



AFRICAN ARABIC  
LITERATURE AS A  
SOURCE OF HISTORY

PART II



# Intellectual innovation and reinvention of the Sahel: the seventeenth-century Timbuktu chronicles

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## The properties of Timbuktu's *tarikh* genre

Something special happened in Timbuktu in the second half of the seventeenth century AD/eleventh century *hijri*: the emergence of a new literary genre. This was the Timbuktu *tarikh* genre.

The Timbuktu works which share *tarikh* properties are the *Tarikh al-Sudan* (Chronicle of the Sudan)<sup>1</sup> of al-Sa'di (completed in 1653 but updated in 1656); the *Tarikh al-fattash* (Chronicle of the Researcher)<sup>2</sup> of Ibn al-Mukhtar (completed in 1664 or soon after); and the anonymous, so-called *Notice historique*<sup>3</sup> (which began to be written some time between 1657 and 1669). Another work that appears to have belonged to the same genre, the *Durar al-hisan fi akhbar ba'd muluk al-Sudan* (Pearls of Beauties Concerning What is Related About Some Kings of the Sudan), by Baba Goro, has been lost. It may have been written earlier than the others, still in the first half of the seventeenth century, though it is also possible it was composed after the *Tarikh al-Sudan*, which fails to mention it (by contrast, the *Tarikh al-fattash* quotes from the *Durar al-hisan*).<sup>4</sup>

Those who practised the *tarikh* genre aimed at producing a unified narrative of various areas of the Sahel (Sahil) region – a narrative ranging from the earliest centuries to the time of the writers. At the present state of knowledge, it seems that this was the first time their kind of overarching narrative was attempted in the region. Indeed, except for the introduction and some other passages in the *Tarikh al-fattash*, all of which are believed to be nineteenth-century forgeries,<sup>5</sup> there is so far no evidence suggesting that historical syntheses comparable to the extant *tarikh* works in scope, or in intellectual

Opposite: Examples of inscriptions at an epigraphic site north of Timbuktu.

and ideological orientation, had existed before them. No work of this kind, dated from before the seventeenth century, has been found among the manuscripts rediscovered in Timbuktu in recent years.<sup>6</sup>

Actually, the *tarikhs* writers themselves underline this difference. They did draw on inherited knowledge. And they incorporated in their texts accounts provided by oral traditionists, and quoted from earlier Timbuktu writings. One of them (the author of the *Tarikh al-Sudan*) also mentions oral discussions of historical topics held by their own Timbuktu-elite ancestors. However, the two *tarikhs* writers whose original prefaces survive (the authors of the *Tarikh al-Sudan* and the *Notice historique*) present their works as new syntheses and new investigations of the discrete and fragmentary strands of tradition available to them, not as a simple prolongation of integrated visions of the past already in existence. The *Notice historique* states that the available historical records were inadequate with regard to even the most recent of the Songhay dynasties, the Askiya dynasty. The *Tarikh al-Sudan* calls attention to issues not covered by the existing accounts of the origins of the Zuwa dynasty. The *Tarikh al-fattash* explicitly declares that no *tarikh* whatsoever was available about the Kayamagha dynasty of medieval Ghana.<sup>7</sup>

These remarks by the authors themselves should not be dismissed as self-serving, boastful, rhetorical devices. They were not unwarranted claims to originality. Rather, they reflect an intellectual dissatisfaction with earlier accounts – a dissatisfaction that could not but be felt by writers who wanted to address new historical and intellectual issues, but who found that the collection of the evidence required for this purpose had not been at the forefront of their ancestors' preoccupations. The *tarikhs* writers were in fact inventing a new idea of the Sahelian past.

However, despite the statements to the contrary by the *tarikh* writers, we modern historians have insisted on assuming those writers had at their disposal a wealth of reliable historical records transmitted from generation to generation and reaching back several centuries. The accumulated weight of this supposed heritage is deemed to be the force that made those writers write – no other possible spur to their endeavours has been considered. Therefore the chroniclers are misrepresented as more or less passive conduits of tradition, while in fact they were intellectual innovators and politico-ideological doers. The *tarikh* writing done in the seventeenth century was a literary genre that had no precedent and no succession in Timbuktu. Sadly, the *tarikh* genre was short-lived.

The post-*tarikh* period in Timbuktu yielded works like the anonymous *Tadhkirat al-nisiyan fi akhbar muluk as-Sudan* (Reminder for Forgetfulness Regarding What is Related About the Rulers of the Sudan),<sup>8</sup> completed in 1751 and essentially a biographical dictionary of Pasha rulers; or the (also anonymous and still unpublished) *Diwan al-muluk fi salatin al-Sudan* (Royal Records of the Rulers of the Sudan),<sup>9</sup> also a history of the Pashalik during most of the period covered by the *Tadhkirat al-nisiyan*; or yet the *Dhikr al-wafayat wa-ma hadath min al-'umur al-'izam* (Recollection of Deaths and [Other]

Grave Events)<sup>10</sup> by Mawlay al-Qasim b. Mawlay Sulayman, which offers information on events in the Timbuktu–Jenne area from 1747 to 1801. None of these later works is comparable to the *tarikḥ* writings in geographical, chronological or conceptual scope. As far as we know, the *tarikḥ* genre had no continuation in the two centuries that followed its short golden age.

The reasons why this genre was born so suddenly, as well as the reasons for its equally sudden demise, are inscribed in the intellectual and political issues that were at the core of their texts.

It is clear, from the *tarikḥ* texts, that they were centred upon the task of making historical sense of the political and social upheavals brought about by the Moroccan invasion of 1591. Obviously, none of the writing genres existing before that invasion could have paid any attention to such a task, which is one of the defining specificities of the *tarikḥ* genre and which unmistakably provides this genre with a *terminus a quo*, or limit for its possible starting point in time.

But the *tarikḥ* works were also implicitly centred on a novel political project, which expressed a will to power. Their distinctive characteristics were clearly geared to this project, which is the only thing capable of explaining ‘oddities’ in the *tarikḥ* texts that otherwise would remain impossible to understand.<sup>11</sup> It was political aspirations that set the new genre in motion, not the accumulated weight of earlier manuscripts from which *tarikḥ* historical writing actually differs in kind.

That political project would have been not only unnecessary, but in fact unthinkable, in earlier centuries – and was still unthinkable just a few decades before the *tarikḥ* works were composed. It only became possible under the conditions obtaining after the Moroccan invasion. It would have been nonsensical at any earlier stage. Moreover, it only became imaginable after a high degree of integration with local society had been achieved by the Arma (the descendants of the Maghribians, Spaniards and Portuguese, brought into the region by the Moroccan invasion and its aftermath).<sup>12</sup>

It was a project of reconciliation between three elites, aimed at a closer, less unequal political integration of each of them with the others.<sup>13</sup> These three elites were the Arma military and political class themselves (who needed definitively to legitimise their power), the Askiya lineages (now deprived by the Moroccan invasion of independent sovereign power over the region, but still playing significant political roles in it) and the urban patriciate of Timbuktu and Jenne (to which the *tarikḥ* writers belonged, and which had suffered much from the invasion but still retained considerable influence and literate skills useful to the Arma administration). Modern historians have long overlooked this project of a new social pact and its pertinence to the emergence of the *tarikḥ* genre.<sup>14</sup>

Unfortunately, not long after the *tarikḥ* works were produced, the politically and conceptually audacious project that inspired them became unfeasible, given increasing

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New textual genres are directly or indirectly sponsored into existence by new audiences equipped with new sensibilities, expectations and worldly interests, though these new audiences themselves are also constituted and shaped by the new genres that address them. The process is reciprocal. Hence, if audiences' expectations radically change, the vitality of the textual genre they sponsored may be fatally undermined. *Tarikh* writing went out in Timbuktu when *tarikh* audiences among the Arma, the Askiya lineages and the Timbuktu patricians could no longer treat the *tarikh* texts as statements of a unique kind, and as a feasible political blueprint, and began to treat them instead as just one type of historical record among others.

factionalism among the Arma and among the Askiya lineages as well, to which was added increasing political pressure from Tuareg confederations. The *tarikh* genre perished together with that project, without literary posterity.

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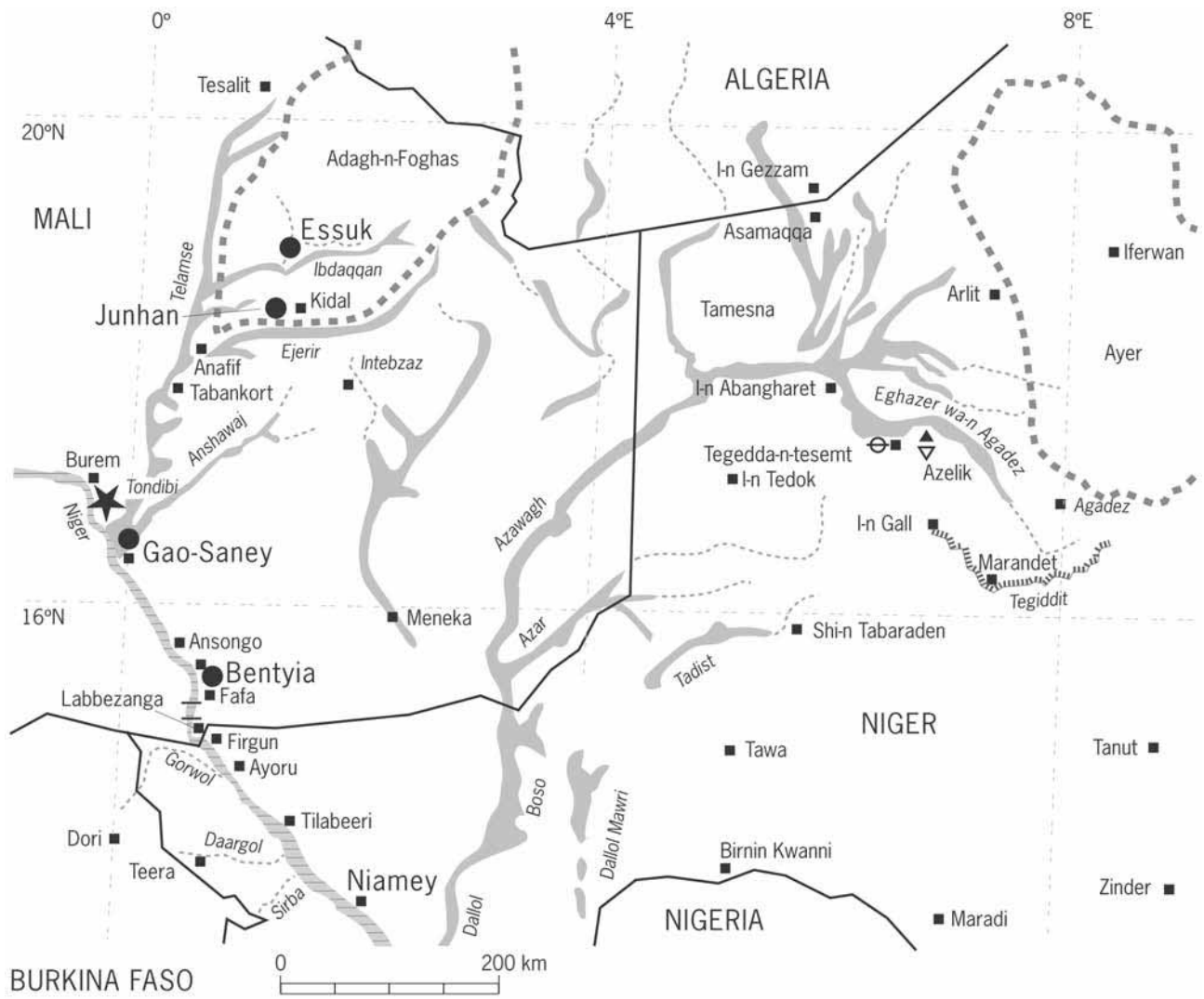
It is then the notion of genre that gives us the key to what happened. This notion allows us to organise textual traditions into categories of works defined by common properties as to their form, subject matter and strategies for producing meaning. This notion is an essential critical tool, without which proper literary history is impossible. Yet it has not been adequately applied to the Timbuktu *tarikh* works.

Within any given literary tradition, genres have a beginning in time and may come to an end, too. The relationship of a new genre to the tradition within which it emerges is one of rupture, not continuity and accumulation. This is what we have for long failed to consider in our studies of the Timbuktu *tarikh* genre (and when I say 'we', I do include myself in it).

We, and in particular historians, have emphasised continuity between this seventeenth-century genre and what was written in Timbuktu before and after. We have done so in order to bolster our belief that the *tarikh* genre merely reproduced and updated old historical records (and an old interest in the construction of wide historical panoramas and continuous historical narratives) going back over the centuries, and transmitted from generation to generation. It has been in our corporate professional interest, as modern historians, to postulate such continuity, because it supposedly permits us to pronounce authoritatively on the past of the Sahel by quoting the *tarikh* writers' reconstructions of history, which we deem inherited from eyewitnesses positioned in earlier eras all the way back almost to time immemorial.

Hence, to reinforce our own modern-historian authority, we have deprived the *tarikh* writers of their historian status. We have reduced them to 'informants' and providers of supposedly 'raw' evidence. But, in fact, they were not mere informants, but historians like ourselves, and they had their own difficulties in retrieving evidence and reconstructing the past from the point of view of their novel intellectual and political stance – the kind of difficulties modern historians are well acquainted with.

Figure 7.1 Medieval epigraphic sites in Mali and Niger



- |   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
| ● Medieval epigraphic-archaeological sites (Mali) | ⋯ Cliff                            |
| ▲ Medieval archaeological site (Niger)            | - - - Highlands' schematic outline |
| ■ City, town, village or well                     | — National borders                 |
| Large fossil valley                               | ★ 1591 battlefield                 |
| ⊥ Rapids  | ▽ Copper                           |
| - - - Intermittent water-course                   | ⊖ Salt                             |

To reinforce our own modern-historian authority, modern scholars have deprived the *tarikḥ* writers of their status as historians. They have been reduced to 'informants' and providers of supposedly 'raw' evidence. But, in fact, they were not mere informants, but historians like ourselves, and they had their own difficulties in retrieving evidence and reconstructing the past from the point of view of their novel intellectual and political stance – the kind of difficulties modern historians are well acquainted with.

It is then from the notion of literary and political ruptures, and of paradigm shifts, rather than from the notion of continuity, that our analysis must proceed. We must pay special attention to the properties that made the *tarikḥ* genre different from other genres which preceded and followed it, and which also recorded historical events.

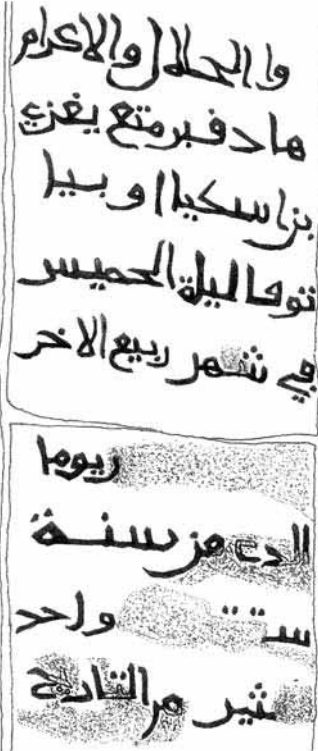
One of those properties is what we may call the 'plenitude effect' imparted by the *tarikḥ* works to their accounts of dynastic history in the Sahel, all of which culminate in the history of the Askiya dynasty. The purpose of this was to reinforce the symbolic capital of the Askiya lineages who figured among the writers' patrons, and to give those lineages odds in the game of reformed political alliances envisaged by the writers. In practice, it meant constructing narratives of the past that were apparently free of gaps, that is, deploying writing strategies that prevented narrative breaks where evidence was missing. Partly, this 'plenitude effect' was achieved by borrowing stories and characters from Tuareg folklore, and making them pass for historical characters. From Aligurran or Arigullan, a hero of Tuareg lore, the Timbuktu chroniclers fashioned the character they call 'Ali Kulun' or 'Ali Golom', the supposed founder of the Sii or Sonni dynasty of Songhay; and stories associated with the same Tuareg character underlie part of the account of the foundation of the Askiya dynasty provided by the *Tarikh al-Sudan*.<sup>15</sup>

Most of our modern historical reconstructions remain largely based on what the *tarikḥ* writers said. Given the deceptive fullness of their narratives, we modern historians have so far experienced difficulty in finding, in our own accounts, space to accommodate available evidence which contradicts *tarikḥ* statements, or to which *tarikḥ* writers simply did not have access. Yet such evidence exists, and offers support to a new critical approach to the work of the seventeenth-century Timbuktu historians.<sup>16</sup>

I shall now show some of this evidence, which in this particular case comes from Arabic epigraphy rather than from Tuareg oral tradition. The evidence originates in Gao and Bentiya, two of the most important medieval epigraphic sites in the territory of the Republic of Mali (see Figure 7.1 on page 99). It consists of one inscription from the Jira Kanje Cemetery (by the side of the mosque known as Askiya Mosque) in Old Gao, and two from Bentiya's Larger Cemetery. These three inscriptions prove the unreliability of fundamental aspects of the historical reconstructions provided by the seventeenth-century Timbuktu chroniclers, and since adopted by most modern historians.

However, as will be seen in the conclusion of this chapter, this should not lead to the dismissal of the Timbuktu chronicles as historical documents. Rather, what is needed is a new mode of investigation and historical appreciation of their texts.





- [1]: (ذ) وا [sic] أَلْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ  
 [2]: هَذَا قَبْرُ مَنْعٍ [sic] يَغْزِي  
 [3]: بَنِي اسْكِيَا (أَسْكِيَا ؟ إِسْكِيَا ؟) أَوْبِيَا  
 [4]: تَوَفَّا [sic] لَيْلَةَ الْخَمِيْسِ  
 [5]: فِي شَهْرِ رَبِيعِ الْآخِرِ  
 [6]: يَوْمًا .....  
 [7]: أَلْتَدِي (ي) مِنْ سَنَةِ  
 [8]: سِتِّ مِائَةٍ (مِائَةٍ) وَآحَدٍ [sic]  
 [9]: (وَتَلَا) ثِنِينَ مِنَ التَّارِيخِ (رِيخ)

### Epigraphic evidence for a new critique of the *tarikhs* accounts

The first inscription (see Figures 7.2, 7.3, 7.4) survives only in the form of an *estampage* (paper-squeeze impression) made in Gao at Jira Kanje in 1912, by the French explorer Georges-Reynard de Gironcourt. This *estampage* is now kept in the library of the Institut de France in Paris. The inscription bears the number 62 in the epigraphic corpus published in 2003.<sup>17</sup> Another inscription (number 63), almost certainly from the same cemetery, also contains the title *Askiya*, but its date is no longer readable.

The translation of the surviving part of inscription 62 is as follows:

[...]

- [1] Possessed of majesty and bounty [Qur'an 55: 26–27]  
 [2] This is the tomb of Y.gh.z.y. [Yaghazi? Yaghaziya?]  
 [3] son of Askiya Aw.b.ya [Awbiyya? Awbaya? 'Uwubiya? Awu-Baya?].  
 [4] He died on Thursday night  
 [5] in the month of Rabi' the Last  
 [6] ...days,  
 [7] which was in the year  
 [8] s-[-ix hundred] and one  
 [9] [and thir-]-ty of the [Islamic] Era.

from left to right:

Figure 7.2 Photo of De Gironcourt's *estampage* 306, done on inscription 62, about the son of an *askiya*, dated 1234, Gao.

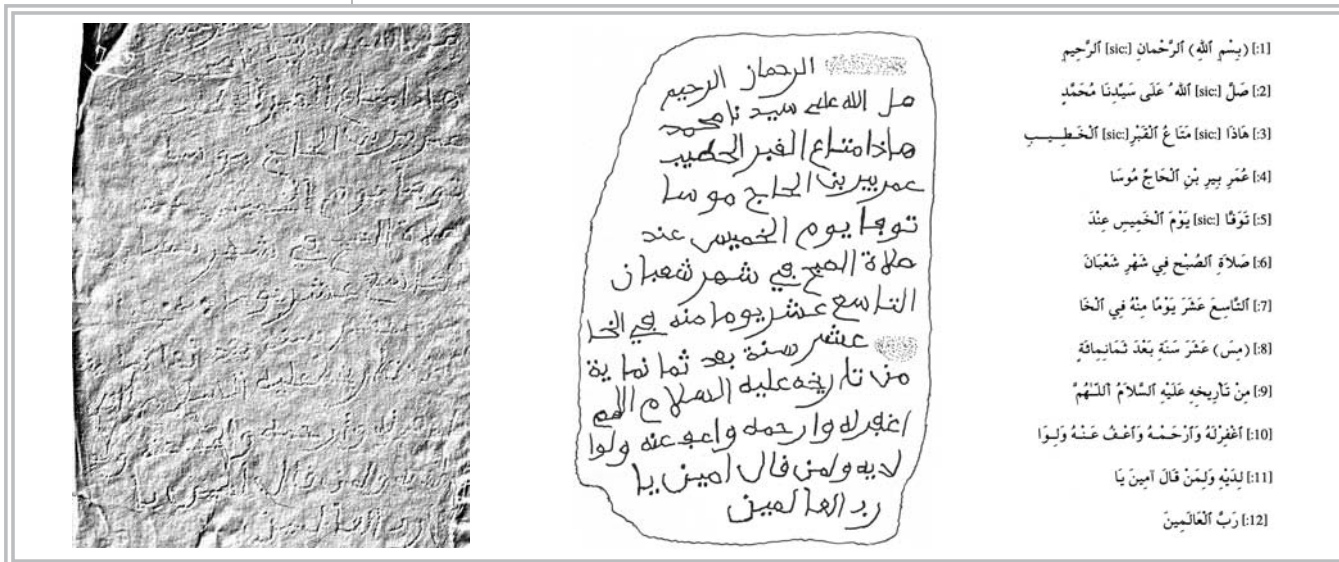
Figure 7.3 Moraes Farias's line drawing of De Gironcourt's *estampage* 306.

Figure 7.4 Transcription of the line drawing.

The date of death belongs to the month of Rabi' the Last (the fourth month) of the year 631 of the Islamic calendar, that is, to the period extending between 4 January and 1 February 1234. It is still possible to read this partly erased chronological reference thanks to the diacritical points that have survived.

It shows that the title *Askiya* was in use in Gao no less than 259 years before 1493 (the year of its creation according to the *Tarikh al-Sudan*), and 246 years before the decade beginning in 1480 (from which the *Tarikh al-fattash* appears to date its use). In fact, the title appears to have had a much longer and more complicated history in Gao than the Timbuktu chroniclers ever knew.<sup>18</sup>

The second inscription (see Figures 7.5, 7.6, 7.7) bears the number 226 in the published corpus. It has disappeared from the Bentiya sites and is only known through a De Gironcourt *estampage* (799) preserved in the Institut de France.<sup>19</sup>



from left to right:  
Figure 7.5 Photo of De Gironcourt's *estampage* 799 done of inscription 226, of a *khatib*, dated 1412, Bentiya.

Figure 7.6 Line drawing of De Gironcourt's *estampage* 799.

Figure 7.7 Transcription of the line drawing.

Here is its translation:

- [1] [In the name of God], the Merciful, the Compassionate
- [2] God bless our lord Muhammad.
- [3] This is the mortal remains [literally: the chattels of the tomb] of the *khatib*
- [4] Umar Beere son of al-Hajj Musa.
- [5] He died on Thursday at the time of
- [6] the dawn prayer, in the month of Sha'ban,
- [7] on the nineteenth day of it, in the fif-
- [8] teenth year after eight hundred
- [9] of his [Prophet Muhammad's] Era, upon him be peace. O God!
- [10] Forgive him, and have mercy on him, and absolve him and his par-
- [11] ents, and whoever says 'Amen, o
- [12] Lord of the Worlds!'

The date of death is the nineteenth day of Sha‘ban of the year 815 of the *hijra*, that is, 23 November 1412, which was actually a Tuesday according to the mathematical calendar tables.

The *Tarikh al-Sudan* describes the Kukyia area, which corresponds to the Bentiya sites, as a centre of undiluted ‘paganism’ from which Pharaoh had recruited sorcerers against Prophet Musa (Moses).<sup>20</sup> Yet the vast Muslim necropolises at Bentiya prove the presence there of a sizeable Muslim community, probably composed of traders, between 1272 and 1489. Actually, the support of this community probably helps to explain the Sonni dynasty’s successful bid for power in the fifteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Probably, the office of *khatib* was associated in the Kukyia/Bentiya area not only with the preaching of the *khutba* or Friday sermon, but also with important political functions. It is the only Islamic office known to have existed in Gao under Sonni ‘Ali Beeri, the most powerful of the Sonni rulers, who reigned from 1464–65 to 1492. Under the Askiya dynasty, Gao’s *khatib* also held the office of *qadi* or judge.<sup>22</sup>

The third inscription (see Figures 7.8, 7.9, 7.10) bears the number 234 in the published corpus.<sup>23</sup> It is still *in situ* at Bentiya’s Larger Cemetery. Only part of its text is still readable.



Its translation is as follows:

- [1] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. God bless Muhammad
- [2] ...This is the tomb of the *wazir* Muhammad ‘Ariyaw [or: ‘Ariyu/‘Iriyaw/etc...], praise-named
- [3] Kawkaw, son of Bu Bakrin [or: Bubakar]. Ig-[-noble] people iniquitously killed him
- [4] ...on Monday night at the time of
- [5] ...twenty-nine of
- [6] ...[the f-]ourth and twenty [sic]
- [7] ...[o-]f the Era of the Prophet
- [8] ...

from left to right:

Figure 7.8 Inscription 234, of a *wazir*, dated [14]21, Bentiya. Photograph taken *in situ*.

Figure 7.9 Line drawing of inscription 234.

Figure 7.10 Transcription of inscription 234.

The date of death almost certainly belongs to the year 824 of the Islamic calendar, that is, AD 1421.

In addition to preserving a Songhay *zammu* or praise name, inscription 234 confirms the high degree of organisation of the local Muslim community. It is probable that those who held the office of *wazir* mediated between the local trader community and the area's political rulers. The Timbuktu chroniclers had no inkling of such arrangements, hence their depiction of the history of the Kukyia/Bentiya region is highly misleading.

## Conclusion

The *Tarikh al-Sudan* of al-Sa'di, the *Tarikh al-fattash* of Ibn al-Mukhtar and the anonymous *Notice historique* aimed at writing up the Sahel of West Africa as a vast geopolitical entity defined by the notion of imperial kingship. It is from them that we have inherited the idea of three great empires (Ghana, Mali and Songhay) succeeding one another in West Africa.

In the texts of the Timbuktu chroniclers, that imperial tradition culminates in the Askiya rulers of Songhay, precisely the dynasty that had lost its political independence at the hands of the invaders who came from Morocco in the apocalyptic year of 1591. Hence the imperial rank of the Askiya needed to be given afresh the highest possible legitimacy.

It is precisely when the Askiya princes had become subordinate to the Arma that the chroniclers rebuilt, and reinforced, the overthrown dynasty's claim to caliphal status. (Significantly, Ahmad Baba, the most famous Timbuktu writer of the preceding generation, had classified the Askiya state as a mere sultanate, not a caliphate.)<sup>24</sup>

At the same time, the meaning of the expression *bilad al-sudan* (land of the black peoples) was continuing to evolve within the *tarikh* genre. As shown by Hunwick, in the *Tarikh al-Sudan*, while al-Sa'di sometimes uses the word *Sudan* with reference to the inhabitants of the region, at other times he uses it in a geopolitical sense to mean the Middle Niger land area.<sup>25</sup> Thus the term *bilad al-sudan* or *ard al-sudan*, which had begun its career as an instrument of otherisation applied from outside the region, was now being taken over by Sudanese insiders and made into a badge of greatness.

The image of the black West African caliphate was meant to rival the caliphal claims put forward from North Africa by Morocco's Sadi dynasty. However, in the immediate context of the Middle Niger region, the function of that image was to persuade the Arma to accept a new social and political pact with the pre-invasion Songhay elites. It was not meant to challenge Arma political leadership.

Two pioneers, DT Niane and Olivier de Sardan, initiated the study of the ideological background of the Timbuktu chronicles.<sup>26</sup> Both these scholars saw the chronicles as

celebrations of the social hierarchy that had existed at the time of the pre-invasion Askiya rulers, that is, of the alliance of two traditional ruling classes (the Songhay royal lineages and the literate urban traders), and of the subordination of the slave population and other social classes to those two dominant groups.

But, in fact, one novelty of the *tarikh* genre was its implicit formulation of a blueprint for the future which came to terms with the post-invasion political realities, and hence sought a stable reconciliation with the Arma. The Timbuktu chronicles were far from being a mere exercise in nostalgia. Also, the chroniclers took for granted that slaves and other traditionally subordinate groups should be kept at the lower end of the social hierarchy – this was not the main point of their writing. Rather, their specific aim was a new alliance of elites.

It was this particular political aim that led the *tarikh* writers to engineer a continuous narrative of the region's history, taking in even its remotest periods. Thus, on the same page, al-Sa'di could complain about lack of historical evidence on the Zuwa dynasty, yet claim to provide information about it of which 'those in the know' were well aware.<sup>27</sup>

But, no matter how misleading its accounts of the earliest eras can be, the Timbuktu *tarikh* genre remains a precious source of information about periods chronologically closer to the chroniclers. And, above all, the three great chronicles are invaluable for the light they throw on social relations and politico-ideological issues at the time of their writing.

It must be clear by now that the purpose of this chapter is not to dismiss the Timbuktu *tarikh* texts as historical sources. Rather, the aim is to grasp the *tarikh* writers not as antiquaries, but as senior colleagues in the joint task of producing historical knowledge, and as persons fully engaged in the issues of their own time. Indeed they were highly active historical characters themselves. Their writing was an intervention in their own contemporary history.



## NOTES

- 1 Al-Sa'di (1964); see also the English translation of parts of the text by Hunwick (1999: 1–270); and the excerpts from the work made by the German explorer Heinrich Barth and published by Ralfs (1855).
- 2 Ibn al-Mukhtar (1964).
- 3 Anon. A (1964).
- 4 See Moraes Farias (2003: Chapter 2: 121, 136, 143) – these are references to the numbered paragraphs in Part I and Part II of the book, which have page numbers in Roman numerals.
- 5 On these forgeries, see Levtzion (1971: 574, 576, 592–593).
- 6 On these rediscoveries, see Haidara (1997, 1999); Hofheinz (2004); and some of the chapters published in this book.
- 7 See al-Sa'di (1964: text 1–2, 5, trans. 2–3, 8); Hunwick trans. (1999: 1–2, 6); Anon. A (1964: 327–329); Ibn al-Mukhtar (1964: text 42, trans. 79–80).
- 8 Anon. B (1966).
- 9 See Hunwick (1992b: 179).
- 10 See Abitbol (1982).
- 11 See Moraes Farias (2003: Chapter 2: 117–120).
- 12 See Hodgkin (1987).
- 13 See Moraes Farias (2003: Chapter 2, *passim*).
- 14 However, an important step toward the analysis of the political motivations behind the writing of *tarikhs* works has been taken by Hunwick (1992a).
- 15 See Moraes Farias (2003: Chapter 2: 165–191; 2006b).
- 16 On this evidence found in West African oral traditions and Arabic inscriptions, and on the light it throws on the Timbuktu chronicles, see Moraes Farias (1974, 1990, 1993a, 1993b, 1999, 2003, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c).
- 17 See Moraes Farias (2003: Chapter 2, paragraphs 192–219, and Chapter 6, pages 57–58).
- 18 See Moraes Farias (2006b).
- 19 See Moraes Farias (2003: Chapter 3, paragraph 453, and Chapter 9, pages 191–192; 1993b: 58–60).
- 20 See al-Sa'di (1964: text 4, trans. 6–7); Hunwick trans. (1999: 5–6).
- 21 See Moraes Farias (2003: Chapter 3: 443–451).
- 22 See Moraes Farias (2003: Chapter 3: 453).
- 23 See Moraes Farias (2003: Chapter 3, paragraph 452, and Chapter 9, pages 199–200).
- 24 See Moraes Farias (2003: Chapter 2: 141–145); and al-Harraq & Hunwick (2000: text 83, trans. 44).
- 25 See Hunwick (1999: 2, footnote 3).
- 26 See Niane (1964) and Olivier de Sardan (1975).
- 27 See al-Sa'di (1964: text 5, trans. 8–9); Hunwick trans. (1999: 6).

## REFERENCES

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
ثم الذئب عنه فهداه فانزع من ذئب الخ اجنة اذ يزول من اناه فلهم او غشوا او فطخه او نهم الا  
كل اذ يشتر المرقدتها من امة اللحم من اهل الخاوية وعندكم ذئب اجدية زينة حاشي  
تم خاوية ما نشر اليه الجنب الذئب عقد اذ يشتر ما زرغ خاوية خاوية ومن  
بالجواد ستمسح من مزرع خاوية الذئب فضائفة يزرغ يشتر تاخاوية خاوية  
خاوية ناقة به شعر خاوية الذئب الا اذ يشتر خاوية خاوية وانه اذ عليه  
ومن اذ عليه شعر منه اللحم خاوية خاوية وانسبه خاوية خاوية الذئب واخذ  
بفقسبشعرا وقت معو للذئب خاوية خاوية خاوية او كرم بشر معو خاوية  
سداذ خاوية خاوية خاوية با صفة وجه الطرسوا اذ يشتر خاوية خاوية الذئب  
ما تار يشتر خاوية خاوية خاوية خاوية خاوية خاوية خاوية خاوية  
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انما المنة خالك من ذئب أثنت سبعة عجل اشته الذئب منفا اذ يشتر اذ ارجل  
انما اذ منفع واعد وشوا اشته خاوية مع صف او جارب او خاوية اشته خاوية  
بذئب بلغة من عالم ولشخصن خاوية خاوية اشته خاوية اشته كل اشته  
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