

California State University, San Bernardino

CSUSB ScholarWorks

Library Faculty Publications

John M. Pfau Library

2004

Rulers, Scholars, and Invaders: A Select Bibliography of the Songhay Empire

Brent D. Singleton

California State University, San Bernardino, bsinglet@csusb.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/library-publications>



Part of the [African History Commons](#), [African Languages and Societies Commons](#), and the [Islamic World and Near East History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Singleton, Brent D., "Rulers, Scholars, and Invaders: A Select Bibliography of the Songhay Empire" (2004). *Library Faculty Publications*. 22.

<https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/library-publications/22>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the John M. Pfau Library at CSUSB ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Library Faculty Publications by an authorized administrator of CSUSB ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@csusb.edu.

Singleton, Brent. "Rulers, Scholars, and Invaders: A Select Bibliography of the Songhay Empire." *History in Africa*, 31 (2004): 357-368. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4128532>

Rulers, Scholars, and Invaders: A Select Bibliography of the Songhay Empire

The Songhay Empire was a remarkable West African state, flourishing in several areas, including: territorial and trade expansion, development of a strong military and centralized government, unprecedented support for learning and scholarship, and skilful relations with the greater Sudanic and Islamic lands. Songhay arose out of the remains of the Mali Empire under the rule of Sonni Ali in 1464. Yet, it was the empire's second ruler, Askiya Muhammad, who initiated the century long Golden Age of peace and stability, bringing Songhay to its zenith. This era was particularly fruitful for the cities of Gao, Timbuktu, and Jenne, the empire's administrative, scholarly, and trade centers respectively. Timbuktu soared to preeminence in the Sudan and became known in other parts of the Muslim world, producing respected many scholars. However, by the later part of the 16th century fractious disarray amongst the descendents of Askia Muhammad weakened the state, ultimately leading to the Moroccan invasion of 1591. Songhay's capitulation to the invaders ended the age of the great medieval West African states.

The purpose of this bibliography is to collocate the major scholarly resources, providing a solid introduction to researching the Songhay Empire. The included works are books, book chapters, journal articles, and conference proceedings published through 2002, as well as a small number of significant unpublished dissertations. The citations represent scholarly research on the topic in: English, French, Arabic, Spanish, Italian, German, and Polish. Also included are several published primary resources in many languages often incorporating: dual text translations, transcriptions, and transliterations of the original documents. The included resources are limited to those that focus on or contain discreet chapters or sections pertaining to the Songhay Empire. General works about African history not meeting these criteria, or other sources that mention the Songhay Empire merely in passing are omitted. The arrangement of citations is from general to specific, after primary materials and general history categories, the works are ordered by topic and further broken down by subtopics where applicable. Notes have been included for clarification, content description, or reference to other publications where an item has been published.

Primary Materials

1. Hunwick, John O. 1974. "Source Materials for the History of Songhai, Borno and Hausaland in the Sixteenth Century." *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 7(3): 579--86.
2. Ibn 'Ali, Sidi 'Umar. 1995--1998. *Fihris makhtutat Markaz Ahmad Baba lil--Tawthiq wa--al--Buhuth al--Tarikhiyah bi--Tinbuktu / Handlist of Manuscripts in the Centre de Documentation et de Recherches Historiques Ahmed Baba, Timbuktu*. London: Al--Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation.
3. Leo, Africanus. 1969. *A Geographical Historie of Africa*. New York: Da Capo Press.
4. Monteil, Vincent. 1967. "Les manuscrits historiques arabo--africain (III)." *Bulletin de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, Série B* 29 (3--4): 599--603.

For other primary materials see entries: 33--35, 37, 62, 65, 66, 77, 80, 82, 87, 102, 105, and 129--131.

General History

5. Awe, Bolande. 1965. "Empires of the Western Sudan: Ghana, Mali, Songhay." In *A Thousand Years of West African History*, ed. J.F. Ade Ajayi and Ian Espie, 55--71. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.
6. Béraud--Villars, Jean Marcel Eugène. 1942. *L'empire de Gaô un état soudanais aux XVe et XVIe siècles*. Paris: Plon.
7. Boulnois, Jean, and Boubou Hama. 1954. *L'empire de Gao; histoire, coutumes et magie des Sonrai*. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient.
8. Bovill, E. W. 1995. "The Rise and Fall of the Songhai Empire." In *The Golden Trade of the Moors: West African Kingdoms in the Fourteenth Century*. 2nd rev. ed., 132--206. Princeton, N.J.: Marcus Weiner.
9. Cissoko, Sékéné Mody. 1984. "The Songhay from the 12th to the 16th Century." In *General History of Africa, Vol. 4*, ed. D.T. Niane, 187--210. London: Heinemann.
10. Fischer, Rudolf. 1982. *Gold, Salz und Sklaven: die Geschichte der grossen Sudanreiche: Gana, Mali, Songhai*. Tübingen: Edition Erdmann.
11. Hama, Boubou. 1974. *L'empire Songhay, ses ethnies, ses légendes et ses personnages historiques*. Paris: P.J. Oswald.
12. ———. 1968. *Histoire des Songhay*. Paris: Présence africaine.

13. Hunwick, John O. 1972. "Songhay, Bornu and Hausaland in the Sixteenth Century." In *History of West Africa, Vol. 1*, ed. J.F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder, 202--39. New York: Columbia University Press.
14. Levtzion, Nehemia. 1977. "The Hegemony of Songhay." In *Cambridge History of Africa, Vol. 3*, ed. Roland Oliver, 415--62. London Cambridge University Press.
15. Niane, Djibril Tamsir. 1975. *Le Soudan occidental au temps des grands empires: XI--XVIe siècle*. Paris: Présence africaine.
16. Rouch, J. 1953. "L'Empire Songhay." *Mémoires de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire* 29: 161--209.
17. Tymowski, Michal. 1997. "Moments classiques de l'Etat songhay (Xe--XVIe siècles)." *Studia Africana* 8: 95--106.

Environs (Timbuktu, Gao and Jenne)

18. Cissoko, Sékéné Mody. 1996. *Tombouctou et l'empire Songhay: épanouissement du Soudan nigérien aux XVe--XVIe siècles*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
19. Gomez, Michael A. 1990. "Timbuktu Under Imperial Songhay: A Reconsideration of Autonomy." *Journal of African History* 31 (1): 5--24.
20. Konaré Ba, Adam. 1999. "Djenné, des origines à la pénétration coloniale, un aperçu historique." In *Djenné: d'hier à demain*, ed. Joseph Brunet--Jailly, 27--44. Bamako, Mali: Editions Donniya.
21. Lange, Dierk. 1994. "From Mande to Songhay: Towards a Political and Ethnic History of Medieval Gao." *Journal of African History* 35 (2): 275--301.
22. Monteil, Charles. 1971. "Histoire générale du pays de Djenné." In *Une cité soudanaise; Djenné, métropole du delta central du Niger*, 27--82. Paris: Société D'Éditions Géographiques.
23. Pefontan, Lt. 1922. "Histoire de Tombouctou, de sa fondation à l'occupation française (XIIe siècle--1893)." *Bulletin: Comité d'études historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale française* 5: 81--113.

For other materials on environs see entries: 50, 67, 97, 109, 110, 112, and 113.

Rulers

24. ———. 1995. "Piety and Power: Relations Between the Religious Estate and the Ruling State in Songhay Under the Askiyas." In *Le Maroc et l'Afrique subsaharienne aux débuts des temps modernes: les Sa'adiens et l'empire Songhay*, 283--303. Rabat: Université Mohammed V--Souissi, Institut des études africaines.
25. ———. 1966. "Religion and State in the Songhay Empire, 1464--1591." *Islam in Tropical Africa*, ed. I.M. Lewis, 296--317. London: Oxford University Press.
26. Tymowski, Michal. 1990. "Légitimation du pouvoir de la dynastie Askia au Songhay du XVIe siècle: islam et culture locale." *Hemispheres* 7: 189--98.
27. ———. 1970. "Les domaines des princes du Songhay (Soudan occidental). Comparaison avec la grande propriété foncière en Europe au début de l'époque féodale." *Annales; économies, sociétés, civilisations* 25 (6): 1637--58.
28. Zabadiyah, 'Abd al--Qadir. 1971. *Mamlakat Singhay fi ahd al--asiqiyin*. Algiers: al--Sharikah al--Wataniyah lil--Nashr wa--al--Tawzi'.

For other materials on rulers see entries: 19, 86, 92, 93, 98, and 99.

Askiya Muhammad

29. 'Ali, Fayy Mansur. 1997. *Askiya al--Hajj Muhammad wa--ihya' dawlat al--Sunghhay al--Islamiyah: 889--935 H/1493--1529 M*. Tripoli: Manshurat Kulliyat al--Da'wah al--Islamiyah.
30. Blum, Charlotte, and Fisher Humphrey. 1993. "Love for Three Oranges, or, the Askiya's Dilemma: The Askiya, al--Maghili and Timbuktu, c. 1500 A.D." *Journal of African History* 34 (1): 65--91.
31. Hama, Boubou. 1980. *Askia Mohammed Aboubacar, l'élhadj et le khalife, à travers la tradition et le "Fettach"*. Niamey: Centre d'études linguistique et historique par tradition orale.
32. Hunwick, John O. 1992. "A Note on Askiya Muhammad's Meeting with al--Suyuti." *Sudanic Africa* 2: 175--6. Available online: <http://www.hf.uib.no/smi/sa/02/2Askiya.pdf>
33. ———. 1991. "Al--Aqib al Anusammani's Replies to the Questions of Askia al--Hajj Muhammad: The Surviving Fragment." *Sudanic Africa* 2: 139--63. Includes English translation and facsimile of original.

34. ———. 1990. "Askia al-Hajj Muhammad and His Successors: The Account of al-Imam al-Takruri." *Sudanic Africa* 1: 85--89. Arabic text and English translation of an extract entitled *Nasihah ahl al-Sudan* by al-Imam al-Takruri.
35. Kake, Ibrahima Baba. 1976. *Askia Mohamed: l'apogée de l'empire Songhay*. Paris: ABC.
36. Al-Maghili, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim. 1985. *Shari'a in Songhay: The Replies of al-Maghili to the Questions of Askia al-Hajj Muhammad*, ed. and trans. John O. Hunwick. New York: Oxford University Press. See also: Mbaye, El-Hadji Ravane. 1972. "Un aperçu de l'Islam Songhay ou Réponses d'Al-Maghilî aux questions posées par Askia El-Hadj Muhammad, Empereur de Gao." *Bulletin de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, Série B* 34 (2): 237--267. Questions and answers with French translations.
37. Pardo, Anne W. 1971. "The Songhay Empire Under Sonni Ali and Askia Muhammad: A Study in Comparisons and Contrasts." In *Aspects of West African Islam*, ed. Daniel F. McCall and Norman R. Bennett, 41--59. Boston: African Studies Center, Boston University.
38. Takaytak, Jamilah Imhammad. 1998. *Mamlakat Singhay al-Islamiyah fi 'ahd al-Askiya Muhammad al-Kabir, 1493--1528 M*. Tripoli: Markaz Jihad al-Libiyin lil-Dirasat al-Tarikhiyah.

For other materials on Askiya Muhammad see entries: 77--80.

Sonni Ali

39. Kaba, Lansiné. 1978. "Les chroniqueurs Musulmans et Sonni Ali ou un aperçu de l'Islam et de la politique au Songhay au XV^e Siècle." *Bulletin de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, Série B* 40 (1): 49--65.
40. ———. 1977. *Sonni Ali--Ber: fondateur de l'empire Songhay*. Paris: ABC.
41. Konaré Ba, Adam. 1977. *Sonni Ali Ber*. Niamey: Institut de recherches en sciences humaines.
42. Palausi, G. 1958. "Un projet d'hydraulique fluviale soudanaise au XV^e siècle: Le canal de Sonni--Ali." *Notes Africaines* 78: 47--9.

For other materials on Sonni Ali see entry: 38.

Foreign Relations

43. Fisher, Humphrey J. 1978. "Leo Africanus and the Songhay Conquest of Hausaland." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 11 (1): 86--112.
44. Kubbel, L.E. 1969. "On the History of Social Relations in the West Sudan in the 8th to the 15th Centuries." *Africa in Soviet Studies Annual 1968*, 109--28. Moscow: Central Department of Oriental Literature.
45. Lhote, Henri. 1955. "Contribution à l'étude des toureg soudanais: les Saghmâra, les Maghcharen, les expéditions de l'Askia Mohamed en Aïr et la confusion de Takedda--Tademekka." *Bulletin de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, Série B* 17 (3--4): 334--370.
46. Sartain, E. M. 1971. "Jalal ad--Din as--Suyuti's Relations with the People of Takrur." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 16 (2): 193--98.
47. Tymowski, Michal. 1999. "Terytorium i granice Songhaju w koncu XV i w XVI wieku: problem centrum i obszarów peryferyjnych wielkiego państwa zachodnioafrykańskiego." *Przegląd Historyczny* 90 (4): 491--510.

Moroccan Dispute and Invasion

48. Abdallah, Fadel I. 1986--87. "The Role of the 'Ulama in the Resistance Against the Moroccan Invasion of the Sudan." *Current Bibliography on African Affairs* 19 (1): 47--60.
49. Abitbol, Michel. 1979. *Tombouctou et les Arma de la conquête marocaine du Soudan nigérien en 1591 à l'hégémonie de l'empire Peulh du Macina en 1833*. Paris: G.--P. Maisonneuve et Larose.
50. Boisboissel, Y. de. 1956. "Une expédition militaire trans--saharienne au XVI^e siècle de Maroc au Niger: la colonne Djouder (1591)." *Revue internationale d'histoire militaire*, no. 17: 123--34.
51. Castries, Lt. Colonel H. de. 1923. "La conquête du Soudan par El--Mansour (1591)." *Hespéris* 3 (4): 433--88.
52. De Slane, W. MacGukin. 1856. "Conquête du Soudan par les Marocains, en l'an 999 (1590--1 de J.--C.): Récit extrait de l'ouvrage d'un historien arabe." *Revue Africaine* 1 (1): 287--298. Contains excerpts from Ahmad Baba.
53. Dokunmu, Femi. 1986. "An Appraisal of the Moroccan Conquest of the Western Sudan in the 16th Century." *Essays in History: Journal of the Historical Society, University of Lagos* 5: 53--57.

54. Dramani--Issifou, Zakari. 1982. *L'Afrique noire dans les relations internationales au XVI^e siècle: analyse de la crise entre le Maroc et le Sonrhäi*. Paris: Centre de recherches africaines.
55. Haïdara, Ismaël Diadié. 1997. *L'Espagne musulmane et l'Afrique subsaharienne*. Bamako: Editions Donniya.
56. ———. 1993. *El Bajá Yawdar y la conquista saadi del Songhay (1591--1599)*. Almeria: Almeria Instituto de Estudios Almerienses. Also published in French as: Haïdara, Ismaël Diadié. 1996. *Jawdar Pasha et la conquête saâdienne du Songhay, 1591--1599*. Rabat: Institut des etudes africaines.
57. Hunwick, John O. 1962. "Ahmad Baba and the Moroccan Invasion of the Sudan (1591)." *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 2: 311--28.
58. Kaba, Lansiné. 1981. "Archers, Musketeers, and Mosquitos: The Moroccan Invasion of the Sudan and the Songhay Resistance (1591--1612)." *Journal of African History* 22 (4): 457--475.
Originally published in French as: Kaba, Lansiné. 1980. "Les Archers, Les mousquetaires et les Moustiques: une interpretation de l'invasion Marocaine du Soudan et la resistance Songhay (1591--1616)." *Bulletin de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, Série B* 42 (1): 1--36.
59. Kaké, Ibrahima Baba. 1975. *Djouder: la fin de l'Empire Songhay*. Paris: ABC.
60. Kotker, Norman. 1992. "The Golden Mirage of Songhai." *MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History* 4 (3): 92--99.
61. Lévi--Provençal, Evariste. 1955. "Un document inédit sur l'expédition Sa'dide au Soudan." *Arabica* 2: 89--96. Includes a letter to al--Qadi 'Umar b. Mahmud Aqit from Mahmud b. Zarqun, presented as a facsimile of original, Arabic transcription, and French translation.
62. Lo, Ibrahima. 1995. "Les mines de sel de Taghazza dans les rivalités entre le Maroc et l'empire Songhay au XVI^e siècle." *Afrika Zamani* 2nd Series 3: 141--49.
63. Mauny, Raymond. 1949. "L'expédition marocaine d'Oudane (Mauritanie) vers 1543--1544." *Bulletin de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, Série B* 11: 129--140. Describes a failed attempt against the Songhay.

64. Monod, Théodore. 1964. "A propos d'un document concernant la conquête du Soudan par le Pacha Djouder (1591)." *Académie royale des sciences d'outre-mer. Bulletin des séances. Nouv. Ser.* 10: 770--91.
65. Paniel, Georges. 1953. "Les Préliminaires de la conquête de Soudan par Maulay Ahmad al-Mansur (d'après trois documents inédits)." *Hespéris* 40 (1--2): 186--197. Includes letters to Askiya Ishaq II.
66. Prost, André. 1956. "Légendes songhay." *Bulletin de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, Série B* 18: 188--201. Particularly note pages 199--201, "La conquête marocaine de Gao d'après la légende songhay".
67. Rainero, Romain. 1966. "La bataille de Tondibi (1591) et la conquête marocaine de l'Empire Songhay." *Genève--Afrique* 5: 217--47. Also published in Italian as: Rainero, Romain. 1966. "La battaglia di Tondibi e la conquista marocchina dell'impero songhay." *Africa* (Rome) 21: 23--52.
68. Rouch, J. 1953. "La conquête marocaine (XVI^e siècle)." *Mémoires de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire* 29: 213--24.
69. Tymowski, Michel. 1995. "Dispute au sujet du caractère de la propriété au Songhay au XVI^e siècle." In *Le Maroc et l'Afrique subsaharienne aux débuts des temps modernes: les Sa'adiens et l'empire Songhay*, 59--63. Rabat: Université Mohammed V--Souissi, Institut des études africaines.
70. Willis, John Ralph. 1989. "Morocco and the Western Sudan: Fin de Siècle--Fin des Temps. Some Aspects of Religion and Culture to 1600." *The Maghreb Review* 14 (1--2): 91--96.
71. Yahya, Dahiru. 1981. "Ahmad al-Mansur's Sudanic Policy and Aspirations to Islamic Supremacy." In *Morocco in the Sixteenth Century: Problems and Patterns in African Foreign Policy*, 145--67. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press.
72. ———. 1978. "The Intellectual Factor in the Sa'di--Songhay Conflict." *Kano Studies* 1 (3): 39--45.

Trade and Economics

73. Kaba, Lansiné. 1977. "Background to Change in West African Economic History: Songhay, 1492--1750." *Journal of African Studies* 4 (3): 344--56.

74. Lovejoy, Paul E. 1978. "The Role of the Wangara in the Economic Transformation of the Central Sudan in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." *Journal of African History* 19 (2): 173--93.
75. Zoghby, Samir M. 1966. *The Impact of the Western Sudanic Empires on the Trans--Saharan Trade: Tenth to Sixteenth Century*. Washington D. C.: Georgetown University. Dissertation.

Oral and Written Histories

76. Hale, Thomas A. 1996. *The Epic of Askia Mohammed*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
This work generated some controversy resulting in a review article and a response from Hale to be found in: Okpewho, Isidore. 1996. "How Not to Treat African Folklore." *Research in African Literatures* 27 (3): 119--27; and Hale, Thomas A. 1996. "Misrepresenting and Misreading the Epic of Askia Mohammed." *Research in African Literatures* 27 (3): 128--35.
77. ———. 1995. "La chute de l'Empire Songhay en 1591 une interpretation comparative a partir des Tarikhs et l'Epopée d'Askia Muhammad." In *Le Maroc et l'Afrique subsaharienne aux débuts des temps modernes: les Sa'adiens et l'empire Songhay*, 305--23. Rabat: Université Mohammed V--Souissi, Institut des études africaines.
78. ———. 1991. "Can a Single Foot Follow Two Paths? Islamic and Songhay Belief Systems in the Timbuktu Chronicles and The Epic of Askia Muhammad." In *Faces of Islam in African Literature*, ed. Kenneth W. Harrow, 131--40. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
79. ———. 1990. *Scribe, Griot, and Novelist: Narrative Interpreters of the Songhay Empire*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press. Includes transcription and translation of *The Epic of Askia Muhammad*.
80. Hunwick, John O. 1970--71. "African Language Material in Arabic Sources – The Case of Songhay (Sonrai)." *African Language Review* 9: 51--73.

For other materials on oral and written histories see entries: 32 and 41.

Tarikh As--Sudan

81. Al--Sadi, 'Abd al--Rahman ibn 'Abd Allah. 1999. *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire: Al--Sadi's Tarikh al--Sudan Down to 1613 and Other Contemporary Documents*, ed. and trans. John O. Hunwick, Boston: Brill. Also in French. Al--Sadi, 'Abd al--Rahman ibn 'Abd Allah. 1964. *Tarikh es--Soudan*, trans. O. Houdas and Edm. Benoist, Paris: A. Maisonneuve.

82. Monteil, Charles. 1965. "Notes sur le Tarikh es--Soudan." *Bulletin de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, Série B* 27 (3--4): 479--530.

Tarikh Al--Fattash

83. Brun, P. Joseph. 1914. "Notes sur le Tarikh el--Fattach." *Anthropos* (Salzburg) 9: 590--96.
84. Hunwick, John O. 1992. "Studies in the Ta'rikh al--Fattash II: An Alleged Charter of Privilege by Askiya al--Hajj Muhammad to the Descendents of Mori Hawagaro." *Sudanic Africa* 3: 133--48.
85. ———. 1969. "Studies in the Ta'rikh al--Fattash. (1) Its Authors and Textual History." *Research Bulletin -- Centre of Arabic Documentation, University of Ibadan* 5 (1--2): 57--65.
86. Kati, Mahmud. 1964. *Tarikh el--fettach, ou, Chronique du chercheur pour servir à l'histoire des villes, des armées et des principaux personnages du Tekrour*, eds. and trans. O. Houdas and M. Delafosse. Paris: Adrien--Maisonneuve.
87. Levtzion, Nehemia. 1971. "A Seventeenth--Century Chronicle by Ibn al--Mukhtar: A Critical Study of Ta'rikh al--Fattash." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 34 (3): 571--93.
88. ———. 1971. "Mahmud Ka'tí fut--il l'auteur de Ta'rikh al--Fattash?" *Bulletin de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, Série B* 33 (4): 665--74.
89. Ly, Madina. 1972. "Quelques remarques sur le Tarikh el--Fettach." *Bulletin de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, Série B* 34 (3): 471--93.

For other materials on the Tarikh al--Fattash see entries: 32 and 103.

Society and Culture

90. Bovill, E.W. 1926. "The Niger and the Songhai Empire." *Journal of the African Society* 25: 138--146.
91. Kaba, Lansiné. 1986. "Power and Democracy in African Tradition: The Case of Songhay, 1464--1591." In *Democracy and Pluralism in Africa*, ed. Dov Ronen, 95--102. Boulder, Colo.: L. Rienner.
92. ———. 1984. "Power, Prosperity, and Social Inequality in Songhay (1464--1591)." In *Life Before the Drought*, ed. Earl Scott, 29--48. London: Allen & Unwin. Originally published in French as:
- Kaba, Lansiné. 1983. "Le pouvoir politique, l'essor économique et l'inegalite sociale au Songhay (1464--1591)." *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire. Série B* 45 (1--2): 1--23.

93. Tymowski, Michal. 1967. "Le Niger, voie de communication des grands états du Soudan occidental jusqu'a fin du XVIe siècle." *Africana Bulletin* 6: 73--95.

Architecture

94. Prussin, Labelle. 1986. "The Medieval Age: West African Empires." In *Hatumere: Islamic Design in West Africa*, 103--58. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Islam

95. Hiskett, Mervyn. 1984. "Islam in the States and Cities of the Sahara and the Western Sudan." In *The Development of Islam in West Africa*, 19--43. New York: Longman.
96. ———. 1962. "An Islamic Tradition of Reform in the Western Sudan from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 25(3): 577--96.
97. Kaba, Lansiné. 1985. "Islam, Politics and Revolution in Songhay (1464--1493)." In *Religion, Rebellion, Revolution*, ed. Bruce Lincoln, 183--206. London: Macmillan.
98. ———. 1984. "The Pen, the Sword, and the Crown: Islam and Revolution in Songhay Reconsidered, 1464--1493." *Journal of African History* 25 (3): 241--56.
99. Stepniewska, B. 1971. "Portée sociale de l'Islam au Soudan occidental aux XI^e--XVI^e siècles." *Africana Bulletin* 14: 35--58.
100. Triaud, Jean--Louis. 1973. *Islam et sociétés soudanaises au moyen age: Étude historique*. Paris: Recherches Voltaïques.

For other materials on Islam see entries: 24--26, 28, 31, 37, 41, and 78.

Slavery

101. Barbour, Berard, and Michelle Jacobs. 1985. "The Mi'raj: A Legal Treatise on Slavery by Ahmad Baba." In *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa, Vol. 1*, ed. John Ralph Willis, 125--59. London: Frank Cass. Includes transcribed Arabic text of the original work.
102. Hunwick, John O. 1996. "Back to West African Zanj Again: A Document of Sale from Timbuktu." *Sudanic Africa* 7: 53--60.
103. ———. 1985. "Notes on Slavery in the Songhay Empire." In *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa, Vol. 2*, ed. John Ralph Willis, 16--32. London: Frank Cass.
104. ———. 1970. "The Term 'Zanj' and Its Derivatives in a West African Chronicle." In

- Language and History in Africa*, ed. Dalby, 102--8. London: Frank Cass. Originally published in: Hunwick, John O. 1968. "Some Notes on the Term 'Zanj' and Its Derivatives in a West African Chronicle." *Research Bulletin -- Centre of Arabic Documentation, University of Ibadan* 4:41--51.
105. Kodjo, Niamkey Georges. 1976. "Contribution à l'étude des tribus dites serviles de Songhaï." *Bulletin de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, Série B* 38 (4): 790--812.
106. Olivier de Sardan, J.P. 1975. "Captifs ruraux et esclaves impériaux du Songhay." In *L'esclavage en Afrique précoloniale*, ed. Claude Meillassoux, 99--134. Paris: Maspero.

Scholars

107. Cissoko, Sékéné Mody. 1969. "L'Intellectuals de Tombouctou aux XVe et XVIe siècles." *Bulletin de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, Série B* 31(4): 927--52. Also published in: Cissoko, Sékéné Mody. 1969. "L'Intellectuals de Tombouctou aux XVe et XVIe siècles." *Présence Africaine* 72, no. 4: 48--72.
108. ———. 1964. "Humanism on the Banks of the Niger in the Sixteenth Century." *Présence africaine, English Edition* 21: 79--86.
109. Cuoq, Joseph. 1978. "La famille Aqit de Tombouctou." *IBLA: Revue de l'Institut des belles lettres arabes* 141: 85--102.
110. Hunwick, John O. 1996. "Fez and West Africa in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Scholarly and Sharifian Networks." *Fès et l'Afrique: relations économiques, culturelles et spirituelles -- Actes de Colloque International organisé par l'Institut de Etudes Africaines et la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, Saïs -- Fès, Fès, 28--30 Octobre 1993*, 57--71. Fez: al-Mahad.
111. Norris, H. T. 1967. "Sanhaja Scholars of Timbuctoo." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 30 (3): 634--40.
112. Saad, Elias N. 1983. *Social History of Timbuktu: The Role of Muslim Scholars and Notables, 1400--1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

For other materials on scholars see entries: 49, 62, 72, and 75.

Muhammad Baghayogho

113. Cissoko, Sékéné Mody. 1984. "A Great 16th Century Mandingo Humanist in Timbucktu, Mohammed Bakhayoko." *Afrique Histoire* (Indianapolis) 2 (1): 19--21.
114. Hunwick, John O. 1990. "A Contribution to the Study of Islamic Teaching Traditions in West Africa: The Career of Muhammad Baghayogho 930/1523--4--1002/1594." *Islam et Societes au Sud du Sahara* 4: 149--63. Includes a translation of Ahmad Baba's biographical sketch of Baghayogho.

Ahmad Baba

115. Baba, Ahmad ibn Ahmad. 2000. *Mi'raj al--su'ud: ajwibat Ahmad Baba hawla al--istirqaq: nusub wa--watha'iq*. Rabat: Ma'had al--Dirasat al--Afriqiyah bi--al--Rabat.
116. ———. 2000. *Kifayat al--muhtaj li--ma'rifat man laysa fi al--dibaj*. Rabat: Wizarat al--Awqaf wa--al--Shu'un al--Islamiyah.
117. ———. 1992. *Ahmad Baba al--Sudani wa--kitabuhu al--Durr al--nadir: ma'a namadhuji min ad'iyatihi wa--salwatihi*. Morocco: H. Jallab.
118. ———. 1992. *Tuhfat al--fudala' bi--ba'd fada'il al--'ulama'*. Rabat: Ma'had al--Dirasat al--Afriqiyah bi--al--Rabat.
119. ———. 1989. *Nayl al--ibtihaj bi--tatriz al--Dibaj*. Tripoli: al--Kulliyah. Also various printings over time appear as: Ibn Farhun, Ibrahim ibn 'Ali. *Al--Dibaj al--mudhahhab fi ma'rifat a'yan 'ulama' al--madhhab. Wa--bi--hamishihi kitab Nayl al--ibtihaj bi--tatriz al--Dibaj li--Ahmad al-- Tunbukti*.
120. Charbonneau, A. 1855. "Essai sur la littérature arabe au Soudan, d'après le Tekmilet ed--dibage d'Ahmed Baba le Tombouctien." In *Annuaire de la Société archéologique de la province de Constantine 1854--1855*, 1--6. Paris: A. Leleux.
121. Hunwick, John O. 1966--67. "Further Light on Ahmad Baba al--Tinbukti." *Research Bulletin -- Centre of Arabic Documentation, University of Ibadan* 2--3: 19--31.
122. ———. 1964. "A New Source for the Biography of Ahmad Baba al--Tinbukti (1556--1627)." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 27: 568--93.
123. ———. 1962. "Ahmad Baba and the Moroccan Invasion of the Sudan (1591)." *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 2: 311--28.

124. Kake, Ibrahima Baba. 1966. "A Great 17th Century Sudanese Scholar." *Présence africaine* 60: 40--49. Also published in French as: Kake, Ibrahima Baba. 1966. "Un grand érudit de la Nigritie au XVIe siècle: Ahmed Baba--le Tombouctien." *Présence Africaine* 60 (4): 34--45.
125. Al--Munazzamah al--islamiyah lil--tarbiyah wa--al--ulum wa--al--thaqafah. 1993. *Ahmad Baba al--Timbukti: buhuth al--nadwah allati 'aqadatha --ISISKU-- bi--munasabat murur arba'at qurun wa--nasf 'ala wiladatih, Marrakish 22 -- 25 Safar al--khayr 1412 H \ 2 -- 5 Sibtambr 1991 M.* Casablanca: ISISKU.
126. Temimi, Abdeljelil. 1984. "L'ouvrage "Nayl al--Ibtihadj" d'Ahmed Baba de Tombouctou: une encyclopédie de biographies Maghrébines. *Revue d'Histoire Maghrebine* 33--34: 142--146.
127. Zouber, Mahmoud Abdou. 1977. *Ahmad Baba de Tombouctou (1556--1627), sa vie et son oeuvre.* Paris: G.--P. Maisonneuve et Larose.

For other materials on Ahmad Baba see entries: 53, 58, and 102.

Manuscripts

128. Hunwick, John O. 1984--85. "West African Arabic Manuscript Colophons II: A Sixteenth--Century Timbuktu Copy of the *Muhkam* of Ibn Sida." *Bulletin D'Information (Fontes Historiae Africanae)* 9/10: 49--69. Includes facsimiles of originals, transcribed Arabic, and English translations.
129. ———. 1982--83. "West African Arabic Manuscript Colophons I: Askia Muhammad Bani's Copy of the *Risala* of Ibn Abi Zayd." *Bulletin D'Information (Fontes Historiae Africanae)* 7/8: 51--58. Includes facsimiles of originals, transcribed Arabic, and English translations.
130. Vincent, B. 1840. "Acte du vente: Passé à Tombouctou -- Manuscrit arabe venue de Tombouctou." *Journal Asiatique* 9: 375--83. Describes a colophon relating a manuscript purchase between Ahmad b. And--Agh--Muhammad b. Mahmud b. And--Agh--Muhammad and Malik b. Muhammad al--Fulani. Includes transcribed Arabic and French translation.