

CONTENTS

<i>Note on Conventions</i>	ix
Introduction: Africa in the Middle Ages	1
1 The Tribulations of Two Chinese in Africa <i>East Africa, the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century</i>	16
2 In the Belly of the Sperm Whale <i>East Africa, Beginning of the Tenth Century</i>	22
3 Aspects of a Border <i>Qasr Ibrîm, Lower Nubia, from the Seventh Century</i>	28
4 Diplomatic Back-and-Forth at the Court of George II of Nubia <i>Faras and Dongola, Present-Day Sudan, Last Quarter of the Tenth Century</i>	36
5 “Does anyone live beyond you?” <i>Central Sahara, Seventh to the Ninth Century</i>	44
6 For Forty-Two Thousand Dinars <i>Aoudaghost, Present-Day Mauritania, Middle of the Ninth Century</i>	50
7 A Tale of Two Cities: On the Capital of Ghâna <i>The Aoukar, Present-Day Mauritania, around 1068</i>	56
8 Ghâna, One Hundred Years Later <i>Banks of a River in the Sahel, between 1116 and 1154</i>	64

9	The Conversion Effect <i>Various Parts of the Sahel, Eleventh to Twelfth Century</i>	69
10	The King of Zâfûn Enters Marrakesh <i>Morocco and the Western Sahel, around the Second Quarter of the Twelfth Century</i>	75
11	The Rich Dead of the Tumuli <i>Ethiopia, Mali, Senegal, between the Ninth and the Fourteenth Century</i>	81
12	Aksum, the City That Made Kings <i>Northern Ethiopia, around the Twelfth Century</i>	89
13	The Treasures of Debre Damo <i>Northern Ethiopia, until the Twelfth Century</i>	94
14	One Map, Two Geographies <i>Horn of Africa, before the Middle of the Twelfth Century</i>	100
15	The Case of the Concubine <i>Aydhâb, Berbera, Present-Day Coastal Sudan and Somaliland, December 1144</i>	105
16	Sijilmâsa, Crossroads at the Ends of the Earth <i>Southeastern Morocco, from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century</i>	111
17	The Land Where Gold Grows like Carrots <i>The Sahel, from the Tenth to the Fourteenth Century</i>	119

18	Phantom Mines <i>Present-Day Zimbabwe Highlands and the West African Savanna, around the Thirteenth Century</i>	125
19	The Land of Sofala <i>Coasts of Present-Day Tanzania and Mozambique, End of the Thirteenth to the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century</i>	131
20	The Golden Rhinoceros <i>Northeastern South Africa, Thirteenth Century</i>	135
21	The Stratigraphy of Kilwa, or How Cities Are Born <i>Coast of Present-Day Tanzania, from the Tenth to the Fifteenth Century</i>	143
22	The Camels of Madagascar, or Marco Polo's Africa <i>Somalia and Madagascar, End of the Thirteenth Century</i>	149
23	The Work of Angels <i>Lalibela, Ethiopian Highlands, around the Thirteenth Century</i>	154
24	The Sultan and the Sea <i>Coast of Present-Day Senegal or Gambia, around 1312</i>	160
25	Ruins of Salt <i>Taghâza, Extreme North of Present-Day Mali, from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century</i>	169
26	The Customs of Mâli <i>Oualata, Present-Day Mauritania, around 17 April 1352</i>	175

27	A Wreck in the Sahara <i>Central Mauritania, the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Centuries</i>	183
28	The Golden Orb <i>Kingdom of Mâli, Fourteenth Century</i>	190
29	The King's Speech <i>In Mâli City, Capital of the Kingdom of Mâli, from June 1352 to February 1353</i>	200
30	The Production of Eunuchs in Abyssinia <i>Ethiopia and Somaliland, around 1340</i>	209
31	Inventory at Great Zimbabwe <i>Present-Day Zimbabwe, Fourteenth to Fifteenth Century</i>	215
32	Next Year in Tamentit, or the (Re)discovery of Africa <i>Tuat Oasis, Central Algeria, Second Half of the Fifteenth Century</i>	222
33	Africa's New Shores <i>The Coasts of Present-Day Mauritania, Senegal, and Gambia, 1455</i>	232
34	Vasco da Gama and the "New World" <i>Indian Ocean, 1498</i>	240
	<i>Acknowledgments</i>	249
	<i>Glossary</i>	251
	<i>Further Reading</i>	255
	<i>Index</i>	259

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INTRODUCTION

Africa in the Middle Ages

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By opening this book, the reader is taking the first steps on a journey across several centuries of African history. Our first guide on this journey will be an eighth-century Chinese traveler, our last, a fifteenth-century Portuguese conqueror. Between the two we will sometimes follow merchants, diplomats, or modern archaeologists in their travels through African cities and countrysides; we will meet kings, clerics, traders, and ordinary people—individuals whom we would be honored or pleased to meet in person, and highly unsavory types it would be better never to come across; we will encounter Muslims, Jews, Christians, and people practicing nonmonotheistic religions, such as ancestor cults or cults dedicated to territorial spirits. Marco Polo and Ibn Battûta will be our companions. We must not expect to always understand everything we see on our journey, and we must reject the certainty that our guides saw and understood things any better. For what they describe, and what we would never have known without their testimony, most often derives from what they themselves had heard or read. We must not be shocked by the geographical uncertainties about the precise location of a lost capital city or the name of a given archaeological site, the informants' contradictions of one another, or the sometimes arrogant and touristic judgment that travelers bring when they venture from one world to another. In the face of the diversity in achievements and societies we are going to encounter, we must remember Vumbi Yoka Mudimbé's and Ali A. Mazrui's warnings that "Africa" as a space of knowledge was repeatedly *invented* from the outside. We must indeed free ourselves from the image of a "uniform" and "eternal" Africa, of an Africa of innumerable and unchanging "tribes," of an Africa conceived as the reliquary of our "origins," for we are going to speak about African societies *in* history.

Eight centuries, almost a millennium, and yet so little is known. Let us confess, our attention, as readers and viewers of documentaries, turns most often to the African civilizations of antiquity: the Egypt of the pharaohs; Meroitic Nubia; Punic or Roman Africa; Aksum in Ethiopia:

civilizations whose spectacular architectural remains have long captured the imagination of all who enjoy reflecting on great civilizations. Perhaps we are also familiar with more recent centuries, when the African continent, strongly tied to the destiny of the Western powers, was supposedly “discovered,” then “explored” (two rather Eurocentric terms), and most of all exploited by those who set about taking possession of it. During the last five centuries, Africans suffered the slave trade followed by colonization; finally, they confronted the violent transformations of the postcolonial present. Between these relatively familiar Africas—the antique Africa, whose splendors nourish a nostalgic erudition, and contemporary Africa, whose convulsions arouse an avid curiosity—stretch what have been called the “dark centuries” of African history.

“Dark centuries”—really? This expression was sometime used to designate a period of African history prior to the so-called Age of Discovery (inaugurated by Portuguese navigators in the fifteenth century) and colonization (inaugurated in the seventeenth century and generalized in the nineteenth), periods that produced a relative abundance of written sources. Far from seeking to denigrate Africa’s ancient past, such an expression articulates a frustration with the cruel lack of available sources for recounting that past. So if there exist “dark centuries” of African history, it is only by virtue of the weak light shed by the documentation. But the case made in this book is that even if the sources relating to the “dark centuries” of African history are rare and uncertain, the period would surely better merit the name of “golden age.” As far as clichés go, the latter is more accurate: our meager sources tell us that the Africa of this period was home to powerful and prosperous states, and that it integrated itself into some of the great currents of global exchange that circulated people, merchandise, and religious conceptions. It witnessed the development of cities where African princes had their palaces, where foreign merchants resided, where luxury products and slaves were exchanged, where mosques or churches were built. Africa was then a major player in

the exploitation of its own resources, among which gold held a prominent place. The continent enjoyed a considerable reputation, from Europe to China, a reputation exemplified by the celebrity that Mûsâ, king of Mâli during the first third of the fourteenth century, achieved in the Islamic world and Christian Europe.

But we are not going to swap a reputation for darkness for a golden legend. It is more important to understand how the Africa of the intermediate centuries between the antique and modern periods could be a cradle of civilizations so radiant, and yet so obscured in the surviving documentation that its rediscovery seems a thankless task. What are the reasons for this apparent paradox?

The first reason for the neglect of this “golden age” is that few African societies of this period used writing or kept archives that could testify from within to their power and prosperity. It is true that a number of ancient African societies produced written texts in diverse languages and writing systems, including ancient Egyptian (in Egypt), Punic (in the Maghreb), Libyco-Berber (in the Maghreb and the Sahara desert), Ge’ez (in Eritrea and Ethiopia), Old Nubian (in today’s Sudan), Greek (in Egypt, Sudan, Eritrea, and Ethiopia), Latin (in Christian North Africa), or Arabic (in Islamic North Africa, but also in some parts of sub-Saharan Africa, such as Ethiopia, Nubia, and Mali, as early as the eleventh century), among other examples. Later, beginning in the seventeenth century, some societies would produce historical chronicles (one thinks of the Sahelian communities, in particular Timbuktu, or the diverse communities of the Swahili coast), and writing would spread across the continent from the nineteenth century on. But even if writing before the modern era was geographically much more diverse and widely distributed than is generally believed, its use was considerably restricted among any given society. The African societies of the period that interests us knew about writing but, with a few exceptions (North Africa, Nubia, and Ethiopia), did not develop written traditions that could serve as sources for today’s historians. That they

did not do so was not the result of a lack of motivation or competence; rather, they chose not to. Indeed, another form of transmission, likewise entrusted to specialists, existed in many African societies, a transmission not of the written word but of the spoken one: what we call “oral traditions.” Passed down over the generations, some stories have reached us. The question of the reliability of these oral traditions for reconstructing the distant past is a matter of heated debate among historians of Africa. Nonetheless, most among them would agree that, if oral traditions should certainly not be denied their status as historical documents for accessing the past two, three, or sometimes four centuries, their inherent limitations preclude their enabling any thorough reconstruction of earlier periods. It should not, of course, prevent us from listening very closely to African voices when they have come down to us thanks to a written document, as is the case, for instance, with the account of the rise to power of King Mûsâ of Mâli, told by the king himself to an Arab secretary in the chancery of Cairo. However, though such voices are clearly a bonanza for the historian and the reader, one should resist the temptation—rooted in both the relief of a sudden and direct access to the past and a naive attitude toward the interpretation of all things African—of taking such discourse at face value. A political statement by a Malian king of the fourteenth century is no less elaborate and finely chiseled than any diplomatic statement today, and thus it must be studied as such.

So, with few exceptions, we are left mostly with documents produced by outsiders. The outsiders, by then, were not Christian Europeans, but Muslims and sometimes Jews from the Islamic world, with whom their African partners found themselves in a closer relationship between the eighth century and the fifteenth. In fact, since the eighth and ninth centuries, Arab and Islamic powers had established themselves in most regions north of the Sahara, ruling societies that had until then been predominantly Christian, and had thus interposed themselves between the countries of “inner” Africa and the outside world. Although Marco Polo

and Vasco da Gama will, at a late stage, be mentioned, it might come as a surprise to readers of this book to notice how little space is given to written European sources, which represent a very small proportion when compared with the Arabic sources (i.e., written in Arabic, not necessarily by Arab people) relative to our period. But in turn, one should not exaggerate the number and extent of Arabic sources, as contrasted with the much more substantial corpus available for Europe or the Islamic world of the time. Consider the fact that all we know from written documents in Arabic about the peoples, kingdoms, and societies of the regions today called the Sahel, stretching from Mauritania and Senegal to Chad, fits in a volume only a few hundred pages long! Why? Because information follows the same routes as ships and long-distance caravans, and because the Sahel region and the shores of East Africa were very remote from the economic and political centers of, say, Morocco, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, or Iran. Information circulates, furthermore, with merchants, individuals who are generally inclined to remain discreet about supply points, modes of transaction, precise itineraries, and personal contacts, and who, when they prove talkative, are more often than not interested only in places of commerce and powers likely to favor their business. As luck would have it, however, a few armchair geographers curious about the world, such as the Andalusian al-Bakrî in the eleventh century, and a few less scrupulous travelers, such as the celebrated Ibn Battûta in the fourteenth century, have occasionally offered the fruits of their experiences and inquiries to posterity.

But what about material remains from the past? Don't we at least have cities, palaces, various monuments, and places of worship as material witnesses to the political history of elites, the religious history of peoples, the architectural achievements of societies, their everyday life? So few, often so poorly preserved, sometimes so pathetically documented by research. Consider that we do not even know where the capital of Mâli was located at the time of its mid-fourteenth-century splendor. Is our ignorance due

to a lack of research? Undoubtedly. But we should add that if the sites are lost—swallowed up by dunes, mangroves, or savanna—or if those re-discovered by archaeologists through pedestrian surveys have not retained their original significance, it is due not only to the lack of writing and the environmental changes that took place during the intervening centuries, but also to a rupture of memory. For a site or monument to retain its significance across time, it must be the subject of continual reinvestment; that is to say, it must be modified and transformed by others who take on its legacy, even if they distort it. Memory is the condition, not the negation nor the opposite, of history. Yet we should note that this continuity of memory was lacking in most of the regions where kingdoms and cities developed. Gone were the long-established foreign merchants; gone the African traders who were their longtime partners; but gone, too, were the elites and, quite often, the local population. In this book, we will sometimes visit deserted, mute places, such as the site of the likely capital of Ghâna, a brilliant kingdom of the tenth to twelfth century centered in present-day southeast Mauritania, where no urban planner would suggest having a city today. Golden centuries: not dark, but forgotten.

This forgetfulness conditions access to the distant African past, and consequently to the writing of its history. Of these forgotten centuries we have only traces, vivid but uncertain. Not even the scattered pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, for we often do not know which puzzle they belong to. A nearly worn stone inscription, a few coins, objects found in amateur or clandestine excavations, partially destroyed monuments, the terse text of a foreign author—such fragments will often be the sole surviving witnesses of a chronological slice of several centuries, of a historical context that remains, in just about every other respect, more or less inaccessible. Historians often have nothing more at their disposal than “lost items,” orphaned traces. These constitute the material from which they derive their fragmentary knowledge. Let’s come to terms with it: if this book presents itself to the reader as an arrangement of fragments illuminated

side by side in turn, it is because I have preferred the stained-glass window to the grand narrative fresco that would have produced only the illusion of an authoritative discourse. For such an authoritative discourse on ancient Africa is impossible; the sources are hopelessly silent when it comes to entire sections of reality, such as the local economy, social organization, the family, peasants in rural areas, the daily life of women, men, and children. Yet the stained-glass window has its advantages: by carefully selecting the fragments, we can construct a history whose dominant features are the aspects best illuminated by the sources: royal power, cities, trade goods, sociability among the male members of the commercial, religious, and political elites. Even the lead joints that tie together the glass fragments are not so much a problem as a condition of a modest, perhaps frustrating, but more truthful, vision of history. The very process of putting the fragments together can transmute our frustration into an exciting challenge: that of crafting an incomplete history open to comparisons between one region and another, new discoveries, and interpretative changes.

The rarity of our sources creates an obligation—undoubtedly one of the hallmarks of the historian of ancient Africa—to consider each trace a document, be it a written text, an architectural monument, or a tiny piece of charcoal. Some might think this goes without saying. Is it really so? The historian who works on written traces from the past likes to know what they are. Their work transforms the textual fragment into a document—this is what “philology” is about. But do we really take care to apply the same techniques we use for texts to other traces from the past? The question is essential when textual sources are not the principal base for historical reconstruction, as is our case. Do nontextual traces have their philologists? Sometimes methodical excavations and exhaustive reports of archaeological operations have succeeded in turning a site into such a document through the work of cautious, systematic description of the material facts as well as the methods that brought them to light. When it comes to archaeological facts, such a document is all the more precious, as

excavations efface most of what they observe. More often than we would like to admit, the excavators did not follow proper methodology or produce a meticulous report, to say nothing of the fact that, working in a colonial context, they often coerced local people to extract objects from the ground with little regard for the significance of the site to the latter or for its preservation. Occasionally some objects have likewise acquired the status of a document. But how many times has the context of their unearthing been wrapped in an impenetrable haze because of systematic pillaging that feeds the international market in cultural objects, when they do not simply disappear into private collections before having been properly described? Suffice it to say, the requirements of an investigation oriented toward the production of documents—documents useful to the recovery of the past—are not always met. Field research and erudition, from this point of view, do not always harmonize. An example, at least, has been set by the indefatigable Théodore Monod, a pioneer of document collection. Watching him at work in the 1960s in eastern Mauritania—in the most sterile quarter of the Sahara and certainly one of the most hostile environments in the world—we find him incapable, given the practical conditions of his mission, of fully documenting (as he certainly wished to) the tiny though immensely important medieval site that had been discovered only months earlier by local antelope hunters. Yet by immediately producing, in just a few hours, records of his discovery, he left behind documentation that is at once imperfect and unequalled.

In the absence of this pragmatic ideal, we must often turn to the circumstances of the discovery. This is why many stories in this book will start from a departure point situated not ten centuries ago but just one or two, in an attempt to glimpse how the site or object has come down to us. This approach takes into account the “social life” of sites, objects, and texts; it produces a social biography that reflects not only their documentary dimension but also their changing appearance and historical significance as perceived by the archaeologist or in the eyes of the local

people. On this point, we will perhaps marvel that so many “treasures” unearthed from the African soil—beginning with the golden rhinoceros of Mapungubwe, which provides the title of one of the chapters and of the book as a whole—often serve as the story’s starting point. “Treasures” are good documents to use in assessing the past, one might think. But we can also shift our perspective by suggesting that treasures exist only when the archaeological documentation that should have accompanied their discovery is missing. The fruits of hasty collections, of casual or selective excavations, “treasures” may sometimes be a godsend for the historian; but they also illuminate processes of elimination that have reduced all the potential documentation of a site, or indeed of a region or period, to this residual form. The “treasure” is what remains when everything else has disappeared. Any narrative history built around such traces cannot ignore its dependence on such phenomena, in Africa more than elsewhere, owing to lack of research, the violations of the underground heritage that went hand in hand with the coercion of individuals and societies during the colonial period, and the low level of awareness, until recently, of the concept of archaeological heritage on the continent.

If for no other reason than the fact that these forgotten centuries had acquired a new historical value through their coming to light, they would sufficiently warrant being called by a grand chrononym like the “Middle Ages.” This expression has already been applied by a number of authors to the African past. Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore initially titled their famous book *The African Middle Ages 1400–1800* (1981) before changing it to *Medieval Africa 1250–1800* in their revised edition (2001). But the adjustable dates of their chronological range are ample evidence that “medieval” here just meant “precolonial”; perhaps the latter word was avoided because it would have put emphasis on the changes later to be introduced by the colonizer. In his now-outdated *The Lost Cities of Africa*, Basil Davidson had a chapter on “medieval Rhodesia,” the word “medieval” in this case used to counter the colonial narrative of the famous ruins of Zimbabwe

as the vestiges of antique, “Mediterranean” (i.e., white), settlers. So let us admit that there can be many reasons to use the term “Middle Ages” or the adjective “medieval” that are not particularly related to the way medieval Europe is medieval. There’s also a good reason not to use it; for if its usefulness resides only in designating a period of almost a millennium roughly coeval with the European Middle Ages, one could rightfully ask why we should import a label that conveys unwanted associations with medieval Europe: Christianity, feudalism, the crusades against Islam. True. But despite all this, I think that applying the term “Middle Ages” to Africa is justified. The justification concerns the scale at which we observe the Middle Ages: for one of the benefits of the current trend of historical research aiming at “provincializing Europe” (to use Chakrabarty’s term) is that the European Middle Ages tends to be perceived as a province of a global world that deserves to be called medieval based only on its distinctive way of being global. This is not to say that medieval Europe has no specific characteristics. But they appear all the more interesting, or let us say more interestingly exotic, when contrasted with the background of broader phenomena like the interconnectedness of all the provinces of the medieval world, the physical centrality of the Islamic civilization within this global world, the role of specialized long-distance merchants (mostly Muslims and Jews) as connecting agents between different provinces, or the related significance of a few chosen commodities (such as slaves, gold, china, glass beads, ambergris) as evidence of an interconnectedness of a kind limited to what met the needs and tastes of the elites. In that sense, the broad picture that this book wants to draw, its fragmentary nature notwithstanding, is that Africa also deserves to be considered a province of the medieval world. Not out of a will to “provincialize” Africa in the sense of making it marginalized or peripheral, but, on the contrary, to make it part of a world made up of other such provinces.

It is beyond the scope of this book to suggest anything like precise geographical and chronological boundaries to the global Middle Ages. After

all, to be a Europeanist medievalist or to read a book on medieval Europe, one needn't possess certainty about when exactly medieval Europe starts and ends. But let us only note that, just as the global Middle Ages is as much a space as a time period, so too is the African Middle Ages in this book. Let us look at the map of the areas where the histories in our book take place. We encounter a vast crescent, stretching over the entire width of the continent from the Atlantic coastlines of the Sahara and the Sahel to the Red Sea, encompassing the basins of the Niger River and middle Nile Valley. Covering the high plateaus of the Horn of Africa, it spreads from the African side of the Gulf of Aden to the eastern edges of southern Africa and Madagascar. The immensity and diversity of this space straddling the two hemispheres scarcely need emphasizing. It was home to a wide array of natural environments and a number of vastly different cultures. Yet all these diverse regions and cultures had one point in common during the period that interests us: between the eighth and the fifteenth century, they reciprocated the desire for contact expressed by merchants and clerics from different regions of the Islamic world; they contributed to the establishment of a regular system of long-distance commercial exchange across the Sahara or Indian Ocean; they were nowhere (except in part of Nubia) conquered or forced to submit to foreign rule, but willingly participated in a global political, religious, juridical, intellectual, aesthetic conversation. They were not passive partners in a vast global system into which they were slotted, but actors attentive to procuring their share of the benefits of commercial exchange, capable of negotiating the conditions of this exchange, of accepting certain social transformations—especially religious ones—and of constructing “bricolages” in order to be considered full partners. If nothing else, these vanished cities—once humming with multiple languages, the brusque cries of merchants unpacking their loads or the custom officers inspecting them, commercial arguments played out in court or before the mosque, secrets divulged in alcoves—can make us feel at once the intensity and the insecurity of their efforts to control

their destiny. Of course, we should not imagine that only the societies that fell within our geographical, chronological, and documentary medieval domain had a history. If history is more *visible* here than elsewhere, it is because they appear in the documentation as active commercial partners, energetic and famous leaders: in other words, agents of historical change equipped with will, ambitions, and intentions, inevitably at the expense of those whose lower status or economic condition confined them to documentary darkness, including the innumerable slaves who were the main victims of this glorious age.

The connection between Africa and the outside world was not achieved everywhere with the same speed, nor did it have everywhere the same intensity. If partners from the Islamic world made contact simultaneously with the long Sahelian “shore,” south of the Sahara, and the northern portion of the lengthy coastline extending from Somalia to Tanzania, contact with their hinterlands, as well as with the regions extending to the south of these first edges, was made only later. The fleeting images from the sources thus reveal a changing geography through the centuries, meeting points that burgeoned and declined, societies newly integrated in turn into the circle of regional systems under constant organization. Thus we see the geography deepen, the maps change. Beyond every geographer’s royal market city—an already formidably exotic horizon for an inhabitant of Baghdad or Cairo—existed in its hinterland subject African populations we can scarcely perceive. Slaves and gold came from societies even farther away, of whom we catch only indistinct glimpses, absent as they are from written sources, their tenuous participation in the regional system sometimes brought to light only by archaeology. In that sense, the African Middle Ages is not only a space and a time; it is also a certain documentary regime characterized by the disparity of external written sources and the scarcity or absence of internal ones, as well as the isolated and largely incomplete nature of material remains. Moreover, texts and material traces may be sharply at odds, as when a city described in an Arabic text has no

corresponding site known in the field, or when a site well known to archaeologists cannot be related to any precise location in the written records. This regime of documentation started to change around the end of the fifteenth century, with the growing importance of the European written documents. That alone would be sufficient to warrant closing the book by this date, if the European attempts, and eventual success, at circumnavigating the continent had not produced their enormous effects: major disruptions of the economic circuits inside Africa; a decline in the intensity of its exchanges with its partners in the Islamic world; the decline of the political influence of once-major African powers such as the kingdom of Mâli, the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia, or the city-state of Kilwa in Tanzania, which had virtually all disappeared in the early sixteenth century; and the emergence of new African broker states along the coasts—thus inaugurating a new, marginalized place for Africa in its relationship with the capitalistic and imperial modern world.

This book's chapters conform to a generally chronological framework, but one that allows for geographic zigzags and ample thematic pursuits that lead the reader from one end of the continent to the other. The starting points for the accounts are sometimes "classic" documents from medieval African history; others will perhaps be more unfamiliar. Either way, all may benefit from a new look, particularly since recently published critical editions, the publication of long-delayed archaeological monographs, and reopened investigations into the conditions of an object's exhumation, or a site's excavation, or a date calibration shed new light on the scene. Whether the document is famous or little known, rather than simply re-treading familiar ground, I often chose to vary the scale; to bring forward unusual sources or to hold a mirror up to documents from remote regions; to shift perspective or to suggest a new hypothesis.

The reader will be spared the footnotes that usually clutter the bottom of the page, but may, if he or she chooses, turn to short bibliographic essays at the end of each chapter. These essays are intended mainly to bring

together references to the primary (textual and archaeological) and secondary sources cited in the text. They are especially useful to those who would like to go deeper into the primary sources, to check the references I allude to, to have a look into how I know what I say. But they also present a selection of other textual and archaeological references, personal appraisals of the state of the documentation, or even analyses of certain aspects relevant to the context and history of the fieldwork and domain under consideration. Made within a literature in different languages, of sometimes uneven quality, which has a knack for synthesis more often than for careful attention to the sources, the bibliographical choices reflect the desire to illuminate the document itself as much as possible.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Vumbi Yoka Mudimbé's work alluded to is *The Invention of Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); Ali A. Mazrui's is "The Re-Invention of Africa: Edward Said, V. Y. Mudimbe, and Beyond," *Research in African Literature* 36, no. 3 (2005): 68–82. The expression "dark ages" ("siècles obscurs" in French) is that of Raymond Mauny, one of the major founders of ancient African history in France, from the title of his *Les Siècles obscurs de l'Afrique noire* (Paris: Fayard, 1971). I have recently applied the expression "golden age" to African medieval history in my contribution "Trade and Travel in Africa's Golden Global Age (700–1500)," in Dorothy Hodgson and Judith Byfeld (eds.), *Global Africa into the Twenty-First Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017), pp. 17–26. For an illustration of the complementary, if sometimes opposite, views on oral tradition, see the various contributions in the excellent volume edited by Ralph A. Austen, *In Search of Sunjata: The Mande Oral Epic as History, Literature, and Performance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), which deals with the famous epic of the foundation of the kingdom of Mâli. The expression "social life" alludes to Arjun Appadurai's *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Oliver and Atmore's book was published by Cambridge University Press. Basil Davidson's *The Lost Cities of Africa* was initially published in Boston by Little, Brown and Company in 1959 and went through multiple editions. Dipesh Chakrabarty's book is *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000). Reflections on the marginalized place of Africa in the global processes that took place in the modern period are based on Frederick Cooper, *Africa in the World: Capitalism, Empire, Nation-State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

INDEX

- Abd Allâh ibn Saad, 31
Abû Bakr (Abu-Bakari), 165
Abû Ishâq Ibrâhîm ibn Abd Allâh, 53
Abû l-Fidâ, 132
Abû l-Hasan Alî, 162
Abû Saïd Ibn Jamâhir, 106–7
Abyssinia, 210–13
Afonso, Martim, 242
Africa: dark centuries of, 3–10; geography of, 12–13; golden age of, 3–4; “medieval” designation for, 10–13; preconceptions about, 2
Africanus, Leo (Hasan al-Wazzân), 171
Aksum, 90–92
Alî ibn Abî Tâlib, 66
Alî ibn Yûsuf, 76–77
Almohads, 77, 114–15, 176, 193
Almoravids, 52, 66, 76–77, 114
ambergris, 23–26
Amda Seyon, king of Ethiopia, 210
America. *See* pre-Columbian America
Ammar, Solomon ben, 193
Amr ibn al-Âs, 45
animal skins, 25, 32, 54, 107, 116, 133, 139, 151, 170
animism. *See* traditional religion
Aoudaghost, 51–55, 76, 187
Aoukar, 53–54, 59, 66–67
Aragon, 228
archaeology: of Aksum throne-base, 90–92; of Aoudaghost, 52–53; ethno-, 128; of Ghâna, 59–61; of Great Zimbabwe, 216–21; historiographical significance of, 6–8; of Kilwa, 144–48; of Lalibela, 155–58; of Maaden Ijâfen, 184–88; of Mapungubwe, 136–41; in Nubia, 37–39; of tumuli, 83–84
Aregawi, Za-Mikael, 95
Arguin, 234, 238
Aswan High Dam, 29, 37
Atmore, Anthony, 10
Awkâr, 57, 59
Aydhâb, 106–9
al-Azîz (caliph), 42
al-Bakrî, Abû Ubayd, 6, 51, 53, 57–61, 66, 77–78, 86–87
bandits, 176–77
Bantus, 136, 147, 151
baqt (agreement), 30–34, 39–40
Barghawâta, 47
beads. *See* glass beads, Indo-Pacific
Berbers, 46–48, 114, 170–71, 176–77, 225
Béthencourt, Jean de, 233
Blacks. *See* Land of the Blacks
Bonnell de Mézières, Albert, 61
Book of Roger, 101–2
brass, 185–87
burial mounds. *See* tumuli
al-Bushrî, Abû Muhammad, 112
Cabral, Pedro Álvares, 245
Cadamosto, 233–38
Caillié, René, 170, 227
Calicut, 245–47
camels, 46–48, 150, 170, 172, 176–79, 187, 191, 224
Canary Islands, 233
cannibalism, 25, 166, 226
Cape of Good Hope, 18
caravans, 176–81, 184–88
cartography, 101–4, 191–97
Castile, 228
castration, 212–13
Catalan Atlas, 191–97

- cattle, 138, 172, 224
celadon. *See* greenware
Centurione, 223–24
Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 11
Charles V, king of France, 191
check, 51, 53–55
China, 17–21, 26
Chittick, Neville, 145
Christianity: in Abyssinia, 210–13; churches of Lalibela, 155–58; early appearances of, in Africa, 223, 227–28; in Ethiopia, 40–41, 90, 95–98, 155, 210–13; Muslims' relations with, in Abyssinia, 210–13; in Nubia, 29–30, 37–42; Portuguese exploration of Africa and, 242–47. *See also* Coptic Christianity
city-dwellers, on caravans, 178–79
coin hoards, 96–97
Columbus, Christopher, 242
commerce. *See* trade
concubines, 107
conversions, 70–73
copper, 54, 58, 224
Coptic Christianity, 30, 38–42
cowries, 84, 86, 127, 139, 146, 185–87, 220
Cresques, son of Abraham, 192

dakākīr. *See* idols
Daniel (author of Ethiopian inscriptions), 90–92
Davidson, Basil, 10
Debre Damo monastery, 95–98
Desplagnes, Louis, 83
Devisse, Jean, 52
dhimmī (protected ones), 225
Diafounou, 78–79
Dongola, 29–32, 34, 40
Dūghâ (sultan's interpreter), 205–7
Du Huan, 17–18
Dulcert, Angelino, 192
Dyula (traders), 122

Egypt, 30–34, 39–42, 161
Ethiopia: Christianity in, 40–41, 90, 95–98, 155, 210–13; decline of, 14; inscriptions from, 90–92; treasures of Debre Damo in, 95–98; tumuli in, 82
ethnoarchaeology, 128
eunuchs, 212–13

Faras, 38
Fouché, Leo, 137
fundamentalism, religious, 228–29
funerary practices, 85–87

Gama, Vasco da, 6, 242–47
Gao, 70
George II, king of Nubia, 37, 39–42
Ghâna (medieval), 7, 52, 57–61, 65–68; capital of, 59–61; funerary practices in, 86–87; gold in, 58, 65–66, 120–21, 197; as Muslim kingdom, 66–67, 70; two instantiations of, 66–68
Ghana (modern), 57
glass beads, Indo-Pacific, 86, 137, 139, 145, 220
global Middle Ages: Chinese-African contacts in, 20–21; concept of, 11–12
Global Positioning System (GPS), 184
gold: from Aoudaghost, 54; from Ghâna, 58, 65–66, 120–21, 197; Mapungubwe and, 139; mines for, 126–29; Mûsâ's association with, 191, 196–97; in the Sahel, 76, 113, 120–24; trade in, 121–24, 139, 212, 223–24, 228; from Zimbabwe, 217
Gold Coast, 57
golden rhinoceros of Mapungubwe, 10, 137–40
Great Zimbabwe, 216–21
Greefswald farm, 136–38
greenware, 139, 145
Guanches, 233

- al-Hâjj Zayyân, 178
 al-Hâkim (caliph), 42
 Hall, Richard, 219–20
 Hârûn al-Rashîd, 23
 Hasan Ibn Sulaymân, 144
 Henry the Navigator, infante of Portugal, 233
 Herodotus, 29
 Hijra, 65, 162
 Hindus, 246
 Hiram, king of Tyre, 126
 historiography, of medieval Africa, 3–10, 13–14
 Horn of Africa, 17–18, 101–4
 horses, 17, 46, 177, 234, 236
 Huelva and Saltés, 57
 Huffman, Thomas, 220
 Husuni Kubwa, 144–45
- Ibadism, 47
 Ibn al-Saghîr, 46–48
 Ibn Battûta, 2, 6, 112–13, 152, 170–72, 176–81, 194, 201–7
 Ibn Hawqal, 51–55
 Ibn Jubayr, 108
 Ibn Khaldûn, 165, 194, 197
 Ibn Saïd al-Maghribî, 132
 idols, 58, 70
 al-Idrîsî, 23, 65–68, 101–4
 India, 107, 139, 242–47
 iron, 146, 147
 Islamic culture and rule: Berbers' adoption of, 46–48; Debre Damo monastery and, 98; as intermediary in global Middle Ages, 20–21; in northern Africa, 5, 47
 Islamic religion: in Abyssinia, 210–13; benefits of, to African kings, 72–73; Christians' relations with, in Abyssinia, 210–13; conversions to, 70–73; funerary practices of, 85; missionaries of, 71; spread of, in Africa, 72. *See also* mosques
- al-Istakhri, 120
 ivory, 25, 26, 139
- Jafuda (Yehuda), son of Cresques, 192
 James I, king of Aragon, “the Conqueror,” 193
 Jews: and cartography, 192; massacre of, 228–30; persecution of, 193; in trade, 106–7, 112–14, 193, 224, 228; of Tuat, 225, 228–30
 Jirjis. *See* George II, king of Nubia
jizya (tax), 225, 229
- Kharijism, 46–47, 114, 202
 Kilwa, 14, 144–48, 244
 ha-Kohen, Judah ben Joseph, 112
 ha-Kohen, Shlomo, 114
 Koï Gourey, 83
 Kûkiyâ, 227
 Kumbi Saleh, 59–61
 Kushans, 96–97
- Lalibela, 155–58
 Land of the Blacks (Sûdân): conversion of kings in, 71, 73; Ghâna's stature in, 65, 68; gold from, 113, 120, 123–24; king of, 202; salt transported to, 171–72; slaves from, 48; trade route to, 176; travels in, 51
 Livingstone, David, 137
 Loango, 166
 Lotrie, Francois Bernhard, 137
- Maaden Ijâfen, 184–88
 Madagascar, 150–53
 Madeira, 233, 238
 Mâghâ I, sultan of Mali, 197
 al-Maghîlî, Muhammad, 229–30
 Maghreb, 65, 71, 77, 193, 228
 Mahrûz ben Jacob, 112
 Ma Huan, 19
 Majorca, 191–93
 Makuria, 29, 38–39

- Malal, king of, 70–72
- Malfante, Antonio, 120, 223–28
- Mâli (medieval): capital of, 6, 201–7; as caravan endpoint, 180–81; decline of, 14; royal behavior in, 204–7; royal succession in, 164–68; sultan of, 191–92; trade in, 121–22
- Mali (modern), 83
- Mapungubwe, 136–41
- maqdas* (sanctuary), 155
- Maqqarî brothers, 115–16, 177
- al-Maqrîzî, 31–34
- Mâri-Djâta, sultan of Mâli, 165
- Mârî Djâta II, sultan of Mâli, 197
- Marinids, 114
- Marioni, Giovanni, 223
- Marrakesh, 76–79
- mashwâr* (esplanade), 203–5
- al-Masûdî, 23–26, 114, 123, 133
- Masûfa tribe, 176, 179–81
- material remains, of medieval Africa, 6–8.
See also archaeology
- Mauny, Raymond, 163, 172
- Mauritania, 7, 9
- Mazrui, Ali A., 2
- Mecca, 52, 77, 109, 145, 162, 194–95, 201
- Melkite Christianity, 42
- metropolitans (heads of churches), 40–41, 211
- mihrrâb* (niche oriented toward Mecca), 52, 145
- mines, 120–21, 126–29, 173
- Mogadishu, 19–20, 151–53
- Molin, 17
- Mombasa, 244
- Monod, Théodore, 9, 170–71, 184–87
- Mordini, Antonio, 95–98
- Morocco, 117
- mosques: Aoudaghost, 52; Dongola, 32, 34; Ghâna, 59–60; Husuni Kubwa, 144–46; Marrakesh, 76; Mogadishu, 152; Sijilmâsa, 117; Taghâza, 170; Timbuktu, 194
- Mowena (African man), 137
- Mozambique, 243–44
- Mudimbé, Vumbi Yoka, 2
- Muhammad, king of Songhai, 229
- Muḥammad, Prophet, 66, 70, 195
- Muhammad, sultan of Mâli, 165, 167
- Muhammad ibn Alî Sadûn, 53
- Mûsâ, sultan of Mâli, 4, 5, 162, 164–68, 191–97, 203
- Muslims. *See* Islamic religion
- Nile River, 29
- Nobadia, 29, 38
- Nubia, 12, 29–34; archaeology of, 37–39; Christians in, 29–30, 37–42; Egyptian relations with, 30–34, 39–42
- Oliver, Roland, 10
- oral traditions, 5
- Orientalism, 219
- Ouadane, 184–85
- El-Oualadji, 83
- Oualata, 180–81, 202
- Pachoras, cathedral of, 37–39, 42
- pastoral societies, 138
- Philistines, 225
- Philotheos (Coptic patriarch), 40
- pilgrims, 108
- Polo, Marco, 2, 5–6, 150–53
- porcelain, 18, 145, 220
- Portugal, 228, 233–37, 242–47
- power, social/political, 236
- pre-Columbian America, African expeditions to, 161–63
- Ptolemy, 101
- Qambalû, 24–26
- Qasr Ibrîm, 30–34

- Reconquista, 228
religion. *See* Christianity; Islamic religion;
 traditional religion
religious fundamentalism, 228–29
Robert, Denise and Serge, 52
rocs, 150
Roger II, king of Sicily, 101
royalty, myths of origin/succession of,
 162–68
- Sabraddin, sultan of Ifât, 210
Sâfi (slave), 106–7
Sahara, 51–54, 170; caravans in, 176–81, 184–
 88; customs of tribes in, 79; exploration
 of, 45–48; trade in, 48, 51, 53–55, 113, 116,
 120, 171–73, 193, 223–24
Sahel: conversions in, 70–73; documentary
 sources about, 6; enslaved inhabitants of,
 48; gold in, 120–24
al-Sâhilî, Abû Ishâq, 194
Salek oud Guejmoul, 184
salt, 53–54, 58, 170–73, 224
Sanhâja nomads, 51–52, 76–77
al-Sarakhsî, 115
Senegal, 84
serpents, 78, 178–79
Shiism, 47
Sijilmâsa, 48, 51, 53–54, 76, 112–17, 120,
 176–77, 193, 225
Silla, 70
skins. *See* animal skins
slavery: Abyssinia and, 212–13; Berbers as
 victims of, 45–46; Nubia and, 30, 32–33;
 trade associated with, 30, 32–33, 212–13,
 226, 233, 236
snakes. *See* serpents
Sofala, 24–25, 132–34
Solomon, king of Jerusalem, 126
Somalia, 19–20
Somaliland, 107
Soninke, 78
- South Africa, 136–38
sperm whales, 23
Sûdân. *See* Land of the Blacks
Sulaymân, sultan of Mâli, 201
Sunnism, 46–47, 114
Swahili civilization/language, 24–25, 151,
 153
- Taghâza, 170–73
Takrûr, 70
Tamentit, 223–30
Tankâminîn, 57–59
Tanzania, 14
thirst, 176–77
throne-base, 90–92
Timbuktu, 170–71, 193–94, 227
Tî-n-Yarûtân, 51
trade: in ambergris, 23–24, 26; archipelagos
 and, 238; with China, 18–21, 26; family-
 based, 115–16; funerary practices reflect-
 ing, 86; in gold, 121–24, 139, 212, 223–24,
 228; Great Zimbabwe's role in, 219–20;
 with India, 107, 139; in ivory, 26; Jews
 involved in, 106–7, 112–14, 193, 224, 228;
 Kilwa's role in, 144–47; Majorca's role in,
 193; Mapungubwe's role in, 139–41; Mog-
 adishu's role in, 151–52; Portuguese entry
 into, 228, 234–35; in the Sahara, 48, 51,
 53–55, 113, 116, 120, 171–73, 193, 223–24;
 in salt, 171–72; Sijilmâsa's role in, 48, 51,
 53–54, 76, 112–17, 120, 176–77, 193, 225;
 in slaves, 30, 32–33, 212–13, 226, 233, 236;
 system/market for conducting, 121–24,
 238; Taghâza's role in, 171; Tuat's role in,
 223–24, 227; Zanj/Qambalû and, 25–26.
 See also caravans
traditional religion, 58, 70–73
treasures, 10
treaty. *See* *baqt*
troglodytic dwellings, 158
Tuaregs, 58, 79

- Tuat, 223–30
tumuli (burial mounds), 82–87
Tumulus P, 84
- ulamas, 71, 229, 237
al-Umarî, Ibn Fadl Allâh, 120–21, 162, 195–
96, 211, 213
UNESCO, 37, 136
Uqba ibn Nâfi, 45–46, 164
al-Uswânî, Ibn Sulaym, 39–42
- Van Graan, Jerry, 137
veils, 48, 77, 79, 191, 225
Vikings, 161
- wadi, 114
Wangâra (traders), 121–22, 202
Wâr-Djâbî ibn Râbîs, 70
Washlû, 212–13
- water, 176–77, 180
al-Wazzân, Hasan. *See* Africanus, Leo
writing and written sources: *baqt* on Egyptian-Nubian relations, 30–34; Coptic, 40; God's name in, 106; historiographical considerations about, 4–6, 13–14; Ibn Hawqal's *Book of Itineraries and Kingdoms*, 51–55; inscriptions on Ethiopian throne-base, 90–92
- al-Yaqûbî, 48, 120
Yâqût al-Rûmî, 76, 114–15, 123, 176
Yûsuf ibn Tâshfîn, 76
- Zâfûn, and its king, 76–79
Zanâta nomads, 52, 113
Zanj, 23–25
ez-Zeilâi, Abd Allah, 211
Zheng He, 18–20