar, Al-Najīb b. Muḥammad al-Kidāwī was a commentator on Khalīl and al-Suyūṭī who flourished up to the early sixteenth century. See Aḥmad Bāba, *Nayl*, p. 348. Cf. Norris, *The Tuaregs*.
159. Aḥmad Bāba, *Ajwiba*, fo. 1r.
160. Tobacco apparently first reached Walāta from the Sūdān. See *Recueil de Textes de Touat*, fo. 201r.
161. More on this in Chapter 6 below.
162. Al-Sa'di, pp. 59, 75. Fayyāḍ was one of the *shūḥūd* of Maḥmūd b. 'Umar.
163. For example, the author of *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān* refers to his own great-grandfather, an elementary school teacher, as Alfa al-Amin b. Muḥammad Mūdū (mis-spelt Sūdū,

- p. 4). Likewise, his grandfather was Alfa al-Amin. Yet, he refers to his own elementary school teacher as al-Faqīh Aḥmad al-Muryani (p. 96).
164. Compare *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, pp. 61, 72.
165. *Ibid.*, *passim*. We have no evidence on learning among the Shurfa prior to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Sanūsī and Sān Sirfī.
166. See, for example Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, vol. II, pp. 10ff. By the nineteenth century, in fact, learning alone sustained the influence of the Shurfa.
167. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, pp. 111ff.
168. 'Timbuktu Notables, *Letter to the French Government*'.
169. 'Timbuktu Jamā'a, *Letter to Aḥmad al-Bakkā'*. The formal reference to whites and blacks is also found in the above-mentioned letter to the French government.
170. 'Timbuktu Notables, *Letter to Mūlay al-Ḥasan*.
171. 'Timbuktu Notables, *Letter to French Governor-General*.
5. *The scholars as regional notables*
1. See Gray C. Boyce, 'Erfurt schools'.
 2. Helene Wieruszowski, *The medieval university*, p. 67.
 3. S. M. Stern, 'The constitution', p. 33.
 4. Richard Bulliet, *The patricians, passim*, especially p. ix.
 5. Carl Petry, *Autonomy*, to be published by Princeton University Press. I am grateful to Dr Petry for allowing me to consult his MS.
 6. Al-Sa'di, p. 141.
 7. See 'Umar al-Naqar, 'Takrūr'.
 8. Al-Shinqīṭī (*al-Wasīl*, pp. 422–3) argued that his Saharan town belonged to the Maghrib rather than the Sudan on the grounds that its scholars in Mecca and Medina when on the pilgrimage, were qualified to draw upon the resources of the Maghrib *wagf* (endowments).
 9. The Songhai traced a line of descent from Za al-Ayman, believed to have migrated in obscure times from Yemen. See, for example, al-Sa'di, p. 4.
 10. See al-Sa'di, p. 7.
 11. See Norris, *The Tuaregs*, p. 115.
 12. Al-Sa'di, p. 22. The author no doubt meant that the Sanhāja in Massina, with the exclusion of the Fulānis, were originally from the area of Tishit.
 13. Al-Bartūlī, *Faḥ al-Shukūr*, Nouakchott MS, fos. 59r–60v.
 14. See al-Sa'di, p. 35, p. 108. On genealogical grounds (allowing a thirty-year average between generations) Muḥammad b. Yadhūr was a direct descendant of Muḥammad Gāb.
 15. Walāta Jamā'a, *Letter to Aḥmad al-Madani*. In this case, the pressure was exerted against the notables of Walāta so that they would (as seems to have subsequently happened) acknowledge the sovereignty of Aḥmad al-Madani's 'Umarian state in Segu.
 16. Al-Bartūlī's *Faḥ al-Shukūr*, of course, exemplifies this sense of belongingness.
 17. See especially A. D. H. Bivar and M. Hiskett, 'The Arabic literature'.
 18. Though renovated in various periods, the Main Mosque of Jenne owes its origin, at the latest, to the sixteenth century. Al-Sa'di (pp. 18–9) indicates that Muḥammad Sān al-Wangari, the first known Judge of the city, was buried at the mosque.
 19. Al-Sa'di, p. 249.
 20. *Wafayāt Jenne: 1164–1180 A.H.* In this document, as in the *Tadhkirat* and the *Diwān* the Ruma are featured far more pronouncedly than is justified by the evidence of earlier and later sources.
 21. See Brown, *The Caliphate, passim*.
 22. Al-Bartūlī, *Faḥ al-Shukūr*, Paris: Gironcourt MS, fo. 17r.

23. *Ibid.*, Nouakchott MS, fos 81r-83v.
24. This is evident from the nomenclature of Walāta notables whereby the pedigrees of al-Barīlīs, Majūbīs and Muslimīs, for example, show the scholars of each clan to be only distantly related to each other. Cohesiveness, nonetheless, in each group is emphasized by the recourse in most cases to a most elaborate genealogical nomenclature.
25. Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, vol. III, p. 1231. The precommunal 'stage' persisted in Islamic times, according to Weber, 'wherever the autonomy of the city and its patriciate was not, as in large territorial states, completely destroyed by the monarchy'.
26. See, for example, Jack Goody, 'The impact'.
27. See Sanneh, 'The origins'. As early as the eleventh century, al-Bakrī (*Al-Mughrib*, p. 177) mentioned that no Muslims lived in the Kingdom of Ghuruntul 'but they are well-received there and people step out of their way to allow them passage'.
28. R. Jobson, *The golden trade* (London, 1623, p. 99), quoted in J. O. Hunwick, 'The influence', p. 34.
29. Al-Sa'di, pp. 266-7, 275.
30. Quoted in Norris, *The Tuaregs*, p. 86.
31. Al-Barīlī, *Faḥ al-Shukr*, Nouakchott MS, fo. 13v (biography of al-Ḥajj Ahmad b. al-Ḥajj al-Amin al-Ghalālī).
32. *Ibid.*
33. See al-Sa'di, *passim*, and *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, especially pp. 173-8.
34. Interviews with Alladi Muhammad, son of Muhammad al-Amin, son of Imām al-Suyūṭi, resident of Mopti. Also interview with Alfa Humal, *Imām* of Jingerebir, Timbuktu. It seems that Zayyān, father of Abu'l-'Abbas, was especially wealthy. Abu'l-'Abbas combined wealth with some learning, while his son Ahmad Baba, was especially noted for his learning and acumen.
35. Capt. L. Marc-Shader, 'Quand j'étais Maïre'.
36. See Ivor Wilks, *Travels of Wargee*.
37. A striking example is the problematical account recorded by Jackson from the information of a North-African merchant. James Grey Jackson, *An account of Timbuctoo, passim*.
38. René Caillié, *Journal d'un voyage* (London, 1830) vol. II, p. 53.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Lenz, *Timbuctoo*, p. 154. Cf. Mardochée, 'Recit'.
41. Mali, Archives, 'Notes'.
42. *Ibid.* Among the 'foreign' merchants was Muhammad al-Bashir wuld 'Abd wuld al-Ḥarjāni. As our source reads, 'he belongs to a merchant family of the Masā'id fraction of the Tajikant, which has had relations with Timbuktu for around eighty years... He has a great influence over the Tajikant and the Barabish, and possesses a fortune amounting to as much as 500,000 francs. He is the richest merchant at Timbuktu. He is married, has three children and five brothers, and all his family resides at Tindouf. He possesses houses at Timbuktu and at Arwān.' It seems almost certain that the family had been well represented at Timbuktu and Arwān before the French conquest. Its members had assisted Major Laing during his journey in 1825-6.
43. Barth (*Travels and discoveries*, vol. V, p. 48) mentions a Ghadāmsi merchant who died leaving an estate worth 2000 *mithqāls*. The merchant in this case was merely an agent of the Tini family in Ghadāmsi and the funds were repatriated to them.
44. *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 34.
45. Al-Bakkā'i, *Two letters to al-Ḥajj 'Umar*, fos 66v-70r, especially fo. 69v.
46. Al-Sa'di (p. 60) suggests that Abu'l-Qāsim's family was established at Tuāt and Timbuktu at the same time.
47. One of the Waddāni families, descendent from Muhammad Tashfīn, is known from notices on a few members, including al-Imām Muḥmūd b. al-Amin b. Ahmad b. Muhammad. The Kuri family contributed *imāms* to the Hanā' mosque, including Bāba

- Latuāj b. Bāba Ahmad b. al-Muḥḥafā b. 'Abdullāh al-Kūrī. The Kūrī *nisba* may have been interchangeable with 'Kara'. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, pp. 75, 115.
48. See al-Sa'di, p. 162.
49. Jackson, *An account of Timbuctoo*, p. 348.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 464-5. Jackson, or some associate of his, actually used Hamed al-Wangari as a pen name in a letter to one of the European magazines.
51. Thus, for example, *Dhikr al-Wafayāt* (fo. 33r) mentions the death of Nāna bint al-Imām Ahmad (al-Wangari), Imam of Sidi Yahya, in 1214 A.H. (1799/1800 A.D.). Her father, al-Imām Ahmad, may himself be our Hamed al-Wangari. See the genealogy of the Baghayughu family in the appendices. The repetition of the name Ahmad is dramatized in the case of Alfa Ahmad b. 'Abdullāh b. Ahmad Tagh b. Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad, a mid-eighteenth-century merchant *alifa* whose son, if named Ahmad, may also be our Hamed al-Wangari. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 87.
52. Wilks, 'The transmission', p. 171. A wealthier family often allowed the eldest son and sometimes even a sequence of sons, to become karamokos. 'More commonly, however, older brothers are required by their father to trade and farm... and it is only a younger brother who can be released for studies.'
53. Al-Sa'di, p. 33.
54. The fourth generation of Aqīts in Timbuktu produced at least nine full-fledged scholars, all sons of the two brothers Muḥmūd and Ḥajj Ahmad. The fourth generation of Baghayughus, on the other hand, are represented by eight scholars who belonged to four different nuclear families all descended from Ahmad b. Muḥmūd Baghayughu. See the genealogies in the appendices.
55. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, pp. 43, 145. The present-day *Imām* of Jingerebir, Alfa Humal, is descended through one of his female ancestors, a certain Yaya bint 'Abd al-Rahmān Suyūṭi, from Isma'il Yoro. Interview, July 11, 1978. See genealogy of the Gurdu family, *infra*.
56. Al-Sa'di, p. 156. Alfa 'Abdu is specifically identified as brother of al-Faqīh 'Abdullāh b. al-Qādi Muḥmūd.
57. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 87.
58. Al-Sa'di, pp. 50-1.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-4.
60. *Tārīkh al-Futūsh*, pp. 122-3. The wealth of the Kānu (Gānu) family is confirmed by al-Sa'di, p. 211.
61. *Tārīkh al-Futūsh*, p. 122.
62. Al-Sa'di, p. 170.
63. See Ahmad Bāba's biography in Hunwick, 'A new source', p. 569.
64. Ahmad Bāba, *Kifāyat*, fo. 290.
65. Wilks, *Travels of Wargee*, p. 180.
66. In the mid-nineteenth century the repair of the Sankore Mosque from a state of virtual ruin was financed by the Lobbo state at the insistence of al-Bakkā'i, to a total sum equivalent to 600 blocks of salt, or some 600-1000 *mithqāls*. This contrasts sharply with the evidence of earlier times when the expenses of the workers in a single day during the repairs amounted to 77 *mithqāls*. Compare *Tārīkh al-Futūsh*, p. 122, with Barth, *Travels and discoveries*, vol. V, p. 82. It is quite clear that the mosque, and building in general, was on a much grander scale than in more recent times.
67. Al-Sa'di, p. 170.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-4. This complaint reached al-Manṣūr with al-Qā'id Hammu b. Haq al-Darā'i who himself was found to have 'stolen' 20,000 *mithqāls*.
70. Al-Sa'di, p. 141. Ishāq offered 100,000 *mithqāls* and 1000 slaves on the condition that the Moroccan army would return to Morocco.

71. Ahmad Bāba. *Nayl*, pp. 243-4. Cf. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 178, especially the addition to the effect that religion and wealth 'are contradictory in meaning', peculiar to MS C.
72. Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, p. 244, 'Wa-kāna mālan dha bāl'.
73. Massina itself was probably not an importer of cattle, but the areas to the south and west are to this day.
74. Abu Bakr b. al-Qā'id Bāhaddu al-Drāwī. *Sale of half the Farm Shurunburku*.
75. Juma (Alfa) b. Abtallāh, sons thereof, *Sale of Farm Ashurfār*.
76. We do not know of any Abu Bakr b. al-Qā'id Bāhaddu either, but al-Qā'id (later al-Pasha) Bāhaddu b. Abu Bakr was foremost among the Ruma up to his death in 1189 A.H. (1775/76 A.D.). As explained in Chapter 6, the sequence of judges after al-Qā'id Abkar's tenure is obscure, a factor suggesting that, even before that, the leaders of the Maghia and Zankanu families held the judgeship informally and perhaps conjointly.
77. See, for example, Robin Maugham. *The slaves*. This has no real information on the 'slaves' of Timbuktu.
78. Caillié, *Journal d'un voyage*, (English trans.), vol. II, p. 55.
79. Barth, *Travels and discoveries*, vol. V, pp. 36-7. The traveller mentioned the slave-trade incidentally at the tail-end of his account on the commerce of the city and was able to provide no details.
80. A survey of the various views is available in Ahmad Bāba's *Mi'raj al-Su'ūd*.
81. Al-Sa'di, pp. 97-8. The official in question was later ostracized and, in flight, was captured and enslaved.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-8.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 165. The Sanhāja of Massina, who apparently intermarried with Fulānis and Zaghrānis, are described as 'the Sanhāja of the braided hair'.
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 180.
85. This perhaps explains the all-encompassing *farwa* advanced by al-Balbālī which has been mentioned in Chapter 4.
86. Indeed, even MS C purports to have been written by Maḥmūd Ka'ti who died in 1002 A.H. (1593/94 A.D.).
87. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 12.
88. The writer, presumably Ibn al-Mukhtār Qunbulu, prefaces his account of the sale of Ahl Mūrī Kuyra by saying: 'Even this unique ruling [affirming the special rights of Ahl Mūrī Kuyra], which al-Qā'id Isma'il said was still in force, was revoked after the death of Askia Muhammad Bankanu b. Balma' al-Sādiq . . . by the people of Songhai'. We know from al-Sa'di (p. 299) that Bankanu b. al-Sādiq reigned as Askia in Timbuktu, under the auspices of the Ruma, till his death in 1052 A.H. (1642/43 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son Askia al-Hājj. The statement above implicitly blames the latter for compromising Ahl Mūrī Kuyra, though their sale took place under his successor, Askia Harūn b. Dāud b. Askia al-Hājj (1067-79 A.H. = 1656/57-1668/69 A.D.). It is remarkable that Harūn is associated with commissioning the composition of a variant upon *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, which has been published in French translation as an Appendix (pp. 325-41) by Houdas and Delafosse. It appears almost certain that a seventeenth-century controversy over the status of Ahl Mūrī Kuyra gave rise to variant copies of *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh* long before the drastic emendations which were introduced into the text in the early nineteenth century.
89. The legend was related to the present writer by Alfa Yahya Ibrāhīm of Timbuktu. Gurdū threatened the *Imām* of Sankore that he would cause hair to grow on his palm if he insisted that his *protegé* should marry the maiden. The latter threatened, in turn, that he would cause Gurdū to disappear altogether. The rest of the story is ambiguous, but both threats were allegedly carried out successfully. The legend would make more sense if it pertained to Gidādos (also Fulānis, and *imams* of Jingerebrī) rather than the Gurdū. For after the eighteenth century, they seem to have disappeared altogether from the annals and traditions of Timbuktu.

90. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 107.
91. Barth, *Travels and discoveries*, vol. IV (very end of this volume) and (1890, II, p. 339).
92. Al-Sa'di, p. 170. Reference to an independent *harāt* (*harān*). See note 42, above, for a usage of the Harjāni *nisba* by a wealthy person.
93. Barth, *Travels and discoveries*, vol. IV, *passim* (1890, II, p. 286). Today Kabara has very few dwellings, though a modern building for storage is in planning.
94. Barth, *Travels and discoveries*, vol. V, p. 22. Wargée also noted that the northern caravans on reaching Arwān 'often separate, some going to Sasanding and Segu, some to Timbuktu'.
95. Jackson, *An account of Timbuctoo*, pp. 345-6. By contrast, the cost of escort through the Sahara, in addition to the taxation exacted by the Tuatreg-Hassani clans, did not amount to more than 120 dollars.
96. Bonamy, *Mission de Bonamy*.
97. Barth, *Travels and discoveries*, vol. V, p. 10.
98. *Ibid.*, *passim*. In December, the influx of Saharans, including a 1000-camel caravan, had raised the price of corn from 6000 to 7500 cowries per *sunjiya*, while the price of rice nearly doubled from 3750 to 6000 cowries in a few days. See vol IV, *passim* (1890, II, p. 333).
99. See Wilks, *Travels of Wargée* p. 184. Gunpowder cost two dollars per pound at Salaga and three at Timbuktu. It was taken north mainly by the merchants established at Kong.
100. Bonamy, *Mission de Bonamy*.
101. Wilks, *Travels of Wargée*, *passim*.
102. Summary of *Kiāb al-Tarā'if* by Paul Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, vol. I, p. 32. A relative of al-Mukhtār found him in a humble state at Timbuktu, under the patronage of a certain 'Sarī Naciā al-Kouhīnī', and caused him to return to the Sahara against his wish.
103. Caillié, *Journal d'un voyage*, (English translation), vol. II, p. 70.
104. See Dupuis-Yacoubā, *Industries*, shoe-makers (tamiaboy), The shoe-making profession was also featured in *Mission de 'Abd al-Qādir*.
105. This would seem to be an early-eighteenth-century, and perhaps even a seventeenth-century, development, to be discussed again in Chapter 6.
106. Haquard (*Monographie*, p. 47), indicated that the sending of a slave to market amounted to 'a sort of liberation'. Elsewhere (p. 49), he says that many of the retailers were slaves and ex-slaves who live on what they earn. Rejou says he knew many 'slaves' (captifs) who were richer than their masters. See Commandant Rejou, 'Huit mois', pp. 421-2. A slave born to a family could not be sold and enjoyed rights of inheritance to his father's property.
107. Muhammad al-Kuntī. *Kiāb al-Tarā'if*, fos 137-40.
108. Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, vol. II, p. 21.
109. Al-Sa'di, *passim*. See also genealogy in the appendices.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 258.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
112. *Ibid.*
113. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
114. *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 129.
115. Maḥmūd b. Zarqun to al-Qādi 'Umar b. Maḥmūd Aqīt, Ar. text published in E. Levi-Provençal, 'Un document'.
116. Barth, *Travels and discoveries*, vol. V, pp. 99-100. The traveller describes the Inkundār as a clan of *ṭulba*, 'all able to read'.
117. See especially *Tadhkirat al-Nasayān*, pp. 51, 77.
118. Barth referred to the Wangara as the merchants 'who carry on almost the whole commerce with the countries south of the Niger'. (1890, II, p. 303).

119. See, for example, Muhammad b. 'Abdullāh al-Wufrānī, *Nuzhat*, pp. 115ff.
120. *Kano Chronicle*, pp. 104-5.
121. See Saneh, 'The origins', pp. 59ff. Also a variant on Ahmad Bāba's *Mīraj al-Sū'ād*, included in facsimile in Dramani-Issifou, *Les relations*, pp. 512-21.
122. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 179-80.
123. See, for example, Nehemia Levizion, *Muslims and chiefs, passim*.
124. Lucie Gallistel Colvin, 'Islam'.
125. John Ralph Willis, 'The Torodbe clerisy'.
126. In the nineteenth century it was observed that 'All gold countries, as well as any people coming from the gold country, or bringing Goroo [kola] nuts, are called *Wangara*'. Quoted in Paul E. Lovejoy, 'The role', p. 176.
127. See, for example, Haquard, *Monographie*, p. 25. Everywhere the 'alfa' are distinguished from Ruma and Songhai, though no doubt the latter had some representatives, albeit of modest stature, among the former.
128. C. C. Stewart, 'Southern Saharan scholarship', especially p. 75.
129. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 63.
130. Stewart, 'Southern Saharan scholarship', p. 75.
131. Al-Barīlī, *Faḥ al-Shukūr*, Paris: Giroucourt MS, fo. 17r.
132. Ahmad Bāba, *Ajwiba*, *passim*.
133. The social differentiation became most formal and stable in the area of Shingit. Yet a local author who described the system conceded that 'Some of the people of the Zwāya too, in the south, have clients among the [dependent] Lahma, and impose tribute upon them, and the same is true of some of the people of Tiris'. See Ahmad b. al-Amin al-Shingiti, *Al-wasī*, p. 476.
134. Al-Barīlī, *Faḥ al-Shukūr*, *passim*, includes the biographies of several Muslim scholars.
135. Norris, *The Tuaregs*, pp. 98-9. Indeed, the mid-nineteenth century chief of the Wulmdān, Qutub, is known as son of al-Sultan Kāwī b. al-Sultan Anna b. al-Sultan Agashikh b. al-Sultan Karidenna.
136. Al-Sa'di, p. 312.
137. See Norris, *The Tuaregs*, p. 110. A further complication arises from the fact that the grandfather of Karidenna (see note 135 above) is known as Alad (Alladda, al-Adda?) al-Tadmekkati. Both Agadda and Alad flourished around 1600 A.D.
138. *Tārīkh Arwān*. 'They came to Arwān and lived there with the people of that town who were Maghsharen and Idnan . . . Then Ahmad b. 'Ali [here the text is damaged] married a woman from Kel Antassar'. A marginal comment says that the woman was from Idnan; 'their sons were Muhammad Ag Anfa, ancestor of Kel Antassar, and Aggina, ancestor of all the Arwān from whom the Keltuna al-Hājī branch out'. The sons of Muhammad Aggina inherited the warrior chieftaincy. *Ibid*.
139. *Tārīkh Arwān* indicates that, after some time, the *kalima* (temporal rule) in Arwān went to Sayyid Muhammad Bu-Umam, while the *kalima* among the Barābish went to his maternal uncles, Ahl Yūsuf Awlād Sulaimān.
141. *Za'āmat Kunāta (Kunta)*, fo. 3.
142. See, for example, Ahmad al-Shingiti, *Al-wasī*, pp. 506-9, on the wars of the Western Kunta. Later struggles between Kel Antassar and Kunta are the subject of epic poetry related to the present author by Wantaghat Ag esh-Shamascen ag al-Jou ag al-Qadid, the Agou (literally the 'master-smith', in practice 'griot') of the Kel Antassar.
143. See Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam*, vol. I, p. 262. Also, *Tārīkh Kel Antassar*.
144. Al-Umari, selections of Arabic text in al-Munajjid, *Mamlakat*, p. 46. The evidence suggests that Yantassar designated a confederation of clans of whom some acknowledged Malian sovereignty. The confederations, Shighrasen (Yasighras), Madiunna and Lamtuna, are said to have been fully independent.
145. For example, Nūri Muhammad al-Amin, mentioned in note 147 below, is Ag

- Muhammad al-Amin Ag Muhammad al-Hādi Ag Interegan Ag Muhammad al-Tayyib ag Hamma. The latter (Hamma = Khamma) was a chief of the Idnan who crossed over to the Kel Antassar during the dual reigns of Hualen and Dua Dua. Patrilineal succession among the Kel Antassar (but not seemingly the Idnan) dates at least nine generations backwards to c. 1600. Information of Abu Bakr al-Sādiq Ag Mahammad (Qaitbou) Ag Muhammad Abba Ag Animaghan Ag Muhammad al-Mustafa Ag Qutub (Qaitbou) Ag Muhammad Ag Infa, Muhammad Ag Infa is believed to be the common ancestor of all the Iguelad, including the Kel Antassar, Kel Haoussa (Kel Tabora) and Kel Cherfug (Esh-Cherifen).
146. In more recent times, up to the present, the Kel al-Sūq have been more or less uniformly literate and exceptionally skilled in calligraphy.
147. Information of Nūri Ag Muhammad al-Amin and others of Timbuktu. The place where the 'massacre' took place, due northwest of Timbuktu, is still remembered.
148. Quoted in Norris, *The Tuaregs*, p. 99.
149. Ahmad al-Bakkā'i, *Two letters to al-Hājī 'Umar*, fos 66v-70v, especially fo. 67v.
150. The title roughly translates as follows: *Attaining grace and averting evil by avoiding tyrannical rulers*.
151. Al-Maqari, *Rawdat al-As*, p. 305.
152. Ahmad Bāba, *Jalib al-Ni'ma*.
153. See Zoubair, *Ahmad Baba*, pp. 156ff.
154. Ahmad Bāba, *Ma Rawāh*. Only the first folio is extant. Cf. Zoubair, *Ahmad Baba*, pp. 72-3, 109-10.
155. Ahmad Bāba, *Jalib al-Ni'ma*, opening paragraph.
156. Ahmad Bāba, *Ajwiba*, fo. 1r.
157. Ahmad Bāba, *Jalib al-Ni'ma*, cites the authority of Ibn Rushd, Ṣahnūn and others on this subject.
158. *Al-Maghili's replies*, Mas'ala IV.
159. See, for example, 'Abd al-Aziz al-Fishali, *Manāhil al-Ṣafa*, especially pp. 265ff.
160. *Al-Maghili's replies*, opening paragraph.
161. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 11. This statement is exclusive to the defective MS C, but its contextual relevance seems confirmed by an isolated folio which forms the beginning of MSA.
162. In old age, Askia Muhammad was deposed by his son Mūsa and the latter was deposed by his cousin Muhammad Bankānū b. 'Umar Kumzāghu. The old monarch did not concede till the ascension of his son Isma'īl who was ceremoniously invested. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 86. The status of Askia Muhammad in old age bears remarkable resemblance to that of the Malian king Mansa Mūsa II who, after being deposed by his vizier, became the subject of special public reverence (*marjūw li'l-Hidāya*). See Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoires des Berbères*, vol. II, p. 276.
163. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 109-10. Balma 'Jindi may conceivably have given its name to Badyindi.
164. *Ibid*.
165. *Ibid.*, p. 150. Al-Sa'di (p. 139) confirms that 'every reasonable advice that was given to [Askia Ishāq and his generals] they threw behind their backs'.
166. See *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 108-9.
167. Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire, Fonds Brevié, cahier no. 7.
168. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 113-4.
169. The anecdote is related in different sources. See, for example, al-Wufrānī, *Nuzhat*, p. 97.
170. See Dramani-Issifou, *Les relations*, p. 172.
171. Related to the present writer by Alfa Yahya Ibrāhīm of Timbuktu. Cf. Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam*, vol. II, p. 7. Among the Dyula, the institution of the turban as a mark of distinction for the karamoko is attributed to al-Hājī Sālim al-Suwāri. See Wilks, 'The transmission', p. 169.

172. For al-Manṣūr's claims, see for example al-Maqqarī, *Rawḍat al-ʿĀs*, p. 97.
173. Information of Alfa Yahya Ibrāhīm of Timbuktu. It seems doubtful that any Ruma would today identify themselves as 'Uluji.
174. Testimony of Alfa Sālim, present-day *Imām* of Sankore, Timbuktu.
175. Related to this writer by Alfa Yahya Ibrāhīm and others in Timbuktu.
176. Though several traditionalists are acquainted with the legend, none are aware of its context nor of which scholar, among the Gurdus, was involved.
177. More on this in Chapter 6.
178. Al-Bartilī, *Faḥ al-Shukūr*, Nouakchott MS, fo. 60.
179. Al-Imām Sa'd al-Waddāni, *Al-Damīk*, fos 201r–214v. This is a collection of treatises, mostly in verse, on tobacco and tea. MS 6399 bears the title of *Receuil de Textes de Touat*. A biography of Sa'd, including a reference to the fact that he authored several *fatwas*, is to be found in *Faḥ al-Shukūr*, Paris: Giroucourt MS, fo. 35v.
180. See, for example, the reference to 'Abd al-Rahmān (d. 1162 A.H.) b. al-Habīb Bāba (d. 1114 A.H.) b. al-Imām Sa'd b. al-Habīb Bāba b. al-Hādī al-Waddāni in *Dhikr al-Wafayāt*, fo. 1. Cf. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 9.
181. Al-Bartilī, *Faḥ al-Shukūr*, Nouakchott MS, fos 33v–33r.
182. Al-Bartilī, *Faḥ al-Shukūr*, *passim*. Ahmad al-Zaidī's composition was entitled *Rawy al-Fishālīyya*. This composition is of special interest because Ahmad, and especially his father Muhammad b. Mūsā b. Ijlī, were products of the Timbuktu school.
183. Al-Bartilī, *Faḥ al-Shukūr*, Paris: Giroucourt MS, fo. 35r. Elsewhere (fo. 16) al-Bartilī refers to Muhammad Gurdū as 'the grandfather of Muhammad Baghayughu (b. Muhammad Baghayughu) who, in turn, was the *shāikh* of Sidi Ahmad Ag al-Shaikh'. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 138.
184. Al-Bakkā'i, *Two letters to al-Hājī 'Umar*, fo. 69v.
185. Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam*, vol. II, p. 14.
186. The Tuareg have always had a predilection for wearing numerous charms, usually verses from the Qur'ān enclosed in decorated leather amulets.
187. Barth says that the *alfa* or *mallam* 'is the confidential factotum of every Tarki chief'. Barth, 1890, II, p. 332.
188. One *alfa* today in Timbuktu is sought for healing the spiritual ills, or perhaps the psychological troubles, of people.
189. Mūlay Ahmad Bābir, *Sifat Timbuktu*.
190. For example, Muhammad b. Ahmad Baghayughu al-Wangari, the mid-seventeenth-century commentator on al-Sanūsī, was considered *wali* after his death, but the location of his grave is no longer remembered.
191. See al-Maqqarī, *Rawḍat al-ʿĀs*, p. 313.
192. Ahmad Bāba, *Nayl*, pp. 93–5. 'I saw after his death in the world of sleep one of my acquaintances who had died after him . . . He said: "Your father has been given more than has been given to Ahmad b. Sa'id, grandson of al-Faqīh Maḥmūd". He saw that I was surprised at that and he told me that he [was surprised] too. After that someone told me that he saw the same vision. He related it to me before I told him of my own, and my belief in it therefore increased.'
193. Al-Sa'dī, p. 48.
194. *Ibid.*, p. 55. 'Stories which are of a similar nature about [Mūsā] are numerous.'
195. *Ibid.*, p. 173. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh* (pp. 174–5) attributes a variant on the same story to the eye-witness testimony of Ahmad Bāba.
196. See Chung-Li Chang, *The Chinese century*, *passim*.
197. Compare *Ibid.*, p. 32, with Ping-Ti Ho, *The ladder*, pp. 38–9.
198. Al-Sa'dī, pp. 254, 293.
199. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 160.
200. Sān Sirfī became secretary under the scholar-*amir*, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Sanūsī.
201. Wilks, 'The African travels', pp. 156–163.
202. J. O. Hunwick, 'Saliḥ al-Fulāni', unpublished article, kindly shown to this writer by the author.
203. Franz Michael in the introduction to Chang, *The Chinese century*.
204. See above, p. 150. *Za'imat Kunāta*.
205. Willis, *The Torodbe clerisy*, p. 195.
206. The Centre Ahmad Bāba has acquired a collection of *naḥwīl*, entitled *Naḥwīl al-Takrār* which, however, deal with obscurantist rather than substantive issues in the law. The first collection of *naḥwīl*, *Naḥwīl Arwān*, was written by one of the Adda scholars.
207. Chang, *The Chinese century*, pp. 52ff. Also Robert Marsh, *The Mandarins*, especially p. 15. 'Of all the elites, only two per cent were actually in office.'
208. See especially Ho, *The ladder*, *passim*.
209. Al-Bakkā'i, *Two letters to Hājī 'Umar*, fo. 69.
210. Al-Sa'dī, pp. 250–1.
211. Al-Bartilī, *Faḥ al-Shukūr*, Nouakchott MS, fo. 36.
212. See, for example, Ho, *The ladder*, pp. 43ff.
213. Chang, *The Chinese century*, p. 13. 'The title of *en-chien-sheng* was sometimes granted also to descendants of early sages who were originally *fcng-ssu-sheng* . . .'
214. See Ho, *The ladder*, p. 36.
215. The marriage of Muhammad Zankanu to a daughter of al-Qāḍi al-'Aqib also raised the family's status.
216. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, pp. 4, 71, 84, 96 and *passim*.
217. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
218. Al-Sa'dī, pp. 266–7. Al-Sa'dī refers to Mansa Muhammad b. Mansa 'Alī, the Lord of Fadaku, as 'my friend'.
219. Phyllis Ferguson, *Islamization in Dagbon*, pp. 55–63.
220. Al-Hājī Marhaba, *Tārīkh Islām Bābu*, especially fos 16–7, p. 25.
221. Wilks, 'The African travels', p. 158.
222. *Persistence of the patriciate*
1. See, for example, Marion Johnson, 'Calico caravans'
 2. The *alfas* in the late nineteenth century linked the decline of learning directly to the declining wealth of the city. See Dubois, *Tombouctou la mystérieuse*, pp. 360–1.
 3. Minet, *The primitive city*, *passim*.
 4. *Ibid.*, pp. 84–5.
 5. The *Diwān al-Mulūk* (fos 88r–185v) provides a coherent chronological narrative up to the second reign of Mas'ūd b. Maṣūr (Sanibar) b. Maṣūr (erroneously referred to as Maṣūr b. Sanibar b. Maṣūr) in 1716–9, a period which witnessed a dramatic conflict between Pasha and scholars. After that, the information of the extant copy is disoriented and disordered. Most references will henceforth be made to the more coherent *Tadhkira*.
 6. Michel Abitbol, *Tombouctou*.
 7. For example, Willis' contribution in Ajayi and Crowder, *History of West Africa*, pp. 441–83.
 8. Abitbol, *Tombouctou*, pp. 185ff.
 9. Caillié, *Journal d'un voyage*, vol. II, p. 306.
 10. Mas'ūd b. Maṣūr was singled out in the *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 22. Other Ruma notables were modestly learned in good Arabic. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 22. Other Ruma notables were modestly learned in the early eighteenth century.
 11. There was a tendency for many Songhai along the Niger east of Timbuktu to be identified as Ruma. Barth, *Travels and discoveries* vol. V, *passim*.
 12. Al-Sa'dī, p. 141.

13. Hama Boubou, *Histoire*, *passim*.
14. Al-Sa'di, pp. 151–2; *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 160ff.
15. Al-Sa'di, p. 152.
16. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 169.
17. The attitude of the Khajīb, Mahmūd Darāmī, is ambiguous. For, while he readily tendered the submission of Gao to the Moroccans, he was evidently more sympathetic to the Askias. Al-Sa'di, p. 151.
18. The peace began taking shape c. 1610, but was not finalized until around 1630. According to al-Sa'di, p. 176, Sulaimān got most of his supporters from forces captured by Pasha Maṣṣūr after a defeat of Askia Nuḥ in an engagement dating to 1595.
19. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 181.
20. The lineage factor seems pertinent especially in the case of Askia al-Mukhtār (c. 1130 A.H. = 1717/18 A.D.) who reigned at Timbuktu. His uncles and great-uncles, like his grandfather, had reigned only at Dendi.
21. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 182.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 183–4. The struggle was between descendants of Askia Daūd I, and hence descendants of Askia al-Hajj Muhammad I, on the one hand, and between descendants of the latter's brother, 'Umar Kumzāghu. It lasted three years up until 1117 A.H. (1705/6 A.D.).
23. See *infra*.
24. Al-Fishṭālī, *Manāhil al-Safa*, pp. 163–4.
25. Al-Sa'di, p. 191.
26. See al-Fishṭālī, *Manāhil al-Safa*, p. 203.
27. *Ibid.* Also al-Sa'di, pp. 181–2.
28. By 1150 A.H. (1737/38 A.D.), the Shraqa among the Ruma, at least, resided principally in the desert. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 111.
29. Al-Fishṭālī, *Manāhil al-Safa*, p. 203.
30. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān* (p. 93) mentions that the presence of 41 Ruma from Ahl Dayir, with their Kahia, was necessary for investing a Pasha. But the Ahl Dayir represented a minor detachment, compared to the Fāsi, Marākushi and even Shraqa divisions. Al-Sa'di, p. 193, allows for the possibility that the reorganization of the army in the Sudan, dating sometime around 1605/6, was done without authorization from Mulay Bu Fāris, who at that time briefly succeeded al-Manṣūr.
31. See al-Sa'di, p. 139, on Hammu b. 'Abd al-Haq al-Dara'i.
32. See al-Barṭilī, *Faṭḥ al-Shukūr*, *passim* and Nouakehott MS, fo. 28r.
33. See G. S. Colin, 'Chronique'.
34. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 155–6.
35. Al-Sa'di, p. 142.
36. Al-Manṣūr, al-Sultān Aḥmad, 'Letter to al-Qāḍi 'Umar b. Mahmūd Aqit'. The text of this letter is included in al-Fishṭālī, *Manāhil al-Safa*, pp. 131–2. 'Since you are in that kingdom [of Songhai] in charge of its shari'a laws . . . we have addressed ourselves to you on the occasion [of sending our army] so that you might be the first to respond [favourably] to its call . . . 'Al-Manṣūr had previously sent a letter of a similar sort to Askia Ishāq, but had received a rebuff. That letter treated the Songhai monarch as a provincial *amir*, describing him as 'the chief of Gao, and its grande' and claiming Sa did right of sovereignty over him. Al-Manṣūr, al-Sultān Aḥmad, 'Letter to Askia Ishāq'. Al-Sa'di comments on the letter, p. 137.
37. When Jūdār asked for quarters for himself and his army, al-Qāḍi 'Umar told him 'I am not a king and I cannot give away anybody else's home [except my own] . . . ' *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 155–6.
38. Compare *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 156–8, with Mahmūd b. Zarfūn, *Letter to al-Qāḍi 'Umar*.
39. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 158.
40. Al-Sa'di, pp. 147, 155–6. Yahya's attack on the Ruma fort is dated c. October 10, 1591,

while the uprising began c. October 19–29, 1591 (See French translation, pp. 229, 240).

41. Al-Sa'di, pp. 155–6.
42. Compare al-Fishṭālī, *Manāhil al-Safa*, p. 276, with *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 167–8.
43. Al-Sa'di, pp. 164–5.
44. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 170.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 171–2.
46. Mahmūd b. Zarfūn, 'Letter to al-Qāḍi 'Umar b. Mahmūd Aqit'.
47. Al-Sa'di, pp. 166–7.
48. See al-Wufrānī, *Nuzhat*, p. 173, apparently quoting al-Fishṭālī.
49. Al-Maqqari, *Rawdat al-As*, p. 314.
50. Aḥmad Bāba, *Al-La'ālī*, fo. 1.
51. Al-Maqqari, *Rawdat al-As*, p. 314; al-Wufrānī, *Nuzhat*, p. 98.
52. Aḥmad Bāba, *Nayl*, p. 114.
53. Aḥmad Bāba, *Minan al-Rabb*, colophon.
54. Colin, 'Chronique anonyme'.
55. Zaidān is quoted after Aḥmad Bāba as saying: 'My father lost these forces in vain'. Al-Sa'di, p. 191.
56. Al-Wufrānī, *Nuzhat*, p. 97.
57. See al-Nāsiri, *Kitāb*, vol. V, *passim*.
58. Al-Maqqari, *Rawdat al-As*, p. 304.
59. A fuller discussion of Aḥmad Bāba's Moroccan students is in Zoubair, *Aḥmad Baba*, pp. 56ff.
60. Al-Wufrānī, *Nuzhat*, p. 98. Compare with Abu'l-Mahd b. Aḥmad al-Fāsi who states that Aḥmad was more highly honoured in Morocco than in his hometown. See the preface to Aḥmad Bāba's *Mir'aj al-Sa'ad*, Rabat: Bibliothèque Générale, MS J100.
61. Quoted, among others, by al-Wufrānī, *Nuzhat*, p. 206.
62. This is according to Abu'l-Mahd al-Fāsi (see note 60 above). According to this source, Zaidān soon regretted that he allowed Aḥmad Bāba to leave and sent someone after him into the Sahara, but the emissary could not convince the old scholar to return.
63. See al-Wufrānī, *Nuzhat*, p. 203. This source, like al-Nāsiri, says Abu'l-Mahd himself mentioned Aḥmad Bāba among his teachers, but it has not been possible to confirm this in Abu'l-Mahd's works.
64. Al-Sa'di, pp. 173, 205–6.
65. Abu'l-Mahd (Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh), *Aṣṣū*, MS 100, fo. 29r (MS 4442 is more legible, but the folios are disordered).
66. *Ibid.*
67. Al-Sa'di, pp. 10–11.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 152. Cf. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, pp. 152ff.
69. Al-Sa'di, pp. 180–1.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 166–7.
71. Muhammad Aḥmad al-Gharbi, *Murūtiya wa-Mashāghil al-Maghrib al-Jfiriyya* (Rabat, 1964), p. 159. Other particulars of this interpretation, much like Kodjo's, are not supported by the evidence (see, for example, p. 161).
72. Al-Sa'di, pp. 144–5.
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 175–6.
74. Idris of Bornu, 'Bī'a to al-Sultān Aḥmad al-Manṣūr. The *bī'a* was drafted in Morocco by al-Fishṭālī himself and later merely endorsed by Idris.
75. See al-Wufrānī, *Nuzhat*, pp. 208–66. Judging from correspondence which is cited here between Zaidān and Sidi Yahya, the relations between the two after the initial alliance were strained.
76. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

77. Al-Sa'di, especially p. 193; al-Wufrāni, *Nuzhat*, p. 196.
78. Al-Sa'di, p. 170. Muḥammad b. al-Amin Gānu could, of course, have held the title-nickname Bābu Gūr or Bāba Gūru. 'Gūru' is now a title among the Fulānis of the Gunda area. In Songhai its meaning is obscure but it could stand for 'hyena'.
79. Quoted in *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 176.
80. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-7. It is possible that Askī Alfa Bakr Lunbāri, the Songhai secretary, had testified against the Aqīs, but there is no reference or allusion to any notables or full-fledged scholars who might have done so.
81. Al-Sa'di, pp. 76-7.
82. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh* (p. 182) dates the accession of Muḥammad to October-November 1593, though also saying that it took place after the departure of the Aqīs, an event dating to March 1594. Cf. al-Sa'di, p. 173.
83. Al-Sa'di (p. 211) says briefly: 'Al-Faqīh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāḍi 'Abd al-Rahmān took charge of the judgeship by the order of the Pasha Maḥmūd at the hands of Habīb b. Muḥammad Bāba ...'.
84. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 182.
85. Al-Sa'di, p. 198.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 180. Al-Qāḍi al-Muṣṭafa, on the other hand, sold all who fell to his portion and that of his companions.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200. 'Ali saw that 'the seizure of the Jenneko is not in the [state's] interest and would result in wounds which would be difficult to heal'.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
90. Al-Sa'di (p. 312) praises Askia al-Amin very highly and suggests that the bribery charge against Kara Idji was not unfounded.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 223. 'They dispersed the *rumāt* who came with al-Qāḍi Māmi in the countryside whereby each group joined one of the 'Uḷūj and Andalusi detachments. As for Māmi, they sent him to Gao and he stayed there till he died.'
92. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-4.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 227; *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 178.
94. Al-Sa'di, p. 228.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
96. *Tārīkh al-Fatāsh*, p. 34. Al-Qāḍi Sayyid Aḥmad allegedly proclaimed that Mansa Misa had marched with 8000 men at the time of his own pilgrimage. The Judge must have made the statement immediately after Pasha 'Ali's departure for he also reportedly added: 'Ali b. 'Abd al-Qāḍi's purpose may not be accomplished'.
97. Al-Sa'di, p. 232.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 237. Cf. p. 172 on Shams al-Din b. al-Qāḍi Muḥammad Aqī.
99. Al-Wufrāni and other Moroccan chroniclers barely mention the reign of al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Shaikh. Cf. al-Sa'di, p. 322.
100. Abitbol, *Tombouctou*, *passim*.
101. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 90.
102. *Ibid.*
103. *Dhikr al-Wafayāt*, *passim*, especially fo. 29r.
104. Abitbol, *Tombouctou*, *passim*.
105. Ismā'īl, Mūlāy al-Sulṭān, *Letter to Timbuktu*. Cf. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, *passim*, on the Mujahid scholars.
106. Ismā'īl, *Letter to Timbuktu*, fo. 215v.
107. *Ibid.*, fo. 214r.
108. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 95.
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-8.
110. In 1736, when a grandson of Mūlāy Ismā'īl, 'Abdullāh b. Nāṣir, appeared in Jenne, he was told: 'We know no one but the Pashas. As for you, we do not know your status,

- nor who you are, nor do we care.' Later, the same 'Abdullāh was honoured and given presents by all the notables, excepting, it seems, the local Shurfā. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 65.
111. *Tārīkh al-Wulmān*. The sequence of the Askias is likewise confused in this source. The first investiture of an Amenokal by a Pasha at Timbuktu took place in 1600. At that time, Kandenna, who had long been reigning, came for formal recognition to Timbuktu. This might suggest weakness of the Wulmān at this juncture, or alternatively, that they now established a formal basis for influence in the region of Timbuktu. See also Norris, *The Tuaregs*, pp. 100-1.
112. See Timbuktu Notables, *Letter to Mūlāy al-Ḥasan*, (dated Dhu'l Q'ida, 1310 A.H. = 1892/3 A.D.). Extracts from Mūlāy al-Ḥasan's answer are quoted in Marty, *Études sur l'Islam*, vol. II, p. 69.
113. Al-Sa'di, p. 278.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 291. Besides honouring the chronicler's brother (p. 293), Pasha Ḥamad b. Haddū witnessed the accession of the first Maghia scholar to the judgeship.
115. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, *passim*.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
117. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-3.
118. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-2.
119. Al-Sa'di, p. 264.
120. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, pp. 16, 172.
121. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6. The information of the *Tadhkirat* on the period from 1655 to 1700 is brief and rather sketchy.
122. *Ibid.*, pp. 187ff (list of Kabara Farma).
123. *Ibid.*, p. 185. Also al-Sa'di, p. 284 on Maṣūr.
124. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, for example, p. 17. The French translation (p. 27) has 'We no longer want him' for 'ma hana' fih'.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
126. *Dhikr al-Wafayāt*, fo. 24r. 'Abd al-Ghaffar reigned five months.
127. *Ibid.*, p. 51. Leghbu is possibly gum arabic.
128. *Ibid.*, pp. 16ff. More on this *infra*.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
130. See James Grey Jackson, *An account of the Empire of Morocco*, pp. 282ff.
131. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 45.
132. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-9.
133. *Ibid.*, p. 22. Maṣūd was befriended by a Tuareg scholar identified as Muḥammad b. Tāhir al-Targi. This man was killed in the wake of Maṣūd's fall (p. 143).
134. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
136. Information of Alfa Yahya Ibrāhīm of Timbuktu.
137. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, pp. 140-1.
138. See *Ibid.*, pp. 50-3, on Maṣūd's (Maṣūr's) re-entry to Timbuktu. He aligned himself with the Tazarkinis for a short time, then switched over to the side of the Dara'is. At that time, the Tibshasha remained vacant for almost four years (1723-6).
139. *Ibid.*, especially pp. 124, 129.
140. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
141. The practice survived at least for one century from 1690 to c. 1795.
142. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 33.
143. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-8.
144. More on this below.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
147. See genealogy of the Askia dynasty and its successors in the Appendices.

148. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 155.
 149. See, for example, *ibid.*, p. 69.
 150. We do not know the sequence of Askias at Dendi after the mid-seventeenth century. A century later, Askia al-Hajj resided mostly away from Timbuktu and the *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān* (p. 185) says of his successor, Mahmūd b. Kunfari 'Annār. He is now in the provinces, but we heard that they have deposed him'.
 151. As known from several sources, 'Uthmān b. Bābā (Abu Bakr) was son of Bābā b. Bāhaddu who, in turn, was Bāhaddu b. Bābā b. Alfa Mansūr b. Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Mubārak al-Darā'i. See *Dhikr al-Wafayāt*, fos. 26r and *passim*; *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 164.
 152. The copy in question is at Dakar: Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire, Fonds Brevié, Cahier no. 23. The same copy came into the ownership of 'Abdullāh b. al-Imām b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Imām Zungu Ijī, a Songhai or Ruma it seems, judging by the Ijī surname, whose father served as *imām* at an unspecified mosque. Ahmad himself (the copyist) was Pasha in 1709 and was known as Hammādi Zungu. See *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 94.
 153. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, p. 179.
 154. It seems that the Ruma notables feigned obedience to Mas'ūd for some time, but neglected his orders after having secretly deposed him. The old Qādī was unaware of this. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
 155. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
 156. *Ibid.*
 157. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, pp. 79–80.
 158. *Ibid.*, pp. 112–3.
 159. *Tārīkh Arwān*.
 160. *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, pp. 106–7. The author apparently received his information on these events from a certain 'Abdullāh al-Kunū, a brother or nephew of 'Abd al-Mu'min.
 161. *Ibid.*, p. 78. The occasion was the murder of one of the Dura'is, Kāhīa 'Alī b. al-Jasīm, followed by a retaliation against merchants affiliated to the Tazar-kinis.
 162. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
 163. *Dhikr al-Wafayāt*, fo. 33r. By this time, the briefly reigning Bābā b. Bāhaddu had been deposed, but continued to be looked upon as 'Pasha'.
 164. *Ibid.*, fos. 28vff. The Tingeregif eventually broke away, under the leadership of Hamāti, from the rest of the Tadmekkat in 1227 A.H. (1812/13 A.D.).
 165. See Barth, *Travels and discoveries*, vol. V, *passim*. Cf. Awwāb, 'Amān Document in favour of 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ingfisi [Barth]', quoted in 'Abdelqader Zebadia, pp. 67–8.
 166. Wilks, 'African travels of Wargee', p. 185.
 167. *Dhikr al-Wafayāt*, fo. 32v.
 168. Wilks, 'African travels of Wargee', p. 184.
 169. Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam*, vol. I, p. 26.
 170. *Dhikr Waqā'i*, fo. 4.
 171. See Zebadia, *The career*; al-Batrān, 'An introductory note'.
 172. *Kitāb Tārīkh al-Fūāwī*.
 173. *Ibid.*, fo. 5.
 174. *Dhikr Waqā'i*, fo. 5.
 175. Al-Bakkā'i, *Letter to al-Hājj 'Umur*, fo. 67.
 176. *Kitāb Tārīkh al-Fūāwī*, fos. 6ff.
 177. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muhammad b. Ahmad, *Letter to Alimadu Lobbo*. The writer may be possibly al-Qādi 'Abd al-Qādir al-Sanūsi.
 178. *Wafayāt Timbuktu*.
 179. See, for example, Lenz, *Timbouctou*, vol. II, p. 150.
 180. *Dhikr al-Wafayāt*, fos. 28ff.

181. See, for example, al-Mukhtar, *Ajwiba*, fos. 219r ff. Cf. Ahmadu [Lobbo] b. Muhammad, 'Proclamation'; this prohibits contact between men and women not married or closely related.
 182. Ahmad b. Ahmad [b. Ahmadu Lobbo], *Letter to Gūru b. Sa'id*, fo. 3.
 183. The success of Hājj 'Umar remains problematical though Robinson has emphasized that he relied on recruits from his native Futa Toro. See David Robinson, 'Abdul Qādir', p. 286.
 184. According to a fragment (Fonds Gironcourt, MS 2406, pièce 70), Bakkā'i's army included 'Urbān (presumably Kunta and Barābish clansmen), Tuareg and students of the Shaikh.
 185. Sa'id b. Abu Bakr al-Futi, 'A letter to Amīr al-Mu'minīn Sidi Ahmad al-Bakkā'i', Recueil 2, MS 30. Similarly al-Bakkā'i is addressed as a monarch in Recueil 2, MS 28.
 186. A version of *Dhikr Waqā'i* which is favourable to the Tijānis is found at Paris: Institut de France, Fonds Gironcourt, MS 2406, pièce 75.
 187. *Dhikr Waqā'i* (Timbuktu MS), fo. 16.
 188. *Ibid.*
 189. Lenz, 1887, II, p. 132.
 190. Ibrāhīm, al-Kāhīa, *Letter to the French*.
 191. Mali National Archives, 'Notes et fiches'.
 192. *Dhikr Waqā'i*, fo. 14.
 193. Information of the Timbuktu Ruma elder Ahmadu Badiji.
 194. Ahmad Bāba b. Abu'l-'Abbās, *Letter on behalf of Timbuktu to the Lieutenant Boiteux*.
 195. Timbuktu Notables, 'Letter to the French Government'.
 196. See Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam*, vol. II, pp. 15–8.
 197. See *ibid.*, p. 18.
 198. *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.
 199. *Wafayāt Timbuktu*, fo. 1.
 200. Interview with Alfa Humal, *Imām* of Jingerebir, Timbuktu.
 201. Ahmad Bāba's descent is recorded by Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam*, vol. I, Annexe III, and was related to this writer by Ahmad Bāba's son, Alfa Zubair.
 202. Information of Alfa Humal, Timbuktu.