African Studies

Forging New Perspectives and Directions

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African Studies

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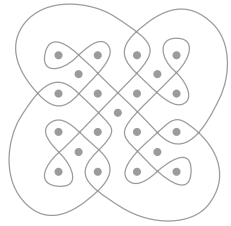

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Contents

The question of sources

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From the Editors

Over the centuries, Africa has evoked increasing amounts of interest among a large variety of scholars. To begin with, African languages attracted groups of linguists and developed into "African studies" as such, while interest in African history, ethnology, geography, etc. belonged to the sphere of general disciplines. Linguistic studies on African languages developed as areal studies, thus, initially, they focused on Bantu, Chadic, or Nilo-Saharan linguistics, among others. Knowledge of contemporary African languages contributed a lot primarily to the development of linguistic theory (phonology and tonology in particular), but studies into languages were also successfully used as part of the methodology applied to collect testimonies about the African past for which there were insufficient written sources.

Historians believed that African history could be studied exclusively through contacts with Europeans, the more so that a bulk of written sources documented these contacts. The notion of Africa as a continent "without history" was vivid among historians until the mid-20th century. However, Christian kingdoms in pre-colonial Africa, such as Ethiopia and the Kongo, attracted special attention from Europe. This resulted in a number of European sources dating back to the 15th century. While Ethiopia's own scripture and rich Christian culture were factors that contributed to the interest Western scholars showed in its history and heritage, it must be remembered that they did not perceive Ethiopia as Africa but as *Orbis Aethiopicus* — an integral part of *Orbis Christianum*. It is no accident that Amharic and Geez — the languages of Ethiopia — were the first to be studied in depth and were well described by Europeans. As early as in the 17th century, grammars and dictionaries of these languages were published by Hiob Ludolf. This opened the doors to the study of Ethiopian literature, which attracted considerable attention. It is important to state that the interest in Ethiopia was limited to the areas influenced by Christianity, in which Semitic languages were spoken, while the non-Christian cultures of the area only attracted the attention of scholars at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Bearing in mind this attitude, it should come as no surprise that in the case of some academic institutions, Warsaw being such an example, what is now called African Studies developed out of Ethiopian Studies.

African studies as an area of research has been in a permanent process of transformation since its beginnings, when focus on Africa was strongly connected with the European exploration of the world and colonialism. Interest in Africa accelerated in the 20th century when African countries became independent, and it continues nowadays as Africa gains a new position within the world. The perception of African cultures and history as not being subject to change, and of Africa as a continent that had not produced sources (understood as written texts) is today no longer maintained. This shift in the perception of Africa also determines the current understanding of African studies as an academic discipline. The discussion of the scope and content of African studies is reflected by their place in the academic world and in teaching programs.

In the contemporary academic world, African studies function as a field researched by specialists with different backgrounds. African languages are not only the subject of research but also the source of data necessary for a wide spectrum of transdisciplinary studies. The development of African studies involves a growing number of areas and methods, with the rise of studies into new geographical areas and subjects previously neglected. This is further developed through the combination of old methods and fields of interest with new achievements, which broaden our knowledge of the continent and its cultures. Quite obviously, these new approaches are strongly connected with developments in different research fields, which are increasingly more integrated into contemporary African studies.

The idea for this book emerged as a result of the conference "African studies in the contemporary world", hosted at the University of Warsaw on 14th October 2014, where some attitudes and methodologies representative for the topics undertaken by scholars dealing with present-day Africa were discussed. The main aim of the volume is to present a wide spectrum of interests and trends in contemporary African studies, including the application and incorporation of old and verified methods into contemporary frameworks that provide a pan-African perspective. Another aspect of African studies undertaken within this volume is the investigation of African history and cultures through post-colonial lenses. The contributions include extensive bibliographies significant both for the topics and for further research into new areas of African studies.

The contributions to the present volume have been arranged into three main sections. The first part "**The boundaries of Africa in African studies**" discusses certain more general aspects, determining some new trends in African studies. It not only touches upon the topic of geographical boundaries, but also points at shifts in the place where African studies are conducted (from Europe to Africa), and at the inclusion of a growing number of academic disciplines, such as archaeology, sociology, political studies, into the scope of African studies.

What seems to be perceived as obvious these days — that African studies consist of interdisciplinary research concerning the whole continent — was not understood as such some decades ago. Egypt was considered a territory separate from the rest

of Africa, while the study of its archaeology and of Ancient Egypt was included into Mediterranean archaeology. Adam Łukaszewicz in his contribution raises the question of whether Egyptian archaeology is actually a part of African studies, arguing that Egypt should be included into the field of African studies *sensu largo*, as a very special branch of African civilization. As for Egyptian archaeology, Łukaszewicz suggests it can only exist in a wider African and Mediterranean context, whereas African studies as a complex analysis of a rich variety of cultures, confirmed by the content of this volume, must be developed in a global context.

While discussing new perspectives and directions, a step back is taken to show the beginnings of scholarly traditions of research into the African continent as mirrored in the personal biography of a scholar. The development of academic institutions motivated by European interest in Africa and the overcoming of barriers in understanding Africa is shown by Ewa Wołk-Sore in her contribution entitled "'Among manuscripts and men of Ethiopia'. Stefan Strelcyn's quest for African studies". Wołk-Sore focuses her attention on the founder of African studies at the University of Warsaw, Professor Stefan Strelcyn. Not only does she describe the biography of this outstanding scholar, but she also presents his long forgotten lecture, in which Strelcyn discusses his determination in collecting manuscripts during his field trips to Ethiopia and the difficulties involved, resulting from misunderstandings, cultural differences, shortages of funds and lack of technical facilities. His article reveals the backstage of an adventurous trip thorough Ethiopia undertaken by one of the early researchers, but also sheds more light on his attitude towards Ethiopian studies as such. Strelcyn seemed to realize that manuscripts not framed within a broader cultural context and not confronted with the disappearing knowledge about traditional medicine and plants have no value for a researcher.

The territorial extension of African studies is clearly manifested in Elżbieta Budakowska's text. She points out that the Archipelago of Cape Verde is a part of Africa and the subject of various influences leading to the development of Creole identity, taking the position of a crossroads or cross-world in terms of linguistic, social and political processes. In addition, due to its cultural uniqueness, she claims it should be included into the scope of African studies rather than being restricted to Portuguese Creole studies.

Aside from history, language and literature, African studies have begun to include explorations into the fields of political science. Being quite a recent discipline in itself, it has already developed many theories, based however on political systems in place mainly in the Western world, and thus hardly applicable to the African continent. In order to describe the phenomena occurring in non-Western countries, for example in the global South, new terms have been created to breach the gap. Two such terms, "state dysfunctionality" and "institutional multiplicity", are discussed by Joanna Mormul in her paper, "Institutional multiplicity as one of the factors leading to state dysfunctionality in Lusophone Africa — a neo-institutional

perspective". This serves as an example of how approaches to researching Africa differ; the one proposed by Mormul shows quite a different perspective to the one applied by linguists, who first describe language data and then try to interpret them in terms of internal systemic relations. Mormul starts her analysis from describing the theory developed by political scientists and then tries to apply it to the phenomena observed in Lusophone countries of Africa.

Hafizu Yakasai and Aliyu Mu'azu in "Hausa studies in the 21st Century: Prospects and challenges" draw attention to a very important yet often neglected turn in the evolution of African studies — the shift of the centres of knowledge on Africa to Africa. In their article, they provide a brief description of the history of Hausa studies — a subdiscipline of African studies dealing with the Hausa language (Chadic, Afroasiatic) and its culture. The pioneers of this discipline were mainly British people working in Nigeria, while the most important centers of Hausa studies were situated in Europe or America. In the 21st century, the situation has changed. The heart of Hausa studies is now located in Nigeria, "in the hands of the Hausa", as the authors write. At the same time, centres situated outside Nigeria have begun to shrink or disappear. This contribution also stresses another trend, in which African studies initiated by Western scholars are now being continued in African centres and conducted by Africans.

The section "**Different perspectives of studies on languages**" demonstrates the use of new methodologies to investigate language and literary resources. Research into language and literatures has always been a part of African studies, but these days it has gained a new dimension and has paved the way for studying various topics representing other disciplines. The languages are no longer seen in a purely structural way, as a combination of words and grammatical patterns. More attention is paid to their meanings and communicative functions. They are also perceived as mirrors of cultural or social values, and as sources allowing access to the traditional knowledge of a given community.

The term 'cultural linguistics' encompasses the identification of meanings that are culture-specific. The linguistic data are therefore analysed taking into account the social context of their usage. Sergio Baldi and Rudolf Leger ask the question "What are plants good for?", and describe trees, shrubs and plants used within the Kupto society to heal the most frequent and typical diseases. The list of plants, which would be a boring record of local flora if presented in a dictionary-like manner, where an African plant usually receives a vague translation as "a kind of bush" or "a kind of local tree", becomes a valuable source of knowledge about the beliefs and healing system functioning within a community.

Isa Yusuf Chamo raises a similar problem in his article "Language and identity of Africa: the use of place names as part of a person's name in Hausa". Chamo shows that what at the first glance seems to be a list of recurrent names, usually of Arabic origin, can reveal a fascinating story, especially if the last part of the name (called the surname or family name) is investigated in more detail. The last

name, which in European tradition constitutes a basic part of the name and is only changed in very specific social situations, in Hausa — or more broadly in the African tradition — is vulnerable to more extensive modifications. In Hausaland, it is the first name that is given once in a lifetime and identifies the person. When it comes to the second name, it is up to the holder to decide whether it will be his father's first name (which is the most common practice), a place name or a nickname. What is more, the decision is not permanent or binding, and can be changed within one's lifetime. The motivation for changing the father's name to a place name (usually the name of the village, city or quarter where one was born) is the main topic of Chamo's article. It is worth noticing that the decision to change one's name is not always made by the holder for pragmatic or cultural reasons, as it can also be done by external agents, such as the administration of a school, in order to avoid having two pupils with the same name.

The culture-specific understanding of a notion that represents a universal concept is presented in Nina Pawlak's contribution "Between oral and written tradition: the concept of 'truth' (*gaskiya*) in Hausa". Following an introduction to the methodological background of the concept of 'linguistic worldview', the meaning of the Hausa word for truth (*gaskiya*) is identified through its contextual use. Linguistic exponents of the notion of truth have been identified in various types of structures, including fixed phrases, word collocations and proverbs, but their cultural value has been recognized as manifestations of the oral tradition of the society and of the orality of the Hausa language. This tradition locates the notion of truth in interpersonal relations; therefore, the meaning of *gaskiya* relies mainly on what is said, and thus, this meaning is subject to negotiations. The interpretation based on linguistic data finds its justification in the socially-accepted attitude to the 'truth' manifested in written texts with codified arguments and the way the term 'truth' is used in the modern battle over values.

This section also discusses the issue of perceiving language as an important means of communication that includes gestures. Izabela Will, asking about "The extent to which African studies refocus our understanding of gestures", extends the idea of language to include non-verbal signs that co-exist with speech or replace it in some situations. Will shows that the idea of language, often exemplified by fragments of written texts, cannot be restricted to verbal modality if oral communication is scrutinized. In oral face-to-face communication, it is possible to grasp the full message only when taking into consideration other means of transferring the message, especially posture, gestures, facial mimicry. The author also stresses the importance of several factors, such as social stratification, culture, orality and language (mainly its structure and prosodic features), which influence the use of gestures. She concludes that the communicative aspect of gestures seems to be crucial for the research conducted on language throughout sub-Saharan Africa.

Literary studies, which have always been a part of African studies, can be incorporated into the discussion on current topics in the globalized world: gender,

class and race. Such is the assumption of the article "Swahili women's traditional creative writing" by Izabela Romańczuk, who shows the literary tradition of Swahili women through the lens of feminist theory. A few examples of oral texts from classical Swahili poetry called *tenzi* are used to demonstrate the collective consciousness of East African coastal societies. The analysis shows how the understanding of the term *women* is determined by cultural, social and historical contexts, and discusses the extent to which Swahili women's subjectivity and creativity is influenced by the plurality of their identities.

The text by Seyni Moumouni, "Écriture et société en Afrique au 20e siècle d›après quelques documents ajami haoussa du Nigeria", evokes testimonies that in a sense have been forgotten as a reservoir of written sources for the history of African societies. The author presents three manuscripts in Hausa that are judicial opinions written in the *ajami* script. The documents were created during the early stage of adopting Arabic characters into Hausa, and therefore are of special significance for both linguistic and historical analyses. Their proper interpretation calls for cooperative work among specialists experienced both in Arabic and Hausa studies.

The third section, "**The question of sources**", is devoted to various sources for research into African history and culture. This part also discusses the issue of communication. A certain message is delivered through a variety of sources — oral and written texts as well as visual material (artefacts, pieces of art, films and photographs). The contributors to this volume prove that this message is not direct or unambiguous, and may be interpreted differently depending on a number of reasons, including the person interpreting the source and the methodology of interpretation.

Without a doubt, written sources constitute the most traditional base for scholars, but oral and visual sources are difficult to overestimate in contemporary African studies. Bogusław Zagórski in his contribution "Central African (Sudanic) Arabic toponomastics — the special case of Chad" demonstrates the value of Arabic sources, especially geographical dictionaries from the Middle Ages and contemporary publications in Arabic, for studying geographical names in Chad, or more generally in the Sudan region. It is shown how studies conducted in separate areas (Arabic, Egyptian studies) have to be incorporated into traditional African studies concentrated mainly on Sub-Saharan Africa.

The sources for African history as well as African-European contacts are scattered in numerous archives in very different places. An example of the Czech archives and Czech literature, in which one can find information about Africa and Czech interest in the continent, are presented by Jan Zahořic in his article "Czech sources on the modern and contemporary history of Africa". A great number of these sources have not yet been fully investigated.

The exceptional value not only of oral sources but also of the impact of oral tradition on local communities is presented by Christine Chaillot in "How

to keep the history of the oral traditional education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church: *qəne* teachers in Wašära, Gonǧ, Sälalo and Goǧǧam". Over the centuries, Ethiopian traditional church education has functioned as an integral part of Christian Ethiopian every-day life. Today the number of students is decreasing but the art of composing *qəne* (a type of oral poetry) has survived, partially thanks to Ethiopian intellectuals who collected and wrote poems down, after which they published them. In her text, Chaillot shares her experiences and discusses various facts collected during interviews in Ethiopia with *qəne* teachers, proving that Ethiopian studies has changed from scholarly interest in written texts to focus on oral ones, while some areas of interest (Ethiopian literature) remain the same as the ones which attracted researchers' attention decades ago.

In her contribution, "The interpretation of Ethiopian cultural texts — the coronation of Haile Sillasie as a text", Hanna Rubinkowska-Anioł focuses her attention on another bulk of African texts, i.e. rituals. Rubinkowska-Anioł asks the question where the interpretation of African (Ethiopian in this context) cultural texts leads researchers. Taking as an example the coronation of Haile Sillasie I in 1930, she discusses the relativity of the terms "modern" and "traditional", as well as what part of the message transferred through certain rituals was intentional and which performed a role that went beyond the authors' intention.

The place of storing source material is another important factor that has to be taken into consideration while discussing communication and the message transferred through texts or objects. Many manuscripts stored in mosques, churches or kept by local communities remain silenced for the outside world, as no scholars have access to them. At the same time, they are used as religious texts or as a treasure trove of knowledge for a given community. As long as they are in use, the tradition connected to them remains alive. However, this changes when they are taken from their original places and placed in a library or museum. In such circumstances, they are no longer used as functional, practical and social artefacts. However, the objects in the new situation are still able to "talk". They can be described, translated, provided with footnotes, and shown to a broader audience in order to become a building block enriching our general knowledge about a particular topic. They can also, especially when kept in a museum, revive the memories of one community and play on the nerves of another, leading to a passionate discussion about identity, history, politics. The issue of presenting artefacts of the past is discussed by Aneta Pawłowska in "South African museums. Representation and identity". The author shows that the history of a country as shown in a museum is neither simple nor fixed. Such factors as current political events, sociological changes, or the reinterpretation of the system of national values deeply influence the narrative presented in museums. Pawłowska also argues that in the apartheid era only one perspective towards history mattered: the vision of the Boers who came from Europe and settled in South Africa. They were presented as pioneers and deserving victors in the struggle

for land, while the native people have customarily been presented in museums as naked full-body mannequins.

Much earlier than the Boers, another group of Europeans came to Africa: the Portuguese. They established trade contacts and diplomatic relations with many African kingdoms, including Benin or Kongo. These contacts gave rise to new phenomena. On a very concrete level, they can be exemplified by so-called Afro-Portuguese ivories: objects made mainly in Sierra Leone and the Benin Empire by local craftsmen. The patterns, way of processing the ivory and the material itself were African, but their function (mainly as luxurious tableware) and some themes (Portuguese kings or warriors) were foreign. Robert Piętek in "European institutions and patterns in Kongo in the 16th and 17th centuries" describes the development of such phenomena on institutional levels. By describing the contacts between the Portuguese and the Kongolese at the end of 15th century, he draws attention to the fact that many Portuguese institutions like the Catholic Church, schools, administration were implanted in the newly Christianized kingdom of Kongo. However, instead of taking on the same form as in Portugal, they were adapted to local culture.

The volume comprises both a traditional understanding of African studies, i.e. research into languages and cultures for which traditional methodology based on philology and written sources was applied, as well as new trends and scientific disciplines which have attracted special scholarly interest in Europe and in Africa in recent times. The volume confronts the local African attitude towards African history, languages and cultures with theories developed outside Africa. The editors' ambition was to show the results of the investigation of similar topics from different points of view. The authors believe that this collection of different approaches will allow for a closer look at how Africanists work nowadays — after many decades of the development of African studies.

The Editors

The Boundaries of Africa in African Studies

Adam Łukaszewicz

Egyptian archaeology — a part of African studies?

Abstract

This paper contains some general remarks concerning the interrelation between the archeology of ancient Egypt and African studies. Egypt of the pharaohs is usually considered a part of the Mediterranean world. This view is largely justified by the presence in ancient Egyptian civilization of influences from the Near East and from the Aegean region. On the other hand, Egypt is a part of the Nile valley and must also be considered in the African context.

Keywords: Africa, African studies, Egypt, archeology, ancient civilization

Introductory remarks

The answer is yes. Egypt is undoubtedly a part of Africa (Asante 1992; Autuori 1996; Celenko 1996; Jeffreys 2003). In this paper, we will deliberately avoid the field of linguistics that belongs to Egyptian philology. However, Egyptian philology is unthinkable without a comparative study of African languages. The prevailing tendency of Egyptologists is to focus on the Semitic elements in ancient Egyptian. However, the ancient Egyptian language belongs to the African linguistic sphere, not unlike the linguistic mosaic of Ethiopia, which undoubtedly is a part of Africa.

Archaeology is a study of the material remnants of ancient civilizations and not a history of ideas. Structures and ideas exist in the mind of modern authors; while objects and sites exist in reality. Findings should be studied in a wide historical context, but an archaeologist must always walk on the solid ground of facts and dates.

Egypt is a part of Africa

Both Egyptian archaeology and African studies have a territorial definition. These two fields are very complex. The archaeology of Egypt is usually considered a part of the archaeology of the Middle East. The term "Egypto-Canaan" has even

appeared in recent publications (Tubb 1995). However, Egypt is geographically a part of Africa. A recent publication by Jacques van der Vliet and others (Van der Vliet et al. 2013), concerning an important site on the southern fringe of Egyptian Nubia, is entitled "Qasr Ibrim. Between Egypt and Africa. Studies in Cultural Exchange". This title implies that Egypt is not a part of Africa and the fortified Nubian site of Primis lies in between.

Egypt, Sudan and the areas of the eastern corner of Africa are indeed a meeting point of various cultures.

Michałowski's way to Africa

Today, classical archaeology and Oriental archaeology are usually united in one field named Mediterranean archaeology. The pioneer of the use of the name 'Mediterranean archaeology' as a combined field of classical and Oriental studies was Professor Kazimierz Michałowski (1901–1981) of the Warsaw University, the present writer's master in the field.

Michałowski, the founder of Polish Mediterranean archaeology, had a long way to Africa (Łukaszewicz 2013: 99–103, 110–112). He was born in Tarnopol, a provincial town, then in south-eastern Poland, now in Ukraine. His career began in the 1920s in the field of the archaeology of Greece. He took part in French excavations on the island of Delos; he also conducted research at Delphi, studied in Italy in 1927–29, and was the successful author of a study on Hellenistic portraiture. From 1934, the post-Tutankhamen trend, in fashion at the time, combined with his own considerations and the influence of a Warsaw colleague, Professor Tadeusz Wałek-Czernecki, brought him to Egypt, where he excavated at Edfu in the years 1936–39. In the post-war period, Michałowski led excavations at Tell Atrib in Egypt from 1957 and took part in the UNESCO campaign in Nubia from 1958. These projects piqued the ex-classicist's interest in Africa, where he made his most famous discovery of the early Christian cathedral of Faras in northern Sudan in the years 1961–64. He also initiated the work at Old Dongola (Sudan) and played an important part in the salvage of the temples of Abu Simbel in Egyptian Nubia. The professional evolution of this great archaeologist was in agreement with the general tendency in 20th-century archaeology.

Africa and Egypt

The name of Africa bears an ancient association with the north of the continent. The gate to the mysterious continent was Egypt. The River Nile was a waterway difficult to use because of the six cataracts of Nubia. In antiquity, it was nevertheless used to explore, with moderate results, the inner part of the continent. From the

time of the early pharaohs, expeditions were sent to bring the products of the land of Punt or the pygmies from central Africa to entertain the pharaoh. Later, Nubia was conquered by the pharaohs and subsequently became an independent kingdom. Expeditions from Greco-Roman Egypt to the South continued. A military reconnaissance expedition was sent by the Roman Emperor Nero in the early sixties of the first century AD. A Christian Byzantine mission of Emperor Justinian and Empress Theodora arrived in Nubia in AD 543.

The African interpretation of ancient Egypt has a long history. The Romans called Africa portentosa, 'horrible' or 'monstrous'. Egypt was similarly considered a country of horror. In the 2nd century AD, Juvenal wrote Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens Aegyptos portenta colat, i.e. 'Who does not know, o Volusius Bithynicus, how many portents worships the crazy Egypt'[1].

The modern search for African elements within Egyptian civilization began very early, even before the birth of Egyptology. Modern comparisons of Egypt to the interior of Africa began no later than in 1761, when parallels between Egypt and Africa were made. Le comte de Volney wrote in 1787, "les anciens Égyptiens étaient de vrais nègres de l'espèce de tous les naturels de l'Afrique" (Volney 1787). This idea met with opposition from the times of Jean-François Champollion, who visited Egypt in 1828–29 and could closely watch the inhabitants.

Later in the 19th century, the famous French Egyptologist Gaston Maspero wrote that Egyptian civilization was a 'produit du sol africain". Further accounts by travelers and ethnographers revealed the striking similarities between the material culture of modern Africans and that of the ancient Egyptians. Anyone can compare the curved swords (Egyptian khepesh) or head-supports used by both cultural areas. W.M. Flinders Petrie and Czermak contributed enormously to the comparative analysis of such cultural phenomena.

In order to include the valuable Egyptian heritage into the general framework of African civilization, attempts were made to interpret Egyptian culture as an offspring of internal African inspiration. Even the famous Ptolemaic Queen Cleopatra VII was by some writers interpreted as a black person. This extravagant concept shows a strong tendency toward the non-historical use of an a priori idea.

Africa and the Africans

The term 'Africa' is usually associated with its prevalently dark-skinned population. The name, however, is a Roman synonym of the Greek term 'Libya', which referred to the little-known African continent. Greeks and Roman knew only the northern part of it. The Latin name of Africa was explained as deriving from the eponymous hero Afer, son of Hercules. The northern portion of the

[1] Juvenal., Satire XV.

continent became the Roman province Africa in 146 BC. The name Africa was not applied to Egypt, which was also a Roman province from 30 BC, or to any other part of the continent.

There is an environmental difference between the interior and the North. In addition, the present-day population of the North differs from the sub-Saharan inland. However, the black population of Africa cannot be considered a uniform group either. Africa was not an isolated area and was directly connected with Asia by the Sinai Peninsula and the Via Maris on the Mediterranean. Another link was the narrow and long Red Sea, which from time immemorial was a transition area between Asia and Africa. The Red Sea was a route to the African Punt, a domain of Egyptian trade, very close indeed to the eastern part of the African interior (Bard, Fattovich 2007).

Egypt, only apparently protected by deserts and the marshes of the Nile Delta, was a meeting point of nations and cultures and received all sorts of influences from all sides. Ancient Egyptians were familiar with the more southern African populations. Egypt was a part of Africa much more than ever when it was ruled by the Kushite pharaohs of the 25th dynasty. However, in a late demotic tale, the evil sorcerers, the enemies of Egypt are the wizards of Nubia[2].

The Nile

The Nile Valley was used by the wandering tribes that moved from the original cradle of humanity situated in the heart of Africa towards the north. In a way, we are all Africans. However, the facility of migration from the south into Egypt was in the times of the pharaohs only relative. Nevertheless, the frequency of voyages from the north to the south on various occasions was impressive. There is almost no doubt that in 49 BC the famous Queen Cleopatra VII of Egypt actually took refuge in the Meroitic kingdom. Later, in 30 BC, she attempted to save her son and heir, Ptolemy XV Caesarion, by sending him to the realm of another royal woman, the black Nubian Queen Kandake Amanishakhete.

In the tomb of Ramesses VI in the Valley of the Kings, there is a Greek inscription of uncertain date left by one Kladon envoy to Ethiopia (Baillet 1920–1926: inscription no. 1094). On his way to the South, he visited the tombs of the pharaohs at the Theban necropolis.

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[2] Papyrus in the British Museum inv. 604 edited by F.L. Griffith (1900); Cf. Lalouette 1987: 211–223, Brunner-Traut 1963: 248–264, 343–345.

Egyptology and Africa

The general attitude of Egyptologists to the African nature of Egyptian civilization varied over the course of time. Jean Leclant begins his article "Afrika" in the "Lexikon der Ägyptologie" with the statement: "Il est devenu courant, ces dernières années, d'insister sur le caractère 'africain' de la civilisation pharaonique" (Leclant 1975: col. 85) And he continues: "les Egyptiens ne se sont jamais considérés eux-mêmes comme des Noirs" (Leclant 1975: col. 86).

Leclant also stated that "La quête du matériel égyptien ou égyptisant diffusé à travers l'Afrique est plus que décevante" (Leclant 1975: col. 87). Although there are very few sure Egyptian finds south of the Sahara, contacts existed. The high quality of the Egyptian, Egyptianising or Greco-Roman (imported from Egypt or imitated locally) finds in Nubia as far south as Meroe confirm the importance of the contacts[3]. Leclant (1975: col. 87) also remarks that "la vallée du Nil n'est qu'un secteur du grand art pariétal saharien".

In modern Egyptology, the idea of ancient Egypt as a part of African heritage was presented in a paper by H. Frankfort (1952: 115–117)[4].

Leclant qualified the insistence on the "African" character of the Egyptian civilization as "une juste reaction contre une vue trop longtemps méditerranéenne et orientale de l'histoire égyptienne" (Leclant 1975: col. 86).

A recent discussion of interrelations between Egypt and the rest of Africa may be found in the volume "Ancient Egypt and Africa" (O'Connor, Reid 2003). Michael Rowlands (2003) discusses the same problem in The Unity of Africa. Kevin MacDonald in his essay "Cheikh Anta Diop and Ancient Egypt in Africa" pointed to the 1965 appeal made by the Egyptologist H.W. Fairman "to investigate Egypt as an integral part of greater Africa" (MacDonald 2003: 100). David Wengrow analysed the "African Foundations of Ancient Egyptian civilization" (2003). The focus of interest of these authors is the African character of Egyptian civilization.

Two aspects of the interpretation of ancient Egypt as a part of Africa seem obvious:

1) the concept that the brilliant civilization of the pharaohs is a fruit of African soil.
2) the idea that the magnificent Egyptian cultural achievements penetrated into and influenced the rest of Africa.

At any rate, the impact of Egypt on the African interior is more conspicuous than the alleged exclusively African impulse that created the pharaonic civilization. However, numerous cultural similarities visible throughout the African continent speak in favour of the concept of the African character of the Egyptian phenomenon.

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[3] See e.g. Shinnie 1986 (Polish edition), passim.

[4] Numerous other references are listed in Leclant 1975: col. 91-94.

There are two aspects that ancient Egypt and traditional African society have in common:

1. The social stability of a member within a society.
2. The transparency and permanence of rules in a society.

Egypt and the rest of Africa also have in common the consideration of animals as possible bearers of the divine element.

Social hierarchy in Africa, including the traditional rank systems of nobility in Ethiopia, may bring us closer to an understanding of the Egyptian ranks and titles different from the patterns of the European Middle Ages.

A global heritage?

In African studies, there are sometimes excessive tendencies to explain civilization in general as a specific African heritage. Cheikh Anta Diop is the author of a number of works in which he discusses the African origin of civilization (Diop 1967; 1974; 1981; 1987; 2003). Martin Bernal in an article published in 2003 in the volume "Ancient Egypt in Africa", edited by David O'Connor and Andrew Reid, returned to his ideas of Afrocentrism, first presented in his 1987 "Black Athena". Bernal (2003) seriously analyses the idea of ancient Egyptians as blacks and as the founders of western civilization. His reference to the old writings of Dupuis, Volney, and Abbé Grégoire is very interesting, but is relevant chiefly as an antiquarian curiosity. Bernal speaks of two models in the development of civilization. The tendency to explain realities in terms of universal patterns belongs to the language of structuralism, which was fashionable in the 1960s and 70s, when the historians of culture and ethnologists were virtually obsessed with the ideas of Mircea Eliade and Georges Dumézil.

Quite independently from the adopted model of the origin of western civilization, one thing seems to be evident: ancient Egyptians were not dark-complexioned. This fact, however, does not exclude them from the African family.

The unity of world archaeology

The technical side of archaeology is the same all over the world. Sciences co-operating with archaeology are concerned with such impersonal fields as radiocarbon dating, pollen analysis, magnetometry or geology, including sedimentology, spectral analysis, examination of human and animal remains in terms of pure biology, etc.

In a modern manual of archaeology, chapters can be applied to any area in the world. A basic subject is chronology, which makes use of the science of the palaeoenvironment, human palaeobiology, biomolecular archaeology, resource

exploitation and the technique of prospection, including geophysics, remote sensing and geochemistry. Aerial photography, airborne radars, satellite high-altitude mapping and photography cannot be forgotten. Stratigraphy is as important to the excavators in Egypt and greater Africa as at European sites. An important problem is conservation. In traditional archeology, chiefly important artefacts were taken into account, while today this is combined with the investigation of burials, and more generally with the investigation of the deterioration of organic materials. All branches of archaeology are confronted with the analysis and integration of data and largely use modern statistical and computational methods[5].

The study of languages and of anthroponyms, toponyms and hydronyms may be in future extremely useful as a source of knowledge on the migrations of peoples. The actual difference between Mediterranean and sub-Saharan history is the degree of presence of written sources. Areas with an insufficient number of useful written sources exist not only in Africa but also in Europe, Asia, America and Australia. The modern methods of archaeology to a certain extent replace written sources as the basis of chronology. Traditional Egyptian archaeology is chiefly the archaeology of monuments. The archaeology of the African interior is certainly less concerned with big urban agglomerations or enormous monuments, although they did exist (Connah 1987).

A fruitful field of archeological research is Ethiopia and the neighbouring countries of Eastern Africa. They have already yielded wealthy material concerning the beginnings of mankind but they have not yet been fully explored. One of the reasons of the underdevelopment of archeological research in some areas is the fact that excavations must meet some logistic and technical requirements which are not available everywhere.

Palaeobotanics, archaeozoology and similar sciences, together with geology and palaeontology, are also a point of departure to a complete study of Africa, including ancient Egypt. Recently, also in Egyptian archaeology, there have been numerous missions that work exclusively on rock engravings or on small settlements in the desert. Rock-art is now an important field within the archaeology of many areas[6].

Palaeolithic and Neolithic archaeology in Egypt does not differ much from the rest of Africa. The research of early farming cultures in Africa is the meeting point of Egyptian and African archaeology (Harlan et al. 1976; Krzyżaniak, Kobusiewicz 1984). A new trend in world archaeology is the archaeology of pastoralism, which focuses largely on African landscapes. Egypt and the Sudan are also included within this field (Chang, Koster 1986).

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[5] For the enumeration of aspects of archaeology based on the contents of the manual, see Brothwell, Pollard 2001; cf. Balme, Paterson 2006.

[6] See McDonald (2006) with an extensive bibliography. Polish missions in the deserts of Egypt and of the Sudan (for example Michał Kobusiewicz and his team, the Gebelein mission etc.) also investigate rock engravings.

Nubian archaeology is a step away from Egypt into the interior of Africa. Nubian studies today are concentrated on the local developments, which are undoubtedly a part of Africa. The mighty kingdoms on the middle Nile ruled by black kings are a link between the Mediterranean face of Africa and its equatorial interior.

In the past, the progress of Nubian archaeology was slower than the works on the Lower Nile. In 1905, in spite of an intensive quest, archaeologists could not locate Meroe. It was not until Garstang's expedition in 1909–1914 that the capital of Kush was located. In 1909–1912, Griffith investigated Faras and other sites in Nubia.

The decisive period that opened the route from Egypt to the heart of Africa was connected with the Nubian 1958–1964 campaign, prior to the construction of the High Dam, which brought into existence Lake Nasser. Usually, the inundation of large areas where archaeological sites abound, causes a great devastation of cultural heritage.

While investigations in the Western desert by the Combined Expedition, co-directed by Fred Wendorf (Dallas) and Romuald Schild (Warsaw) with the participation of Michał Kobusiewicz (Poznań), explained a part of the pedigree of Egyptian civilization, Polish excavations in the eastern part of the Nile Delta, at Tell el-Farkha, provided evidence showing the high level of civilization of the Delta in the predynastic period, by no means secondary to the contemporaneous Upper Egyptian centres. It seems also that already at the early stage of Egyptian civilization, the Delta had far-reaching trade and other contacts with the countries of the Near East (Ciałowicz 2007).

The animal and plant world

Archaeology is interested in the past interaction of human presence with the landscape. The environment is a compound of geomorphological conditions, of climate, of the animal and botanical world. Climatic changes are the subject of the increasing interest of archaeology all over the world.

We are not the exclusive owners of the planet. Animals and plants are also living creatures and we, as relative newcomers, must respect them. The progressive destruction of natural landscapes is shared by Egypt and other African countries. The archaeology of landscape, reconstructing the face of the ancient world, is essential for the investigation of Africa's past. Ancient Egypt was also a part of the African landscape (Herb, Derchain 2009).

The natural environment of Egypt was entirely African. Today's fauna and flora of Egypt are incomplete rudiments of the manifold life existing there in antiquity. Elephants, rhinoceros, crocodiles, hippopotami, lions and leopards, cheetahs, various antelopes, ibexes, monkeys and ostriches disappeared together with many species

of plants. The climatic and environmental transformations of the Sahara produced both Egyptian civilization and other civilizations, which flourished southwards of the desert.

The domestication of animals in Africa is another specific field that cannot be discussed without taking into consideration our knowledge of ancient Egypt (Blench, MacDonald 2000). The recent results of the genetic investigation of cattle show that the African and Eurasian cattle separated over 25 000 years ago (Wendorf, Schild 2002: 14).

The investigations in the Western Desert of Egypt focus on the Early Holocene resettlement of the Eastern Sahara (Kuper 2002; cf. Nelson and ass. 2002). The Neolithic site of Nabta Playa situated at the southern frontier of Egypt, a hundred kilometres west of Abu Simbel, shed light on early Egyptian religion and ceremonies. The investigations of the Combined Prehistoric Expedition since 1990 have yielded rich material, which has made possible the revision of our image of the climate and chronology of the Final Pleistocene and Early Holocene in the Egyptian Western Desert.

In this Saharan site, the Neolithic period with its pottery began circa 8000 years ago. Later, there were intermittent phases of aridity, which led to the successive abandonment of the desert by settlers (7300–7100 years and 6700–6500 years ago). The desert was ultimately abandoned circa 4800 years ago. This population certainly contributed to the further developments in the Nile Valley (Wendorf, Schild 2002: 15).

The archaeology of food and drink is also a related and promising field, in which Egyptian archaeology cannot ignore the African analogies (Dirar 1993).

Anthropology and ethnology

The African interior was studied by Europeans within the framework of what is today called ethnology[7]. Africa, Pre-Columbian America, Southern Asia and the Australia of the Aborigines, i.e. "exotic" cultures that were outside (Greek exo) the Euro-Mediterranean world, were treated as special and different, also by allegedly impartial science. To some scholars, insufficient knowledge of facts is no hindrance in creating systems and structures. Older cultural anthropology works were full of fascination with traditional societies. It was part of the heritage of the ancient interest in mirabilia and of later travellers' accounts reporting on the various curiosities of the exotic world.

The philosophers of culture paid little attention to the material aspects of culture. The analysis of mentality was done in a very abstract way. Lévy-Bruhl tended to avoid comparisons with European culture as a method of explanation of what he

[7] From the large number of publications, we will mention only Asad 1973.

considered primitive societies. Even now, some scholars continue to develop systems of hierarchies of political structures. The highest degree, the state or nation, is in such a classification reserved for the Mediterranean and European civilization, including some areas of the Far East. A level lower, there are chiefdoms, "Big man" systems and similar structures. This is a diachronic but also geographic image. "The typological spectrum runs from acephalous, egalitarian societies, through the 'Big man' systems, the simple and complex chiefdoms to, finally, the early or 'Archaic' state and its descendant, the nation-state" (O'Connor 1991: 145).

It is a neat explanatory model, with a touch of the old Hegelian and Marxist belief in a primitive egalitarian community. This typology shows a Eurocentric certitude concerning the superiority of European government systems over African tribal states! We can only wonder where post-colonial theoreticians have observed such an egalitarian society? Such existed only in Marx's fantasy about a primitive community without property and authority.

It is unnecessary to add that the "Big man" and chiefs are, in some authors' opinion, proper to Africa and other "exotic" areas. Egypt of the pharaohs also arose allegedly from an agglomeration of local tribal states.

Conclusion

There are no societies or groups untouched by modern global civilization. Le passé n›est plus à sauver.

Do we actually need a Black Athena and Black Cleopatra to enhance the obvious importance of the African part of mankind? The encounter of civilizations was a creative factor. The meeting with Africa was a potent stimulus to the development of Western culture.

From the point of view of modern archaeology, there are no reasons for a special approach to African civilization. The same methods, used in Egyptian and any other archaeology, can be also applied to African material, which is perhaps only seemingly less abundant and in most cases apparently less monumental, but certainly not less significant. We do not need a concept of the historical unity of Africa to assume that Africa is particularly important. Africa is a cultural unit, although it does not represent a unity of culture. "Greater Africa" is a good term to encompass the North including Egypt, the sub-Saharan area, and the South. The existence of a mosaic of cultures and of the most ancient traces of human development reveals the importance of the Black Continent.

Egypt should be included into the field of African studies sensu largo, as a very special branch of African civilization. Egyptian archaeology can only exist in a wide African and Mediterranean context. African studies as a complex analysis of a rich variety of cultures covering the whole of the African continent must be developed in a worldwide context.

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Hausa studies in the 21st century: prospects and challenges

Abstract

The paper evaluates Hausa studies from the perspective of native Hausa scholars and with reference to Nigerian academic institutions. Having reviewed the contribution of European scholars to Hausa studies in the 19th and 20th centuries, the authors focus on Hausa studies in Nigeria in the modern period. The beginning of this period is marked by the Ph.D. thesis of MKM Galadanci from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London in 1969. The paper largely focuses on Hausa studies in Nigeria to show the development of this area into an independent discipline. The institutional support for research works on Hausa language and culture in Nigeria is the basis of cooperation with other academic institutions worldwide.

Keywords: Hausa studies, Nigeria, Kano Market Literature, Hausa home video industry, *lingua franca*

1. Introduction

Hausa has been described as one of the major world languages with more first-language speakers than any other sub-Saharan African language, most of whom live in northern Nigeria and in the southern areas of the neighbouring Republic of Niger, where Hausa is the major language. According to M. A. Z. Sani (2009), over fifty-seven million speakers use Hausa as their mother tongue. It is also spoken by communities of traders, Muslim scholars and immigrants in urban areas of West Africa, as well as the Blue Nile Province and western region of the Sudan, and as a lingua franca in many cities in Nigeria, particularly the northern part of the country. Indeed, Hausa is used extensively in commercial, governmental and educational spheres and in the mass media. It has become the most extensively researched of all the Saharan African languages and has been the subject of serious study for centuries (see Jaggar 2001: 1–3). Hausa is phylogenetically classified as a member of the Chadic language family, which itself is a constituent member

of the Afro-asiatic phylum (Greenberg 1963; Newman 1977). Within the Chadic, Hausa's closest relatives are West Chadic languages (Bole, Angas, Ron, Bade, among others). Within West Chadic, Hausa constitutes a group all by itself[1].

Hausa studies as a subject of teaching and research encompasses three main branches, namely: language, literary and cultural studies. Hausa studies as an academic field have become a subject of interest to many scholars working generally on Chadic or African Studies. History shows that Hausa studies have a long history of scholarship, involving different people from different parts of the world. However, it is still very rare to come across a book or research work that brings out the complete history of Hausa studies. Of the few attempts in this regards, Yahaya (1988) has been described as an excellent treatment of works on Hausa cultural and literary studies from before the 20th century. Newman (1991) concentrates on the history of Hausa linguistic scholarship (from the 19th to the 20th century) by presenting an overall survey that takes most of the major figures into account. Amfani (2004 and 2011) discuss the development of Hausa from the colonial period to modern-day states and four decades of language and linguistic studies in Hausa (1960–2000) respectively. Following Newman (1991), it is evident to state that Hausa studies from the early period of 1843–1918 involved mainly European scholars, such as Heinrich Barth, Adam Mischlich, James Frederick Schön, Maurice Delafosse, Charles Henry Robinson and Frank Edgar, among others. It was described as the period of exploration and commercial, religious and political involvement in West Africa by the English, French and Germans, leading up to the establishment of colonial rule (Newman 1991: 1). Most of the earlier scholars were either missionaries or colonial officers. The years from 1918 to 1944 were described as the middle period. It was the period between the wars (from the end of the First World War to the end of the Second World War), when the major European powers consolidated their control over their colonies and put their colonial administration into operation. Despite all this, Hausa studies received the attention of many scholars, notably August Klingenheben, G. P. Bargery and R. C. Abraham. It was in this period that the two finest reference dictionaries were produced on Hausa by Bargery (1934) and Abraham (1949).

The modern period, according to Newman (1991) lasted from 1944 to 1969. This period involved many European scholars working on Hausa, such as Neil Skinner, Frederick William Parsons and Claude Gouffé, among others. Hausa studies were seen as a discipline not in the hands of Africans or the native Hausa. The contemporary period, according to Newman (1991), encompassed the years from 1969 to 1989. As for the purpose of this paper, we consider this period to be just a continuation of the modern period up to the end of the 20th century.

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[1] The only other member of the group, Gwandara, is a creolized offshoot of Hausa rather than a sister language (Newman 2000: 1).

Thus, 1969 was the real beginning of involving the Hausa in the field of Hausa studies. After the Ph.D. thesis of MKM Galadanci in 1969 from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, there has been a rapid increase in the number of Ph.D. theses conducted on Hausa studies by the Hausa themselves (see Yahaya 1988 and Newman 1991). It is a quite significant fact that doctoral theses conducted by the Hausa on Hausa studies in some universities in Nigeria and abroad from 1989 were mostly related to linguistics. They include: Munkaila (1990), Bature (1991), Yusuf, M. A. (1991), Abdoulaye (1992), Fagge (1991), Baba (1993), Ahmad, M. (1994), Yalwa (1995), Bunza (1995), Aichatou (1996), Yakasai, S. A. (1999), Abdullahi, A. M. (1998) and Wurma (1998), among others. Doctorate degrees obtained in the field of Hausa literature were also initiated (Mukhtar, I. 1990).

The 20th century has witnessed a large number of publications on Hausa language and literature by the native Hausa. They were written either in English (Ahmed and Daura 1970; Galadanci 1976; Sani, M.A.Z. 1989a; Muhammad 1990; Bello, A. 1992; Ahmad, S.B. 1997; Al-Hassan 1998; Baba 1998) or in Hausa (Abdulƙadir 1979; Jinju 1980; Zaria 1981; Ɗangambo, H. A. 1984; Bagari, D. M. 1986; Yahaya 1988; Sani, M. A. Z. 1999). The works contributed to the on-going research on Hausa language and literature conducted by European scholars: Skinner (1980); Piłaszewicz (1989); Ma Newman (1990); Newman (1996); Furniss (1996); Pawlak (1998). Looking at the advancement of Hausa studies in the 21st century, this paper upholds the argument in Newman (1991) and Furniss (1991) that Nigeria is the rightful home of Hausa studies.

Having reviewed Hausa studies in the 19th and 20th centuries, this paper attempts to investigate Hausa studies in the 21st century. At the turn of century, two comprehensive reference grammar books, namely *The Hausa Language: An Encyclopedic Reference Grammar* by Paul Newman (2000) and *Hausa* by Phillip J. Jaggar (2001), appeared to summarize the long-term linguistic research. Works on particular topics are still conducted (Pawlak 2002; Newman, P. 2004; Frajzyngier and Munkaila 2004; McIntyre 2006; Xiaomeng 2013; Pawlak, Siwierska and Will 2014. At the same time, more academic disciplines are becoming involved in Hausa studies (history, cultural studies).

The paper largely focuses on Hausa studies in Nigeria. It discusses the challenges facing this area of studies and is based on the following assumptions:

1) There has been a decrease in research and publications on Hausa Studies abroad
2) Hausa studies are becoming an integral part of Nigeria's integration and development
3) The current emphasis on Hausa studies is placed on more collaborative works.

The main argument of the paper is that Hausa studies have now moved to Africa, particularly Nigeria, and are in the hands of the Hausas. It is further argued that Hausa studies as an academic subject are still very open for further

research and that African (including Hausa) studies have to be linked to other subjects, such as politics, economics, religion, geography and so forth; for a better understanding and development of Africa. It is argued that the 21st century is the point of the complete transition of Hausa studies from abroad to home. In view of the aforementioned, the paper is divided into three main parts. The first part examines Hausa studies in Nigeria in the 21st century; the second part explores the prospects of Hausa studies in Nigeria and the third part presents the challenges facing this area of studies and research.

2. Hausa studies in the 21st century: the contemporary period

The movement of Hausa studies from the hands of European scholars to the hands of Hausa scholars has brought about a fundamental change in the scope of Hausa studies, particularly in Nigeria. Many factors determine the increase of topics under investigation, the growing interest in Hausa studies and the number of publications being the result of research works. This part examines the rationale behind this process and its relevance for the development of Hausa studies.

2.1 Hausa studies in Nigeria

Ikara (1991: 27) asserts that "Hausa studies is intimately linked with the development of Nigeria, her sophistication in politics and the economy and her commensurate influence in international politics and diplomacy. Here at home, in Nigeria, the more the desire for national integration and unity, the greater there shall be the need for developing the necessary linguistic infrastructure for such integration, and consequently, the greater the need for Hausa studies to play a greater role in that development". Bearing this in mind, a number of factors have played a role in the transition of Hausa studies from abroad to Nigeria. These factors include the spread of Hausa as a lingua franca in many cities in Nigeria; the development of Kano market literature; the Hausa video industry; translation into Hausa; the status of Hausa in Nigeria, Hausa in the mass media and new trends in teaching, research and publication in Hausa studies. These factors promote and strengthen Hausa studies in Nigeria.

2.1.1 The spread of Hausa as a *lingua franca*

Hausa being the most important and widespread West African language has expanded rapidly as a first or second language, especially in northern Nigeria. This has led to the use of Hausa as a lingua franca. As stated by Newman (2000: 1), "Hausa has probably been expanding for the past two hundred years, but its spread during the past half century has been particularly dramatic, particularly in northern Nigeria. Thus one finds that in urban areas like Bauchi, Gombe, Kaduna

and Potiskum, Hausa is rapidly establishing itself as a mother tongue for many of the inhabitants, or, if it is not replacing the indigenous language(s), it is at least being used on a day-to-day basis as a *lingua franca*". The use of Hausa in many African cities, such as Accra, Abidjan, Cotonou, Lome, Dakar, Ouagadougou, Maroua, Yaounde, Ndjamena, Wurno, Sebha, Cairo, among many others, promotes Hausa studies. The endangerment of many African languages, particularly Nigerian languages, leads to the development of Hausa as a *lingua franca*.

2.1.2 The development of Kano market literature[2]

In the mid-1980s, a new literary movement was born in Kano. Yusuf M. Adamu (1999) explains the origin of Kano market literature as "the movement started with writers clubs, namely *Kukan Kurciya, Kungiyar Matasa Marubuta* and the *Raina Kama* Writers Association. These associations form the foundation for the new literature, as it was from there that young individuals began to publish their works. The clubs to a large extent emerged without proper guidance from established novelists, without the support of the established publishers, without a good distribution system, and without financial backing". The movement was associated with Kano as five out of the six young novelists identified as pioneers were from Kano (see Adamu, Y. M. 1999: 144). Many of the books published under Kano market literature happened to be romantic stories.

As far as geographical spread of the new novels is concerned, Yusuf M. Adamu (1999: 148) states that "there is no doubt that the majority of the published new Hausa novelists are based in Kano. Kano serves as a nerve centre for literary activities. Kano remains the leading producer and distributor of the new Hausa novel even today[3], but Kano is only a centre of the movement, new writers kept emerging from all the northern states of Nigeria. Despite the geographical concentration of contemporary Hausa novels in Kano, readership is nationwide". It is from this background that the movement was named Kano Market Literature.

The growth of Kano market literature in the 20th century has helped in the development of Hausa studies in the 21st century. This paper upholds the argument in Y. M. Adamu (1999: 149) that:

- The new literary movement, which was and still is dominated by youths, has contributed in no small measure in increasing the literacy level among Hausa speakers, particularly women.
- The movement has contributed in no small measure in inculcating reading habits and culture among Hausa youths.
- The movement has produced fine writers of Hausa literature.

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[2] The term "Kano Market Literature" is used interchangeably with "Modern Hausa Literature", as in Adamu, Y.M. (2014).

[3] It is worth noting that five out of the six pioneers of the new Hausa novels are from Kano, namely Ibrahim Hamza, Abdullahi Bichi, Idris S. Imam, Balaraba Ramat Yakubu, Ahmed M. Zahraddeen and Yusuf M. Adamu

Some of these books have become reference material in teaching Hausa literature in secondary schools and tertiary institutions in Nigeria, particularly northern Nigeria. The development of Kano market literature boosts economic activities in northern Nigeria, but it also contributes to a relatively new specialization in Hausa studies that focuses on literary studies.

2.1.3 The Hausa home video industry

It has been stated that the Hausa home video originates from around 1980 to 1984 (Ali 2004: 30). According to Adamu (2013: 288n) Hausa video film production started in 1990 with *Turmin Danya* in Kano. By 2000 a video film industry had been formed with three main storyline characteristics — love triangle (where two boys court the same girl; or two wives fight over the single husband), *auren dole* (where a girl or boy is forced to marry someone not of their choice), and song and dance (over 98% of Hausa video films must contain at least two to three song and dance routines). Its development in the 21st century has helped in the development of Hausa studies. In the 21st century, Hausa is extensively used for television production in Nigeria and Niger, and the Hausa video industry is growing rapidly. Hausa home videos in the 20th century have become a subject of interest in Hausa studies. Indeed, a course on Hausa film is now being taught in colleges and universities in Nigeria. For instance, in the curriculum of Hausa studies at Bayero University, Kano, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Usmanu Ɗanfodiyo University, Sokoto, among others, there are courses at undergraduate and postgraduate levels that specifically focus on Hausa film studies. Indeed, at Bayero University, Kano, where Ph.D. studies on Hausa is based on course work, there is a course entitled 'Studies on Hausa Film' (this is a team-taught course). The course content includes:

- Background study of Hausa film from early Hausa *majigi* to the present time.
- Linguistic, literary and cultural aspects of Hausa film.
- Study of performance, communication and effect.
- Towards Hausa culture-based films.
- A practical study of selected Hausa films.

Ali (2004: 34) states that "in the area of language and literature, the Hausa home video has made a tremendous contribution. Concepts, ideas, issues known only to others (in other languages) have now been translated by the films and some incorporated into day-to-day Hausa language and literature. The development of Hausa magazines mainly dedicated to the Hausa film industry deserves to be mentioned. These include *Duniyar Film* and *Fim*".

The first international conference on Hausa films was organized in Kano in 2003 by the Centre for Hausa Cultural Studies. Participants came from Nigeria, Niger, Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States and Saudi Arabia. Scholarly articles were presented on Hausa films, and a book entitled *Hausa Home Videos: Technology, Economy and Society* was published in 2004 (including articles by

Brian Larkin, from Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, Abdul-Rasheed Na'Allah, from Western Illinois University, USA, Matthias Krings, from University of Colgne, Germany, among others), edited by Abdallah Uba Adamu, Yusuf M. Adamu and Umar Faruk Jibril. Hausa film in the 21st century has been fully incorporated into Hausa studies. Many M.A. and Ph.D. theses discuss Hausa films. These include Chamo (2001, 2006 and 2012), Gandu (2006), and Inuwa (2009), among others. Apart from the development of Hausa studies, Hausa home video in northern Nigeria has been described as an important economic development that has happened in the area in the last two decades (Ali 2004).

2.1.4 Translation into Hausa

History shows that it is from translation that all science has its offspring. Today, there is an ever-increasing volume of translation in specialized field, such as economics, medicine, computer science, and so on. The modern world has been described as a huge translating machine spinning faster and faster (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995). Translation activities in the 21st century promote Hausa studies. Many books on Hausa studies (language, literature and culture) and in other fields have been translated from English into Hausa, e.g. Sani, M. A. Z. (1989b), Sarkinfada (2006), Abdullahi, M. S. (2007), Daba (2008), Bunza, Sarkin and Usman (2009), Azare and Yakasai (2015), and so forth. Hausaists have been engaged in translating specialized terminologies into Hausa. Works such as Muhammad (1990), Jinju (1990), Aliero and Sarkin Sudan (2004), are outstanding examples. These works have concentrated on translating specialized terminologies of different academic subjects. Research has been conducted on English-Hausa translation at many Nigerian universities, such as M. Mamman (1985) *Problems in English-Hausa News Translation in Media Establishment*, Misau (1987) *Problems of Translation: Foreign Concept in media establishment*, H. M. Yakasai (1990 and 1994) *Mechanisms of Adjustment in English-Hausa Translation: A Case Study of Semantic and Structural Adjustments* and *Figurative Language in English-Hausa Translation: A Communicative Approach respectively*, Azare (2002) *Translation of some Medical Terms Relating to Women*, Inuwa (2002) *Critical Analysis of Translation and Usage of Hausa in Offices* and so forth.

The introduction of postgraduate programmes in translation at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and Bayero University, Kano boosts translation from foreign languages into Hausa. Similarly, the activities of the Nigerian Institute of Translators and Interpreters promote Hausa studies. In October 2015, the Centre for Research in Nigerian Languages and Folklore[4], Bayero University, Kano, in conjunction with the Nigerian Institute of Translators and Interpreters organized a national conference on translation where many papers were presented on English-Hausa

[4] Before April 2014, the Centre was called the Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages. The centre has engaged in research, publication and teaching on translation.

translation. Translation of science textbooks (such as Biology, Chemistry, Physics) into Hausa by the Centre for Research in Nigerian Languages and Folklore is in the pipeline. The Centre for Hausa Cultural Studies at Usmanu Ɗanfodiyo University has long been engaged in translation works (see Rufa'i 2002/2003; and Bunza, Sarkin and Usman 2009). Students at various universities in Nigeria (e.g. Kaduna State University, Bayero University, Kano) have been translating English prose into Hausa. Some of the books translated into Hausa include *From Fatika with Love* (Mahmoud 2014), *The Undesirable Element* (Bello, B. 2002) and *Marks on the Run* (Sama'ila 2015) among many others.

2.1.5 The status of Hausa in Nigeria

Many factors have played a tremendous role in considering the status of Hausa in Nigeria. These factors include the language policy in Nigeria, the national policy on education and the mass media. Junaidu (2008: 1) explains that "the concept of language policy generally refers to deliberate efforts by government using state apparatus to officially determine the coexistence of languages, their development and the way they are assigned functions within the state milieu so as to meet national priorities and maintain the right of citizens to use and maintain their languages". Following Junaidu (2008), we can say that a language policy is about expressions, statements, declarations, decisions, provisions, regulations and laws by government, which are documented to be the guiding policy directions on languages in a state. Looking at the legislation and constitutionalism in Nigeria, a number of attempts have been made to provide a legal basis or language policy and concerning language choice in Nigeria (see Ikara 1991, Emenanjo 1990 and Junaidu 2008). The constitutional provisions of 1961, 1963, 1979 and 1999 have elevated the three major languages, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, to the status of national languages. Hausa is also considered as a national language in the Niger Republic. The prominence given to Nigerian languages by the constitutional provisions in Nigeria and the status of Hausa as the national language in the Niger Republic have encouraged studying Hausa as an academic subject in Nigeria and neighbouring countries.

The 1977 National Policy on Education revised in 1988 and 1999 and 2004 is the most important policy document on the use of language in education. The language provisions of the National Policy on Education, as given in Junaidu (2008: 7), stipulate:

- The use of the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community as the medium of instruction during the first three years of primary education
- Teaching the native language as L1 as the core subject: Primary, Junior Secondary School and Senior Secondary School levels
- Learning any of the three major languages by non-native speakers as a second language at the Junior Secondary School level

The national policy of education on the role of Hausa in education has significantly promoted Hausa studies in the 21st century. Even with the recent

modifications in the national policy on education, which has introduced the status of Nigerian languages as optional, Hausa studies have continued to progress immensely in the areas of teaching, research and publications. The book series *Da koyo akan iya* (practice makes perfect), *Gishirin zaman duniya* (knowledge is a living partner) are school manuals that support teaching the Hausa language and Hausa culture at the primary and secondary levels.

2.1.6 The mass media

Another area in which Hausa studies gained ground in the 21st century is the mass media, particularly the local media in northern Nigeria, such as Radio Kano in Kano, Freedom Radio in Kano, Express Radio in Kano, Rahama Radio in Kano, Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria in Kaduna, Radio Rima in Sokoto, among many others. Hausa is strongly linked to these media organizations, because graduates of Hausa are employed in these media organizations to serve as translators, news broadcasters, and so forth. The use of Hausa as a *lingua franca* in many cities in Nigeria, as mentioned earlier, has increased its use in many of the radio and television stations across the country. Indeed, the increasing number of mass media in northern Nigeria, where Hausa is the first language, has extended the communication function of Hausa and increased the interest in studying it. The media houses have, in addition to broadcasting in Hausa, developed programmes specifically on Hausa studies, such as *Siffofin Daidaitacciyar Hausa* (Standard Hausa Features) by Radio Kano and presented by Professor M. A. Z. Sani, *Adabi Madubin Rayuwa* (Literature as the Mirror of Life) by Freedom Radio in Kano, presented by Professor Abdulƙadir Ɗangambo, among others.

2.1.7 Teaching, research and publication on Hausa studies

Teaching, research and publication on Hausa studies have greatly improved in the 21st century. Firstly, many of the native Hausa are involved in both teaching and research and the number of students has also increased greatly. The teaching, research and publication on Hausa studies are done in the universities, particularly in the Department of Nigerian/African Languages, Linguistics, and Centres or Institutions of African/Nigerian Languages. Hausa is taught in eight Federal Government Universities and eleven State Government Universities. Many new universities established in the 21st century have developed interest in Hausa studies. These universities include: Kaduna State University; Umaru Musa Yar'adua University, Katsina; Jigawa State University, Kafin Hausa; Taraba State University, Jalingo; Yobe State University, Damaturu; Federal University Gusau; Islamic University, Katsina; Adamawa State University, Mubi; Bauchi State University, Gaɗau; Gombe State University, Kashere, and Sokoto State University, among others.

Many Nigerian universities offer B.A, M.A and Ph.D. degrees in Hausa, especially Bayero University, Kano; Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria; Usmanu

Ɗanfodiyo University, Sokoto and University of Maiduguri. According to Bunza (personal communication), Hausa studies are being taught in eight Federal Government Universities and eleven State Government Universities in Nigeria. B.A. Hausa is a four-year degree (for those who join the university after completing a six-year secondary education) or a three-year programme (for those who have studied Hausa for two or three years in a College of Education, Polytechnic, School of Basic or Preliminary Studies and finished with a good result). Undergraduate students at the end of their final year write a B.A. project on their chosen topics. Students can specialize in any of the three areas, namely language/linguistics, literature and culture. Students successfully graduate with a First Class (or a Cumulative Grade Point Average (CGPA) of 4.50 and above); Second Class Upper (or CGPA of 3.50) and a minimum of Second Class Lower (or a minimum CGPA of 2.75 and above). Bayero University, Kano has introduced a Post-Graduate Diploma in Hausa Studies (PGDHS) in order to remediate those students with a CGPA of less than 2.75. Students who have finished PGDHS with a Credit result are admitted into the M.A. programme.

The repositioning of the Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages (now renamed as Centre for Research in Nigerian Languages and Folklore) at Bayero University, Kano has strengthened Hausa studies in Nigeria and abroad. The centre has three divisions: the Division of Nigerian Languages, the Division of Folklore and the Division of Translation. It was this centre that published the monolingual dictionary called *Ƙamusun Hausa* in 2003. Similarly, the academic activities of the Centre for Hausa Studies at Usmanu Ɗanfodiyo University (Sokoto), Oral Documentation Unit, Ahmadu Bello University (Zaria) and Centre for Trans-Saharan Studies, University of Maiduguri have further moved Hausa studies to a greater height.

Moreover, in this century, teaching and research on Hausa studies have been extended to many Colleges of Education and Polytechnics in Nigeria, particularly in northern Nigeria. Hausa is being taught in thirty-eight Colleges of Education and Polytechnics across the country; fourteen Federal Colleges of Education, seventeen State Colleges of Education and seven Polytechnics. Hausa as an academic subject is taught at NCE (Nigeria Certificate in Education) or Diploma levels. Students who have finished secondary education with a credit in Hausa (and with at least three other subjects) are admitted for NCE or Diploma. Colleges of Education and Polytechnics develop Hausa studies by conducting research and publishing the outcomes. Some good examples include *Zuba Journal of Hausa Studies* (2010), published by the Department of Hausa, Federal Capital Territory College of Education, Zuba, Abuja; the Department of Hausa, Federal College of Education, Katsina,which published *Al'adu da Ɗabi'un Hausawa da Fulani* and *Wakokin Baka na Hausa* in 2010 and 2011 respectively; *Bahaushiya* journal of Hausa Studies, Federal College of Education, Gusau, Zamfara State; *Wazobia* journal of Hausa Department, Federal College of Education, Kano; *Zobiawa* journal of the

Department of Nigerian Languages, Adeyemi College of Education, (Ondo State) and *Kanjolls* Kontagora journal of languages and literatures, Federal College of Education, Kontagora (Niger State), among others. Indeed, Hausa is also being taught in primary and secondary schools.

In this century, the amount of research projects conducted on Hausa have significantly increased, with many Hausa people obtaining PhD's in Hausa studies at Nigerian universities. Along with the continuation of works on linguistics (Sani, D. 2002; Ɗan-Aduwa 2008a; Gwarzo 2008; Azare 2010; Alƙali 2010; Busa 2012; Aujara 2012), and sociolinguistics (Ɗantumbishi 2003, Ahmadu 2004), there was a significant extension of topics and shift into various aspects of culture and history (Magaji 2002; Sarkin Sudan 2008; Sallau 2009; Ahmad, A. A. 2009; Asiru 2009; Adamu, M. T. 2012), as well as on cultural world view based on linguistic and literary sources (Dunfawa 2002; Amin 2002; Usman, B.B. 2008; Sa'id 2002; Almajir 2014; Bugaje 2014). A number of dissertations were related to literary studies (Garba, S. 2011; Zulyadaini 2003; Ainu 2007; Mu'azu 2006; Auta 2008; Abdulƙadir 2008; Omar 2010; Ɗantata 2008; Abdullahi, B. 2009; Satatima 2009; Nafi'u 2012; Awwal 2010; Bagari, H. 2011; Aminu 2012; Ɗangambo, H. A. 2012; Hassan, Sh. 2013; Shu'aibu 2013; Hassan, B. Y. 2012; Ɗanmaigoro 2013; and Yakasai M. G. 2014, among many others). Interestingly, this century has produced many Hausa female scholars with doctorate degrees in Hausa studies. It is also worth adding that many Ph.D. dissertations were prepared in Hausa. Looking at the number of PhDs produced in the Nigerian universities, it is imperative to state that Hausa studies in Nigeria constitute a fully-fledged academic discipline and the staff is qualified to secure its development, including Ph.D. procedures. In spite of this, African studies (including Hausa studies) continue abroad and a few Nigerians have obtained Ph.Ds. abroad, such as H. M. Yakasai (2006) and Chamo (2012), among others. However, the number of Nigerians undertaking Ph.D. in Hausa studies abroad has significantly reduced. This shows that Hausa studies in Nigeria has come of age.

It is imperative at this juncture to mention that the 21st century has introduced collaborative research projects on Hausa studies, such as one entitled "African and European Perspectives on Hausa Studies". This is a multidisciplinary project involving Hausa and Chadic studies. This project was first initiated under the linkage agreement between Bayero University in Kano, Nigeria and the University of Warsaw in Poland. The first conference under the theme "African and European Perspectives on Hausa Studies" took place in Warsaw in June 2006. The main aim of the conference was to bring together the outcome of research done on Hausa studies at home and abroad, specifically in Europe. The proceedings of the first conference were published in the *Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures* issue in 2006, number 39. The second conference took place in Kano in February 2008. During this conference, two European universities (the Oriental University of Naples and the University of Hamburg, Institute of Asia

and African Studies) joined the project. The proceedings of the Kano conference were published by the Oriental University of Naples, Italy, in 2010, in the *Studi Africanistici* (Serie Ciado-Sudanese 3), edited by Sergio Baldi and Hafizu Miko Yakasai. In July 2010, the third conference was held in Italy under the linkage agreement between Bayero University in Kano and the Oriental University of Naples. In this conference, there more interest was shown by many scholars from Africa and Europe to join the projects. Participants arrived from Nigeria, Poland, Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, South Africa, Switzerland and Hungary. The proceedings of the Naples conference were published by the Oriental University of Naples in Italy in 2011, in the *Studi Africanistici* (Serie Ciado-Sudanese 4), edited by Sergio Baldi and Hafizu Miko Yakasai.

A similar project was initiated under the linkage agreement between Umaru Musa 'Yar'adua University (Nigeria) and Cairo University (Egypt) on "Humanities in the Sub-Saharan World: *Ruwan Bagaja* in Perspectives". Under this project, articles were collected and a book, entitled *Ruwan Bagaja in Perspectives: Eight Decades of a Hausa Masterpiece in Prose (1933–2013)*, was published in 2013, edited by A. M. Bunza and M. A. Noofal.

With these two projects, we can say that the 21st century has witnessed a new trend in collaborative projects on Hausa studies, in particular, and African Studies, in general. These efforts have brought together scholars both at home and abroad working on African (including Hausa) studies to publish the outcome of their research. There is the need to further establish linkages and collaborations between various African universities or between African universities and universities abroad. Through this, African studies will be strengthened and a wider approach to African studies could be achieved.

With regard to publications, the 21st century has been the pinnacle as far as publication on Hausa studies is concerned. With the increasing number of publishing houses, it is now very easy to publish. In just a quarter of a century, hundreds of books have been published on Hausa studies and in this century, there is an economic boost for Hausa publishers. Many academic books, which manifest the on-going research on Hausa language, literature, culture and history, have been published by the Hausa in Hausa and in English. Some of these include Abubakar, A. (2001), Sani, M. A. Z (2001, 2002, 2009, 2011 and 2013), Zarruƙ (2005), Yahya (2001), Dunfawa (2003), Mukhtar, I. (2004 and 2005), Fagge (2004), Adamu, Adamu and Jibril (2004), Muhammad *et al* (2006), Daba (2006), Bunza (2006, 2009), D/Iya (2006), Junaidu and ʻYar'aduwa (2007), ʻDangambo, A. (2008), Gusau, S.M. (2008, 2009, 2015), ʻYar'aduwa (2008b), Malumfashi (2009), Gusau, S. M. (2009), Mukhtar, A. B. (2010), Bosso (2010), Sani, S. (2011), Adamu, M.U. (2011), Yusuf, M.A. (2011), Yakasai, S. A. (2012, 2014), Amfani *et al* (2012), Usman, B. (2012), Bello, A. and Sheshe (2013), Mu'azu (2013), Ƙanƙara (2013), Bello, A. (2014a, 2014b), Adamu, M. T. (2014), Rasheed and Aliyu (2014a and 2014b) and Gusau, S. M. *et al* (2014), among many others.

Other books written on Hausa prose and poetry include: Sagagi (2005), Anwar (2007, 2013), Adamu Y. M. (2007 and 2014), Yusha'u (2009), Sulaiman (2010), Buwa (2010), Barista (2011) and Ɗanhausa (2012), among many others.

What we have seen in this century is an indication that Hausa studies have been strengthened by teaching, research and publication at home, unlike in the 19th and 20th centuries, when Hausa studies had been strengthened by teaching, research and publication abroad. The 21st century emphasises establishing linkages and collaborative research projects between Nigerian universities and universities abroad.

3. Prospects and challenges

The previous section discussed Hausa in the 21st century. This section focuses on the prospects that are associated with Hausa studies at home and abroad. Having discussed the factors responsible for the development of Hausa Studies in Nigeria, the following could be expected to continue to flourish:

- Expansion of Hausa studies to many parts of Nigeria and Africa. Hausa scholars are needed to teach in some of the Nigerian Universities and Colleges of Education, particularly in the central region and southern Nigeria. Hausa is now being taught on the first-degree level at Sebha University[5] in Libya and in some universities in Egypt, especially at Cairo University. Universities in North, South, West and East Africa have shown interest in collaborating with Nigerian universities on African (including Hausa) studies.
- Expansion of Hausa studies to many Asian Universities, particularly the Beijing Foreign Studies Universities (BFSU) in China, the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in South Korea, among others. Bayero University Kano signed an academic linkage agreement with BFSU in 2010. Twelve students from BFSU studied Hausa at Bayero University Kano for three months in the 2010/2011 academic year.
- This century anticipates more research work and publications in the field of African studies, particularly Hausa studies. Many new universities will begin to offer degrees in Hausa studies and the number of PhDs will increase. More Hausa teachers will be required to teach and conduct research. This will definitely lead to an increase in publications.
- The proliferation of Kano Market Literature and Hausa Home Videos promote Hausa language in Africa, particularly in Nigeria and the Niger Republic. This could bring an economic boost.

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[5] A linkage has been established between the University of Sebha and Bayero University, Kano in respect to teaching, research and publication on Hausa Studies. Recently, under this linkage, the staff of the Sebha University got a Ph.D. in Hausa and three others an M.A. in Hausa.

- Another expectation is the proliferation of local journals on Hausa studies in universities. Some of the journals that have emerged in the 21st century include: *Algaita Journal of Current Research in Hausa Studies*, *Ɗundaye Journal of Hausa Studies*, *Himma Journal of Contemporary Hausa Studies*, *Bayero Journal of Linguistics*, and so forth.
- The 1982 National Policy on Education and its advocacy of the teaching of Nigerian languages has immensely increased the need for teachers of Nigerian Languages (Ikara 1991: 43). In the 21st century, Hausa teachers will be highly in demand within and outside Nigeria.
- Another thing to anticipate are various multidisciplinary research projects between Hausa studies and social sciences, such as Sociology, Geography, Political Science and Economics, and technology. Collaborative projects on Hausa studies will continue to flourish between universities at home and those abroad. This could bring back many scholars to Hausa studies. The scope of African studies (including Hausa studies) will be widened and strengthened, and more linkages established. Therefore, mainstream African studies will be expanded.
- There shall be more joint academic supervision, exchanges of scholars and publications and student exchanges.
- Translation activities will become part and parcel of Hausa studies, since much of the terminology involved in teaching Hausa in Hausa has to be sorted out and translated accordingly. Many Hausa students will continue to specialize in the area of translation. In addition, the demand for translating other fields of study will continue.
- The formation of the Hausa Studies Scholars Association in Nigeria will enhance the spread of Hausa studies in Nigeria and abroad.
- The formation of the Hausa Musician Association in Kano in 2015 is another welcome development in Hausa studies.
- Since the world today is in the era of information and communication technology (ICT), which is characterized by a knowledge explosion using the globalized system of storage, access and retrieval, Hausa will serve as the language of ICT education and the amount of books published on ICT in Hausa will increase.

Some of the challenges facing Hausa studies in the 21st century include:

- Recent educational policy on the status of Nigerian languages needs a quick review (that Nigerian languages, i.e. the major Nigerian languages, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, are not included among the core subjects in secondary education).
- Lack of political will from the side of the government, particularly on issues relating to the promotion of indigenous languages in Nigeria.
- The question of quality assurance and control is another area of concern, having in mind that many publications will keep coming, particularly, the proliferation of Kano Market Literature, which has not been managed professionally and is highly patronized by youths.

- Sustaining linkages and collaborations in Nigerian universities is a serious problem to Hausa studies. There is the need for adequate measures and support from all the stakeholders to ensure sustainability. This will bring many scholars abroad into the mainstream of African studies.
- Lack of adequate books for Hausa studies in Hausa.
- Lack of collective responsibility in handling issues relating to Hausa studies, particularly in Nigerian universities. In fact, lack of dedication to teaching and research in Hausa studies is a big challenge.
- Declining interest in Hausa studies abroad is a big challenge that needs to be addressed accordingly.
- The negative attitude of Hausa speakers toward Hausa studies. They think it is not a subject worthy of studying and promoting. As Ikara (1991: 27) asserts, "The greatest obstacles to Hausa language studies are the Hausa speakers themselves, especially those who earn a living by teaching it. There has to be a corresponding change of attitude, as well as syllabus and training if Hausa studies will occupy their rightful place in the scheme of things in Nigeria and abroad, bearing in mind also that among the so-called 'big three', if Yoruba or Igbo has ever been in the position occupied by the Hausa language, it would have been prepared, promoted, and adopted as the national language of Nigeria a long time ago".

4. Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is pertinent to state that Hausa studies have come of age in Africa, particularly Nigeria. Looking at the number of universities conducting teaching, research and publications in the field of Hausa studies abroad and in Africa from the 19th century to date is indicative that Hausa studies have fully become a global academic subject. This emphasizes the relevance of African studies everywhere in the world. The last quarter of the 20th century is arguably the starting point in the transition of Hausa studies from being in the hands of foreigners to that of the Hausa. Indeed, the 21st century serves as the turning point at which Hausa Studies have returned to the hands of the Hausa, particularly in Nigeria. The paper upholds the argument in Ikara (1991: 27) that Hausa studies is intimately linked with the development of Nigeria, her sophistication in politics and the economy and her commensurate influence in international politics and diplomacy. The more Africa becomes important in world politics, the more attention is paid to African (including Hausa) studies abroad. The paper maintains that the collaborative project on African and European perspectives on Hausa studies should be expanded and strengthened. The establishment of linkages and collaborations within Hausa studies shall be encouraged and sustained. This will open a new approach and interest both at home and abroad in Hausa Studies. Bearing in mind

the role of Hausa studies in the integration and development of Nigeria and Africa, in general, government and relevant organizations in Africa and elsewhere shall support Hausa studies. Looking at the development of Hausa studies in the 21st century and the 3rd meeting of the China-Africa Think Tanks Forum held in Beijing 2013, the paper argues that mainstream African studies (including Hausa studies) need to be expanded to include studies on Africa in social science and to collaborate with centres working on African development. This is because mainstream African studies is also linked to the integration and general development of Africa.

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Elżbieta Budakowska

African studies at the cross-worlds of Portugal and West Africa. The phenomena of Cape Verdean creolization

Abstract

The paper traces some trends in the conceptualization of a new paradigm of contemporary African studies as the cross-worlds of the Archipelago of Cape Verde, Portugal and West Africa are concerned. It focuses on the cultural uniqueness of Cape Verdean creolization and its role in developing modernity in the Atlantic space.

Keywords: African studies, Cape Verdean creolization, transnationalism, diaspora, Portugal, West Africa

Designing practical tasks within the scope of African studies so as to enable a conceptualization of a new paradigm for understanding contemporary cultural processes cannot be as complex and sufficient as it needs to be unless we take into consideration historical, geopolitical and sociological perspectives during the analysis of the development of modernity in a given territory. This is also the case when searching for the linkage between creolization and modernity at the cross-worlds of the Archipelago of Cape Verde, Portugal and West Africa. Although Cape Verdean society was born between the "Old" and "New" Worlds, emphasizing a linear trajectory by simply tracing what is "African" and what is "European" in Cape Verde does not seem to be the proper approach. Today's African studies should be present in the wider discourse of non-linear interactions of Atlantic space, a cultural mix which gave rise to creolization based on a "pluri-continental and pluri-racial nation". This would allow us to see how the Cape Verdean space was also a focal point for emergent modernity in the Atlantic world.

By Cape Verde's position as a crossroads or cross-worlds, I understand that for several centuries it had acted as a point of interchange of goods, ideas and people, connecting the edge of late mediaeval Europe, traditional primordial Africa and the

emerging New Modern World. In addition, the Archipelago's position as a stopover *en route* to the East enforced the process by transferring new knowledge further on to Asia. All this led to the creation of some new types of cultural uniqueness which evolving over the centuries are still subjected to various influences and should be included into the scope of African studies. There were several factors behind Cape Verde's important position at the cross-roads of geopolitical and cultural expansion on the Earth. One of these, without a doubt, was Cape Verde's centrality to the transatlantic slave trade and the resulting networks and routes.

There are a few terms connected with the Cape Verde Archipelago which have a special connotation and are crucial for African studies, such as Cape Verdean creole (*crioulo*), Creole society, Cape Verdean creolization and Capeverdeanism (*caboverdianidade*). I refer to them in different parts of this article.

The notion of Capeverdeanism is a conceptual construct, the validation of which depends on the source of the renewal of identity, cultural authenticity, the approach of material culture, and the renewal of "African" art and design. Attitudes towards identity were constantly being reworked throughout the particular periods, such as during the 16th-century discoveries, colonialism and post-colonialism. The will to construct a new identity of their own accompanied the process of decolonization. As a result, Capeverdeanism is not a fixed construct.

I argue that the physical location of the Cape Verde Islands with their proximity to the African coast was one of the most crucial factors in the formation of the specificity of Capeverdeanism, since the Archipelago played an important role in the opening up of the Atlantic world. The logical consequence of this premise is that the paradigm of Cape Verdean Creolization should focus on the transnational analyses of the Archipelago's discovery and its later existence. As is well known, the Portuguese colonizing model responded to the spirit of the new epoch and the need for greater openness towards the colonized territories in comparison to other imperial powers. Actually, it outlined Atlantic practices in the New World. Since the 15th century onwards, there had been administrative and human links between the two sides of the Atlantic, Europe and Africa, which contributed to the development of the Atlantic space. The wide spectrum of human interaction and cultural intertwining created a specific product, namely one of the earliest Afro-Atlantic Creole cultures and languages, which later homogenized the Archipelago.

As we know, creolization, in its classical meaning, refers to a process of cultural and social change involving masses of people with different bonds of social, cultural and political belonging. But only a specific history of social relations, social structure and political economy could create — during the long period of the encounter between the Portuguese and Africans in the Atlantic transnational world — a unique language, culture, nation, identity and ethnicity.

An additional challenge for contemporary African studies involves a fresh look at the novelty of this specific geographical space in connection with the

building of a sound economic position for Portugal, thanks to the most profitable trades for the Portuguese Empire. As clear from the available evidence, despite the fact that Portuguese expansion started in the Atlantic with the discovery of the North-Atlantic archipelagos of Madeira and the Azores, it was the Cape Verdean region which was the first location in the world involved in the Atlantic slave trade of Africans. The development of new types of economic activity was not insignificant in the Atlantic context. The internationalization of the Atlantic brought with it an expansion of Cape Verde's trade to many regions of Africa, Europe and the Americas. The increasing significance of Cape Verde on the international scene was recognized by the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas. Signed between Spain and Portugal in Tordesillas, Spain, (on June 7, 1494), the treaty established a line of demarcation to avoid the conflict over land claims by Spain and Portugal. The established imaginary line running north and south through the mid-Atlantic, 100 leagues (480 km) from the Cape Verde Islands, showed that Spain would have possession of any unclaimed territories to the west of the line and Portugal would have possession of any unclaimed territory to the east of the line.

Ribeira Grande (currently known as Cidade Velha)[1] on Santiago Island, the first European/Portuguese colonial town, became a key port for the inhuman traffic of enslaved persons originating from different regions of West Africa. It was settled in 1462 and from the moment of its founding successfully developed networks with various peoples and cultures. This had significant implications, first of all, for the uniqueness of the language and society of the Archipelago's islands. Deserted at the time of Portuguese contact in the 15th century, they were vigorously settled by white men from Europe involved in trade with the coast of Guinea. The establishment of trading posts along the western coast of Africa facilitated the emergence of pidgin linguistic forms of verbal communication used for trade purposes. This was a crucial point which worked over the years as a creative factor for specific creolization and ethnicity, which subsequently co-determined the trajectory of intercultural communication in the region.

We can now say that the Portuguese modernity on the islands, combining with the Black slave trade and the multicultural and multilingual tradition of West Africa, situated the creation of a new mixed society in the center of the internationalization of trade. As L.H. Shabaka, connecting the cross-cut worlds historically, claims, "in Cape Verde, a cross-cultural exchange occurred in which the lower classes molded social practices derived from coastal Africans, whereas the upper class developed more of a creolized culture. New cultural practices emerged in the mainland and the islands in response to the slave trade" (2013: 4).

[1] In 2009, UNESCO added Ribeira Grande to the list of World Heritage sites for its pivotal role at the crossroads of the transatlantic trade enabling the colonization of Africa and the Americas.

Today, there are no doubts that the Archipelago of Cape Verde is a part of Africa, and a participant of transnational ties with the outside world. Therefore, contemporary transnational involvement is a new challenge for African studies.

Examining transnationalism as a central theoretical basis for the conducted analyses, I assume that transnational space and the process of maintaining transnational linkages with Africa, Europe and the Americas were crucial factors in Cape Verdean history. Therefore, in order to assess the specificity of Creolization today, one needs to contextualize Creoles and Creolization within the particular periods of expansion, colonialism and post-colonialism. As Miguel Vale de Almeida correctly noticed (2007: 108–132), extensive circular systems of relationships (social, cultural and economic), as well as exchanges between the societies of different continents and countries, in every single historical period have created the background for (re) defining crossing cultural borders, narrating and (re)constructing new meanings of intercultural identification for individuals typical for a particular time period.

Nuanced analysis is also needed in the case of the current attempt to (re) construct the national identity of the Archipelago. The social and political dynamics of Creole identity in the postcolonial context have played an important role in nation-building and in the construction of nationhood. The process of the (re) construction of national identity has been ongoing since Cape Verde's independence in 1975. After centuries of Portuguese domination, it appeared that the process of creating a new collective identity had rather liberated itself of the European focus and reoriented towards the African connections. This is for example observable in the attempt to rehabilitate Cape Verdean Creole, which practically up until 1975 had a lower status than Portuguese.[2] A related issue involves the question of where the development of Creole society actually started. Portuguese colonialism allowed for the creation of many creolized communities, languages and cultural expressions. Thus, the question about the nature of Cape Verdean creolization is justified. There are different views in this respect. Miguel Vale de Almeida, for example, emphasizes the role of historical Upper Guinea in Cape Verdean creolization (Wilson 2003: 1-32). Although, as already stated above, it is obvious that both modernity and Creole society cannot be separated from analyses of the historical context, a nuanced understanding is needed in current interpretations of the past.

Therefore, Cape Verdean historiography must also undergo certain changes. Taking the spatial location of the Archipelago as an essential reference point in researching the evolution of Cape Verdean history, we must recognize more recent discoveries. A more in-depth analysis of the available evidence suggests that the Wolof people from Africa[3] as well as Arabs penetrated some islands prior to the

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[2] The possibility was even considered of introducing punishment for its usage. See Carreira 1983: 56.

[3] Senegambia was controlled by the Jolof Empire led by the "Grand Jolof". The Empire consisted of 5 provinces. The Jolof polity was increasingly independent of the Empire of Mali, with Senegambia as an identifiable political unit.

Portuguese. Thus, Cape Verdean historiography requires fresh verification of the creation of Cape Verdean shared cultural space. Nicolas Quint refers to this more explicitly: "the Islands' African cultural heritage and historical ties with coastal regions of the Western Africa including Senegambia, created what we would call the Caboverdean space. Culture in this respect should be defined as a space, more over that the Creole dialects of many Caboverdean island and Guinea are mutually intelligible confirms that this is a shared cultural space" (2000: 99).

While creolization has important linguistic connotations, it can also be seen, as Mehan Vaughan suggests, as the result of multiple intermingled cultural exchanges and influences taking place in an open space, such as an island lacking an original population (Vaughan 2005: 2). However, it should be mentioned that the mixing of specific aspects of culture in the first stage, in other words — *pidginization*, cannot be mistaken with creolization. The latter involves the development of new ethnic identities and the substitution of the respective original identities. This is usually an intergenerational process, where Cape Verdean Creole is already the mother tongue for those born on the Archipelago and the spoken language of Cape Verdeans and their descendants (Vasconcelos 2006: 2). The transformation of the pidgin dialect into the mother language of the population brought to the Archipelago and settled there took place under conditions involving insular isolation and the disassociation of the island's society from their own cultures. For children born on the Archipelago, it was already their mother land. As Gabriel Fernandes states, "the category *Filhos da terra* (children of the land) began to define children whose legitimacy and social acknowledgment were tied to their organic link with the mother land" (2002: 42).

There is no doubt that *mestiçagem*[4] and creolization — as well as Creole as a language — are products of the intensive exploring activities of the Portuguese in the basins of the "Senegal rivers" and "the Guinea rivers". The peoples of Guinea and Senegambia became crucial players in the exchanges which gave rise to Creole societies in the region and to the modern African Atlantic. This influenced the character of the Cape Verdean Creole language, as well as the later culture of the Archipelago. The language brings together vocabulary from a few continents, and consists of a Portuguese base with words from the tongues of various West African nations and ethnic groups. Imported objects from Africa were inserted into the local processes of social practices and culturally assimilated by the people already settled on the Archipelago (i.a. elements of attire). In contemporary times, former historical ties also take on diverse forms of developed contacts between the population of the Archipelago and that of Africa, frequently in connection with existing affinities.

Another issue in the discursive debate within African studies is the interpretation of the term "Creole" and the resulting connotations; thus, the questions of historical

[4] Crossing of races or individuals of different races.

identity could be strictly related to the identity questions which Capeverdeans are asking today. The basic dilemma is whether *Creoleness* (*crioulidade*) is simply a genealogical (the fact itself of being born on the land) and phonotypical category, or also an identifying one which additionally combines elements of performance.[5] Even though it cannot be excluded that certain phonotypical features characteristic for Cape Verdeans exist, the expression 'Creole' in the contemporary Archipelago of Cape Verde refers also to Cape Verdean identity and culture. As a result, even a foreigner, regardless of her/his appearance, can become *crioulo*, if she/he knows how to speak the local language, prepare dishes considered part of the local cuisine, can dance, sing and knows the music of the Islands; in short, if she/he exhibits cultural behavior typical for the Cape Verde Islands.

Therefore, recent African studies aimed at researching the social perception of the specificity of the phenomena must be based on the conceptualization of Cape Verdean Creolization by going far beyond the simple definition of the term. As stated by Miguel Vale de Almeida, "in Cape Verde, creoleness has come to be the definer of national cultural specificity, not part of a positively valued project of hybridization. This is the result of the work of the elites that built a 'regional' identity within the colonial empire, using the resource of their special status as non-indigenous colonials. What seems to be left out of consideration is the projective character of creolization as a form of surpassing nationalism, ethnic exclusivism and racism… In the process of national identification by the Cape Verdean literary elites, creoleness (*crioulidade*) became a synonym of ethnicity and nationality in a specific territory" (2007: 33–34).

As can be read in the various available material, creolization was usually connected with an ethnic and racial approach. However, this is not the case in Cape Verde. We cannot deny the presence on the Islands of people of different origin; however, as Vasconcelos has stated, none of the groups were able to create a clearly defined ethnic or racial identity (2006: 8). Nevertheless, we must admit that Creoles are mixed and share some cultural practices of the primary groups of their ancestors. The process of *mestiçagem* leading both towards Creolization and whitening in fact caused a de-substantialization of 'race'. Under these circumstances, race became more of an indicator of status and power than a criterion for placement within an essentialist hierarchy.

Generally, the word *crioulo* refers foremost to the language; however, as suggested by Antonio Carreira, *crioulo* as an element of verbal and social communication among the different cultural groups practically from the very beginning took part in defining the Cape Verdean cultural identity (1983: 54). It is therefore no wonder that Miguel Vale de Almeida claims that for the Cape Verdeans

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[5] As Rita Astuti has discovered in her field research in Madagascar, we can distinguish two types of identity: performing identity, which is not primordial and essential but recognizable by the activity, and ethnic identity, which is the essence inherited from the past (Astuti 1995: 1).

themselves it has increasingly become a metaphor for their own self-description as a group and of their national culture (2007:108-132). Simultaneously, Bento Arturo Monteiro develops his argument as follows: "[…] Cape Verdean identity is a product of the re-elaboration of different identities during mutual contacts and this is why among the Cape Verdeans one does not encounter attempts to regain some cultural roots, but the confirmation of values considered to be collective. However, the term 'ethnic' may appear as an equivalent of 'caboverdianidade', indicating that this mixing has uprooted ethnic roots, to the inclusion of every individual identity. Therefore, caboverdianidade is tied to a shared cultural identity in a new Motherland, to which the Cape Verdean generation (black, white and mulattoes) should be loyal. This mixing has limited ethnic and racial ties with the distant lands" (Monteiro 2010: 1).

As has already been stated, thanks to this transnationality Cape Verde could develop a unique Creole culture and language that over the centuries became hegemonic on the Archipelago. The Cape Verdean nation, if we refer to the entire settled Archipelago, in its essence underwent transnationality from the very beginning of its formation, as the population was scattered across various islands quite distant from each other. As a result, the understanding of the contemporary specificity of Cape Verdean creolization would not be possible without a historical and sociological analysis of the Portuguese policy of the settlement and peopling of uninhabited territories. This policy was meant to achieve a number of aims, among which two seem to be the most significant. First of all, it was supposed to strengthen the political competitiveness of the Portuguese colonial Empire across the world in comparison to other 15th-century European explorers. As a result, in order to achieve the aim of a rapid increase in the population resources on conquered territories, the mixing of Portuguese colonizers with people of other races and primordial cultures was allowed. Secondly, this tolerant population policy also had an economic aspect. It provided a labor force, necessary for initiating development, even in those places which lacked an indigenous population. Simultaneously, this contributed to the building of a social structure for the future state which went hand in hand with the development of the Empire.

An interesting example of crossing-worlds between the Old Times and the Modern Times, influencing the phenomenon of Cape Verdean creolization, is the Jewish presence in the Cape Verde Islands and in West Africa. By making scapegoats of the Jews,[6] European powers presumably did not expect that it would introduce changes in the medieval European worldview and contribute to shaping Atlantic modernity.

It is argued that this type of Jewish people contributed to the growing creolization and formation of Creole society in Cape Verde, beginning with the end of the 15th

[6] The Cape Verdean region was seen as a place of escape from the Inquisition in Europe after King Manuel I of Portugal introduced laws expelling the Jews.

century. The forced conversion in Portugal in 1497[7] caused that a substantial *cristão novo* population[8] was established on both the major inhabited islands: Santiago and Fogo. The Judaic origins of some of the earliest settlers of the islands possibly influenced the formation of Cape Verdean identity and contributed significantly to the culture of emergent Creole society in Cape Verde. As a pan-Atlantic *cristão novo* trading diaspora, they created wider international trading networks between African peoples and European traders, as well as with the countries of African destination, such as Brazil. An analysis of the commercial and social relationships could have far-reaching implications for understanding the processes of creolization and the development of multiple influences. Jewish adaptability enabled their Africanization through integration with African communities.[9] While living on the Islands they were also an *agency* of Creole society.

The Jews played a double role in the first century of the formation of Cape Verdean space. Firstly, their presence as so-called *lançados*[10] helped to develop a trans-Atlantic orientated economy and commercial interactions with the African peoples. Secondly, through the rejection of the dominant Portuguese *cristão velho*[11] identity in the region, they helped to construct a different type of identity in Cape Verde. The otherness of the Atlantic world and the expansion of trade in the new space required flexibility so as to deal with the new opportunities opened up by the discoveries. Thus, some characteristics typical for Iberia of those times were anachronistic and alien to the Cape Verde reality. It was necessary to create a more autonomous Cape Verdean identity. Excluded both from the society of which they had been a part and from the territory, in their new environment the *cristão novo* population wanted to create a sense of their own belonging on their own terms. The differentiation that went with modernity was for some an opportunity which allowed for emancipation from a rigid worldview. As Tobias Green (2006) suggests, in these circumstances the *cristãos novos* themselves became prototypes for the development of modernity. Because of their peculiar condition, personal experiences and connections, they were crucial in the development of the Atlantic networks and in shaping the dynamism of exchange among the diverse worldviews.

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[7] According to the decree by King Manuel I of Portugal, all Jews had to convert to Christianity or leave the country.

[8] Newly converted Christians, called New Christians.

[9] Most of the *cristão novo* groups in Guinea assimilated fairly rapidly into their host cultures and became Africanized.

[10] *Lançados* (Port.) are Portuguese people who "escaped" from territories subordinate to the Portuguese Crown and settled in West Africa, remaining outside Portuguese administrative control (Gadecki 2014: 83). Living among indigenous populations in Africa, they learned their languages and customs. They attempted to find a balance between the two worlds, their own and the new one they had come to live within. Being flexible, the Jewish c*ristãos novos* developed relationships between Europeans and African groups.

[11] Old Christian.

The *lançados*, having relationships with two cultures which facilitated exchange between African and European peoples, became a part of the Luso-African class of mixed ancestry, which assisted in developing creolization, the cultural space of Cape Verde and the modern African Atlantic. The development of the ambiguities of category which increasingly defined modernity would be an essential part of a *lançado* identity as prototypes for modern individuals. The very concept of individuality was alien to medieval Christian dogmatic society. Therefore, diversity resulting from individuality of response towards a new environment was an unprecedented fact.

An important integral part of Cape Verdean society and its Creole culture is constant emigration, which has influenced the population of the Archipelago since the very beginnings of its formation. Cape Verde still remains an important sending country with significant outflows, ranging now from 500-700 thousand people living abroad. This diaspora is scattered mainly in the urban areas of 3 continents: Africa, Europe and North America. This peculiarity stimulates Cape Verdean dynamic transnationalism, causing that its inherent spatial isolation becomes transformed into a transnational network. More or less isolated, the small archipelagic islands participate through this network space in a globalized world, and that fact can contribute to the everyday lives of many of its inhabitants. In addition, we can witness the building of Cape Verdean communities in many countries around the world, mostly in the United States and Europe, which also impacts cultural processes on the Archipelago itself.

The basis for the formation of a transnational Cape Verdean community and construction of a Cape Verdean transnational social space is the maintaining of migration networks, which uphold links between the migrants and the Archipelago. Against the backdrop of this phenomenon, it is possible to observe, to a smaller or larger extent, the process of the decontextualization of some identity symbols of Cape Verdean nation. To some degree, this applies to the music of the Islands, which has *transgressed its own cultural and territorial borders* and which thanks to migration became known in different parts of the world.

International mobility is a function of the specificity of the global labor market, at times and in some countries taking on the mark of ethnicization. This phenomenon also applies to the immigrants from the Archipelago Islands. In this context, a few unresolved issues arise which should be addressed within the scope of African studies. What is the relation between an immigrant within the ethinicized labor market and his/her identity? What does it mean to be a Cape Verdean surrounded by persons of diverse ethnic belonging and does this lead to a reconstruction of his/her own identity? In addition, since emigration shares the same geographic spaces and has commonality with other migratory archipelagos, another issue is to what extent Cape Verdean transnationality belongs to the "Lusophone migratory system", which is also of a transnational character and encompasses three continents: Africa, Europe and South America.

The answers to these questions could help us to understand the role of migration in the process of shifting identities in the Cape Verdean world space.

To conclude, we should emphasize that because of Cape Verde's significant role in internationalization, it is crucial to remember that the Cape Verdean region is of paradigmatic importance not only for African studies but also for Atlantic studies. As it is sometimes said that Cape Verde was a meeting point for the desert and the ocean, and not just for the Atlantic but also for the internal dynamics of West Africa (Green 2006: 259-260). Historically, the Atlantic slave trade integrated the Cape Verde Archipelago into the cultural, economic, and political milieu of the Upper Guinea Coast between 1500 and 1879, after which the slave trade to Cape Verde became illegal. The constant movement of goods, ideas, and peoples consolidated mutual relationships and influences.

As has already been stated, one of the most creative elements of African studies is the specificity of the Cape Verdean Creole world. Therefore, a question arises: What is creoleness (*crioulidade*) today, regardless of the geographic insular variation of the Creole? To what extent has creoleness become a synonym of ethnicity and nationality in a specific territory, and does it still take part in the process of national identification in the times of globalized influences? To what extent is it the definer of national cultural specificity when approximately two-thirds of the Cape Verdean population lives in the diaspora, spread across different continents? Is it still the Creole world or ambiguity which is the important trace constitutive of this type of society? Additionally, the increasing role of tourism in Cape Verde is increasing the level of competitiveness among the Atlantic archipelagos of Cape Verde, Madeira, Azores and the Canary Islands. With the rise of foreign visitors, the Cape Verdean Creole world will undergo different changes. Tourism helps to shape the Cape Verdean economy as well as providing a basis for cultural changes on the islands. It should however be asked whether these changes are an added value within globalized space.

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Joanna Mormul

New institutionalism in research on dysfunctional states in Sub-Saharan Africa: "Institutional Multiplicity" and the Luso-African example[1]

Abstract

"Institutional multiplicity" is understood as the overlapping (and sometimes as the exclusive co-existence) of state institutions, traditional authorities, local warlords or other non-state pretenders to power (di John 2008). It is a common "sore spot" for Sub-Saharan African countries, often perceived as one of the causes of their potential weakness. In Lusophone Africa, "institutional multiplicity" is usually the consequence of the difficult post-conflict situation, which ensued after the long civil wars (Angola, Mozambique), or the rapid development of organized crime (Guinea-Bissau). In both cases, it can adopt many different forms.
The paper uses the "international multiplicity" phenomenon in Luso-Africa as an exemplification of the neo-institutional theoretical approach in research on dysfunctional states, emphasizing the importance of a much broader understanding of the concept of the "institution" in new institutionalism.

Keywords: "institutional multiplicity", Lusophone Africa, new institutionalism, state dysfunctionality

Introduction

Various events at the beginning of the 21st century changed the perception of threats to international security. In the conventional Westphalian vision of the world, they were to appear primarily from strong and aggressive state organisms. At the dawn of this century, it became clear that the risks can equally likely come from states that are weak and even from non-state actors. The turning point for this change were the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, which

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can constitute a dividing line in the perception of dysfunctional states in the context of threats to international security (cf. Kłosowicz 2013). As a result of this change, research on dysfunctional states gained in importance not only within the discipline of security studies, but also in political science and international relations. The problem of dysfunctional states is positioned at the crossroads of these three research disciplines; therefore, it also appears appropriate to look into it from the perspective of the interdisciplinarity of African Studies, especially when the subject of the study consists mainly of African states.

The majority of the states considered as highly dysfunctional are located in Sub-Saharan Africa. In the „Fragile States Index 2015"[2], seven out of the ten most dysfunctional states are Sub-Saharan African ones, while in the top five of the ranking they occupy all the positions (Fund for Peace 2016a). Hence, it appears that the main axis of the debate about this issue should revolve around African countries, especially in the context of the growing importance of the African continent in contemporary international relations (cp. Harman, Brown 2013). More and more African scholars are deciding to take part in the discussion on the causes of the dysfunctionality of African states[3], and new theoretical approaches are applied in research on politics and international relations in Africa. One such newer approach is new institutionalism, exemplified in the article by the phenomenon of "institutional multiplicity" in Lusophone Africa.

The notion of state failure/state dysfunctionality

According to William Zartman, the author of the first monograph devoted entirely to state dysfunctionality issues, state failure/collapse means that a state can no longer fulfill its basic functions as the main centre of decision making or the symbol of national identity, but it may also involve problems connected to the issue of territorial sovereignty, state credibility as a political institution, and the organization of the social-economic system (Zartman 1995: 5). Over the last 20 years, the notion of the "failed state" has not only been permanently inscribed in academic discussions in the fields of political science, international relations, law or national security, but has also found its permanent place in the language of the media and politics[4]. With time, its other variants started to be used, i.e. weak state,

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[2] The ranking of dysfunctional states published annually by the American think tank, Fund for Peace (2016a).

[3] For example, the Beninese philosopher and scholar, Paulin J. Hountondji. For more, see Trzciński 2011.

[4] The end of the Cold War and increasing globalization emphasized the problem of the states defined as "failed". For the first time, the term "failed state" was used by Gerald B. Helman and Steven R. Ratner in their article "Saving Failed States", published in the Winter 1992/1993 issue of *Foreign Policy*. "A disturbing new phenomenon" — as they defined "the failed nation-state" — "utterly incapable of

failing state, fragile state, dysfunctional state, collapsed state, endangered state, crisis state, etc., often interchangeably without any gradation. As a consequence, this situation has led to terminological chaos, blurring the notion of the object of study, and often undermining the sense of the analysis of such broadly-understood state dysfunctionality. Moreover, by many researchers the term began to be seen as pejorative, hence, it became increasingly controversial and unpopular. This is connected to the fact that in the majority, highly dysfunctional states are located in the so-called Third World (especially in Africa); thus, questions have arisen whether the term "state failure"/"state collapse" is not just another manifestation of the Eurocentric perspective applied in relation to post-colonial states, often already dysfunctional from the time they gained their independence (cf. Call 2008; Kłosowicz, Mormul 2013). Furthermore, there is also the question of the validity of the "failed state" concept under international law, in terms of meeting the constitutive elements of the concept of the "state", namely authority, territory, and people[5]. When the criteria are not met, this raises the problem of whether the subjectivity of such a state can be recognized in international law. However, it seems that this dubiousness can be applied only to highly dysfunctional states (collapsed and failed ones), and not to all kinds of dysfunctional states (cf. Zajadło 2005; Koskenmäki 2004; Dudkiewicz 2012).

It is relatively rarely to come across the definition of "dysfunctional state" itself (more often it is a "failed state", "collapsed state", "weak state" or "fragile state"). Hence, it seems reasonable to cite two complementary definitions of this notion. Marina Ottaway distinguished two types of state dysfunctionality: positive and negative. In the first case, a state is considered to be dysfunctional if its administrative capacities are inadequate for the actual implementation of the decisions taken by its authorities. In turn, negative dysfunctionality is based on the inability of a state to suppress other state organizations from taking over its territory. Thus, a dysfunctional state can be considered as one in which the government is unable either to administer the state or to protect its territory or the existing authorities (Ottaway 2001: 189). In the definition advanced by Ottaway, the weight lies on two out of the three constitutive elements of the state according to Jellinek's classical definition: government and territory. However, it did not include the third, i.e. the state's population. In turn, this element is present in the definition proposed by Stephen Ellis. In his article published in 2005 in Foreign Affairs, he defines the term "dysfunctional states" through their two main characteristics: (1) the inability to maintain law and order on their territory; and

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sustaining itself as a member of the international community" (Helman, Ratner 1992). Two years later, the first monograph devoted entirely to state failure and state collapse was published — "Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority" edited by I. William Zartman (Cojanu, Popescu 2007: 114).

[5] The author of this three-element classical theory of the state — *Drei-Elementen-Lehre* was German law professor — Georg Jellinek (cf. Jellinek 1929, first published in 1905).

(2) their failure to comply with the relevant international commitments. The first feature mainly affects the citizens of these states, while the second raises the subject of the interest shown by the international community. Thus, this definition appears to be somewhat more complete, because we find (included impliedly) three constitutive elements of a state: the government (ensuring law and order), the territory (an area where law and order are abided by) and the population (to whom law and order are provided), as well as a fourth attribute of statehood — the ability to maintain relations with other states (here: the fulfillment of relevant international obligations, so that the state is reliable in relations with other state actors) (Ellis 2005: 135–148).

Over the last decade, a number of think tanks, international organizations, academic institutions, and all sorts of research units dealing with crises of statehood sought to clarify the criteria that could be used to determine more clearly when a given state becomes a failed, failing or weak one. Depending on the profile of these institutions, this issue has been analyzed taking into account a number of very different factors[6]; however, it seems that special significance should be given rather to the gradation of the state dysfunctionality phenomenon in order to avoid lumping together all the states considered dysfunctional (Kłosowicz, Mormul 2013: 21, 30-33).

New institutionalism in studies of dysfunctional states in Sub-Saharan Africa

For years, the two main subjects of research for political science have been authorities and institutions. An institutional approach prevailed in political science practically until the 1950s. This attitude was so pervasive that for many scholars institutionalism was almost identical with political science. Little attention was paid to the explanatory sphere, and assumptions and practices were treated rather

[6] For example, the Washington-based think tank, The Fund for Peace, in its definition of state failure/state fragility focuses on the four attributes of statehood, associated with the classical definition of the state in international law. A failed/fragile state may be characterized by some of the following attributes: the loss of physical control over its territory or a monopoly on the legitimate use of force; the erosion of legitimate authority to make collective decisions; an inability to provide reasonable public services; and the inability to interact with other states as a full member of the international community (Fund for Peace 2016b). Another Washington-based think tank, Brookings Institution, formulates the definition of a weak state, which lacks the capacity or will to fulfill four critical government responsibilities, i.e. "fostering an environment conducive to sustainable and equitable economic growth; establishing and maintaining legitimate, transparent, and accountable political institutions; securing their populations from violent conflict and controlling their territory; and meeting the basic human needs of their population" (Rice, Patrick 2008). What draws our attention here is the economic factor in the form of economic growth. In turn, the Crisis States Research Centre, founded at the London School of Economics and Political Science, distinguished a three-element typology of dysfunctional states: "fragile states", "crisis states", and "failed states". The

impliedly. Researchers in political science dealt mainly with the description and analysis of the constitutions, legal systems and government structures. This situation was changed only by the behavioral revolution in the social sciences, which was based largely on criticism of the traditional institutional approach, accused of descriptivism and lacking a scientific character, understood as the ability to formulate laws[7] (Lowndes 2006: 89; Sajduk 2007a: 7–20).

When in the mid-1980s, thanks to James March and Johan Olsen, the new institutionalism approach was formulated, it was an answer to the shortage of social factors in the dominant approaches of that time (behavioralism and the rational choice theory), which disregarded institutions, treating them as simple aggregates of individual preferences (Lowndes 2006: 90). This new institutional approach to research in political science was to be treated as multifaceted and multi-leveled, because it was not a coherent theoretical or methodological perspective. Political scientists do not even agree on the number of variants of new institutionalism, which ranges from between two and seven (Sajduk 2007a: 14–19; Thelen 1999: 369–370; Schmidt 2011: 47–64; Lowndes 2006: 94–96)[8].

In 1984, March and Olsen used the term "new institutionalism" for the first time in their article "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life". At that time, they formulated five basic accusations against political science. First, they accused it of (1) contextualism — understanding politics as an integral part of social life; therefore, the research focus was on society, at the expense of an analysis of the forms of government, political systems or the state. Another charge they brought against the field was (2) reductionism, according to which political phenomena were treated as aggregates of individual behavior, thereby ignoring the impact it may have had on the way of organizing political life. Subsequently, March and Olsen pointed to (3) utilitarianism, i.e. tending to interpret any action as a result of calculations of self-interest. They also criticized (4) functionalism, which placed too much emphasis on history as the most effective means to achieve balance, which in turn, brought with it a belief in one exclusive solution, determined by the current environment conditions. (5) Instrumentalism was the last of the objections raised, in which too much attention was paid to the decision-making process, and not to what affects the process, i.e. to the organization of political

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first of these applies to a country particularly vulnerable to conflicts, as well as internal and external shocks. Its institutions cannot prevent crisis situations (whether economic, political, or social). On the contrary, they create them, and often lead to their preservation. A crisis state struggles with an extremely tense internal situation and its institutions face serious contestations. The state of crisis, however, is not necessarily the final stage, as the development of the situation in a given country depends on whether it will succumb to the crisis, which, in consequence, will lead to "state collapse" (LSE 2006).

[7] Drawing from the natural sciences, the behavioral approach was introduced in answer to social science's "quest for certainty" — i.e. observable behavior should be at the center of the analysis.

[8] For further discussions of the topic, see Hall, Taylor 1996; Peters 1999.

life and the symbols, rituals and ceremonies (March, Olsen 1984: 735–738; Sajduk 2007a: 14–19)[9].

March and Olsen emphasized the autonomous role and importance of political institutions. The state as the most important political institution was not only vulnerable to influences coming from society, but it was perceived as having influence on society itself. Political institutions were to be treated as equal political actors (March, Olsen 1984: 738): "The bureaucratic agency, the legislative committee, and the appellate court, are arenas for contending social forces, but they are also collections of standard operating procedures and structures that define and defend interests. They are political actors in their own right" (March, Olsen 1984: 738). According to March and Olsen, empirical observations of political systems support the institutional complexity of modern states; moreover, they indicate also the interpenetration of institutions, individuals and events (March, Olsen 1984: 740). The earlier trends, i.e. behavioralism and the rational choice theory, were through and through individualistic, e.g. their attention was focused primarily on the activities of individual units (e.g. the prime minister, president, or voters) (Sajduk 2007b: 598).

The importance of the institution, so emphasized by the theorists of new institutionalism, is also visible in its new and enhanced definition. Political institutions have ceased to be identified with political organizations. The "institution", according to new institutionalism, is a "stable, recurring pattern of behavior", while political institutions are seen as "rules of the game", both those that are formal procedures and those that are informal conventions. However, such a broadly formulated definition may threaten to blur the concept of the institution itself. Moreover, some scholars from the mainstream of new institutionalism tried to include informal political institutions, as well as tradition, common practice, culture, or habit. It seems that "the investigator should seek to identify the rules of behavior with which the social actors (generally speaking) agree and comply, regardless of whether consent is overt or silent" (Lowndes 2006: 102). Thus, informal institutional rules apply to a specific political or governmental context, and they are recognized by political actors, although they may not always be respected (Lowndes 2006: 90, 102). The importance of both institutional forms is summarized quite well by Francis Fukuyama:

> "Formal institutions matter; they change incentives, mold preferences, and solve (or fail to resolve) collective action problems. On the other hand, the informal matrix of norms, beliefs, values, traditions, and habits that constitute a society is critical for the proper functioning of formal institutions, while a political science that pays attention only to the design of formal institutions without

[9] For a further discussion of the topic, see March, Olsen 2005.

> understanding normative and cultural factors will inevitably fail" (Fukuyama 2008: 199).

Such an explanation of the term "institution" allows the use of the neo-institutional approach in a much broader scope. Due to new institutionalism, it was possible to introduce into political science some relevant theories from various disciplines, in the first place from economy (public choice theory, rational choice theory, organizational theory) and sociology (organizational analysis, but also individual behavior analysis) (Eslava Gómez, Orozco Guyara, Valencia Agudelo 2011: 21).

Among others, the study of public policies in post-communist countries (cp. Đurić 2011) can be indicated as an example of using the new institutional approach in the social sciences. This approach has also been applied to the study of authoritarian regimes. In the previous institutionalist approach, studies on authoritarianisms focused attention on a theoretical analysis of the institutions of repression and manipulation that distinguish an authoritarian regime, such as the one-party system, military juntas, or forced labor camps. New institutionalism proposed studying authoritarianism through the institutions of representation and power-sharing, which usually include elements of liberal democratic systems, such as legislature, constitutional courts, a multi-party system, private media, and federalism (Schedler 2009: 1–18).

New institutionalism has also been incorporated into economic science. As a part of the political economy approach, it adopted the new institutional economics approach[10], for which the rational choice theory (already existing in economics) was supposed to be the catalyst. Economists admit that in political science the new institutionalism approach has outstripped the other social science disciplines (including sociology and economics), but they add that it was inspired by institutional economics (popular in the United States in the 1920s) and the assumptions of methodological individualism (Chmielewski 2011: 247–315).

Characterized briefly above, the neo-institutional approach to institutions — focused on rules, often informal, dynamic, disaggregated[11], and critical towards values — seems to be useful in research on dysfunctional states, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. Studies focused only on the formal institutions can be justified in the case of old established democracies, where the rule of law guides the political actors, and the constitution in place in the country is supported by the ethics of "constitutionalism", and the acceptance of this state of affairs by the majority

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[10] With regard to African states, the new institutional economics approach has been used, among others, in research on the relationship between democracy and development (Cp. R. H. Bates *et.al.* 2013)

[11] The old institutionalists tended to mainly compare whole government systems, while neo-institutional researchers focus on elements of political life, such as electoral systems, taxation and benefit systems, the decision-making process in the government, arrangements for budgeting and shaping state policy, relations between the governments of different states, rules for concluding international agreements, etc. (Lowndes, 2006: 99; Peters 1999: 8–9).

of the population. In newly established democracies, such is not the case, even though many African countries (today considered to be dysfunctional) aspire or have aspired for a long time to be counted among the democracies of the world. In such countries, legal restrictions of state authority are something new, often untested in practice. The rule of law, even if it is not completely absent, is ignored with impunity, for example, for the sake of familial, clannish, or ethnic solidarity. The impact of formal institutions in these conditions seems to be much weakened. Hence, it seems that the scope of research in studies on dysfunctional states in Sub-Saharan Africa should be broadened and apart from the formal state institutions (e.g. the constitution, the political system, or the regime), the informal institutions, which often have a much greater impact on political and social life, should also be taken into account (Bratton 2007: 96–98). Göran Hydén distinguishes four types of informal institutions in Africa, which according to him can be regarded as analytical categories. These are: clientelism, pooling, self-defense, and charisma. As far as the concepts of clientelism, charismatic leadership or a self-induced sense of collective threat or harm are fairly obvious, the concept of pooling needs further explanation. According to Hydén (2006), this is any kind of collective cooperation, in which the involvement of individuals is organized along voluntary and self-enforcing lines[12]. The visible impact of the aforementioned informal institutions on the political, economic, and social life of the state, confirms, in Hydén's view, the weakness of the formal state institutions (Hydén 2006: 78–83). Within these broad analytical categories, it is obviously possible to distinguish narrower ones, better reflecting the problems of African countries, for example, the commonness of corruption or the concept of the Big Man rule[13]. Although most researchers indicate the negative aspects of the existence of African informal institutions, we should also take into account some situations, in which — due to the weakness of the state — informal institutions can contribute to a kind of legitimacy in the fragile democracy of a dysfunctional state, for example, personal ties in the form of personal loyalty to the incumbent president (Bratton 2007: 98–99).

In Sub-Saharan Africa, great importance is attributed to local communities. They ensure the safety of individuals in different spheres of their existence (e.g. economic, cultural, political, health-related, etc.). A man is defined by the community to which he belongs and not by his individual characteristics, as is generally the case

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[12] However, it could be argued that the examples of such collective cooperation given by Hydén are inadequate — the mafia or Chinese triads do not seem to be appropriate cases, due to the fact that the adhesion is not always the result of a purely voluntary haul.

[13] The concept of the Big Man rule is often used in the context of Sub-Saharan African politics, in which we can find a combination of pre-colonial norms, post-colonial institutions, and quite common state weaknesses, which have helped to create opportunities for "personal rulers to gain and maintain power by virtue of informal relationships with local masses" (McCauley 2013: 1–2). The concept itself derives from the study by Marshall Sahlins, an American anthropologist, who used this term as a constructed ideal-type of the hierarchy existing in Melanesia (Sahlins 1963).

in Western civilization. The chief determinant of African community life lays in obligations to other members of the community, but not legal ones. This fact often has enormous consequences for the political life of the country, because in typical African local communities it is the group and not the individual that takes political decisions, e.g. to support a particular political party or its leader. Sometimes, however, the leaders of the community are not guided by the best interests of its members, but rather — using manipulation and networks of patron-client type relationships, in agreement with politicians — they exploit the community, turning it into a disciplined electorate (Trzciński 2014: 78–82, 89).

Christopher Clapham stresses the importance of the phenomenon of warlords and the movements they have created. Clapham sees them as a common element of the political reality in African countries. They usually form different systems of power, situated either in opposition to the state structures inherited from the former colonizer, or as entirely new entities within the concept of the "shadow state". Among the warlords, the most important is obviously their leader, the personification of the Big Man syndrome. Over the last decade, this syndrome has managed to penetrate African political culture. Clapham points out, however, that this type of leadership is often not a matter of the warlord's personality, but rather his capacity to manage available resources in such a way as to create effective structures of power and control (Clapham 2001: 14). It was not without reason that Laurent Kabila, at the time still the leader of the rebellion and not the president of the DRC, said in one interview, "The only thing I need to call and conduct the insurgency is $10,000 and a satellite phone". In a poor deeply dysfunctional state, this amount of money is enough to hire enough people to create a small army, while via satellite phone in a resource-rich country you may conclude transactions with arms traffickers (Collier 2007: 21).

Therefore, due to the possibility of establishing an armed group ready to launch a rebellion, it is of utmost importance for the African countries affected by the phenomenon of state dysfunctionality that security institutions are centralized and have a clear hierarchical structure — essential in management issues. The state army should be the best trained, paid and equipped military force in the country to have a monopoly over the legitimate use of force, without having to compete with other armed groups. However, often in dysfunctional states (especially in undemocratic ones), the leaders are obsessed with their own security, forming their own military formations, e.g. the presidential guard. The creation of such parallel military forces weakens the quality and morale of the regular armed forces, as well as their abilities and efficiency. Such entities are in fact interested only in ensuring regime security rather than state security (Ezrow, Frantz 2013: 177–178, 189–190), which, in turn, leads to a gradual degradation of state institutions.

Institutional multiplicity as one of the factors leading to state dysfunctionality in Lusophone Africa

"Institutional multiplicity" is understood as the overlapping (and sometimes the mutually exclusive co-existence) of state institutions, traditional authorities, local warlords, and other non-state pretenders to power. It is a common 'sore spot" of dysfunctional states in Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as one of the institutional factors responsible for their weakness. In Lusophone Africa, institutional multiplicity is usually the aftermath of the post-conflict situation that ensued after a long civil war (Angola, Mozambique) or the rapid development of organized crime (Guinea-Bissau). According to Jonathan di John, who has popularized this term, institutional multiplicity to a greater extent affects fragile states, in which the institutional arrangements in accordance with applicable law are vulnerable to challenges from competing institutional systems coming from the traditional authorities, people deprived of state care in terms of the fundamental issues of security, development or welfare (e.g. in the form of providing public services), as well as from local warlords or other non-state actors (di John 2008: 9). Susceptibility to institutional multiplicity is especially high in countries in a post-conflict reality, during the fragile process of the reconstruction of social and national bonds, as well as those facing increasing problems with maintaining security due to a tense political situation — a period referred to as "no peace no war", in which some social groups oppose the state in the form it exists (van der Haar, Heijke 2013: 97–101). In a situation of institutional multiplicity in a given area, representing part of or the entire national territory, there can be different, often contradictory sets of rules. This can be a major impediment to the daily lives of the inhabitants, although in some situations subordination to a given set of rules may also be a matter of choice, especially when it is more attractive than the poorly functioning state institutions. Institutional arrangements, interpreted in accordance with the spirit of new institutionalism, include both the formal (e.g. the constitution, the applicable law) and informal rules that guide the rulers and non-state actors, cooperating as well as competing with the state. Non-state actors usually cause the biggest problems. The formal rules of the game influence non-state actors, but these actors can also create their own rules of the game, e.g. a code of honor and justice within a given group (di John 2008: 33–34). In consequence, this can even lead to the creation of an area with a parallel government, which usually does not only compete with the official state institutions but also outs them, leading to the phenomenon of "split sovereignty". In such a situation, institutional multiplicity is an attractive concept, inter alia, because it does not comprise an element of normativeness, so as a concept it is much more open, i.e. it finds different forms of governance not only in the formal institutions but also in the rebel armed groups or, for example, in the management functions of NGOs (van der Haar, Heijke 2013: 97–101).

In the case of Angola, the most obvious example of an organization whose activities compete with state institutions is the state-owned oil company — Sonangol (Sociedade Nacional de Combustíveis de Angola, the National Society of Petroleum of Angola). Founded a year after independence, Sonangol from its very beginnings was the most important state institution in the primary sector (despite the creation of the Ministry of Petroleum). It focused mainly on the foreign market, and adhered to the rules of central economic planning that were in force in Angola during the Cold War to a much lesser extent that one might suppose. Although the executives of Sonangol were made up of loyal activists of the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola)[14], their families and friends, the management of the company differed from other Angolan enterprises. Sonangol not only had the best skilled workers, but also, in practice, it did not comply with the principles of socialist economy. Therefore, at the dawn of capitalism, it became the most important Angolan company. Although officially it employs five to nine thousand employees, this figure is in fact much higher, as it has now become a huge corporation, operating in other sectors of the economy and having subsidiaries on other continents. At the beginning of the 21st century, it was the second largest corporation in Africa, providing its employees with goods often inaccessible to ordinary Angolans (e.g. access to education or free housing, often financed with state money). As part of its social activities, Sonangol awards literary prizes and scholarships for their employees' children (e.g. high school education in Portugal or studies at American universities). In addition, it also sponsors the majority of the cultural events in Luanda and two football clubs (Petro Atlético de Luanda and Atlético do Namibe). Together with the presidential clique called Futungo de Belas[15], it has formed a sort of "state within a state", or as Ricardo Soares de Oliveira puts it, "a parallel state". It is much more efficient than the Angolan state institutions, and at the same time it works closely with the Angolan ruling class, always ready to create business opportunities for those who have connections but are not very resourceful. Despite operating within a free market economy, its modus operandi is far from the principles of transparency required from businesses in developed and democratic countries (Soares de Oliveira 2007: 595–609; 2014; Marques de Morais 2012).

In Guinea-Bissau, whose institutional efficiency in comparison with other Luso-African states seems to be the weakest, the main factor that has led to

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[14] This is the Angolan political party that has ruled Angola since the country's independence was gained in 1975. It is based on the liberation movement that fought with the Portuguese during the Angolan War of Independence. Over the period 1975–2002, the MPLA was one of the sides in the Angolan Civil War, in which it defeated UNITA (*União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola*, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) and the FNLA (*Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola*, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola).

[15] It was named after the former presidential palace situated near the Angolan capital.

the degradation of the functionality of state institutions is the presence of drug cartels from Latin America. Although the phenomenon of a flourishing drug trade and its consequences seem to be rather symptoms of state dysfunctionality than its direct cause, it appears advisable to separate the phenomenon itself from the organizational activities of the cartels involved in this practice. First of all, it is worth noting that they do not operate in a vacuum. Throughout West Africa, including Guinea-Bissau, they cooperate with local/regional criminal groups, which help them not only in the organization of the smuggling process itself but also enable the permanent presence of its representatives in Bissau. It is estimated that about fifty drug lords (mainly from Colombia) are stationed permanently in Guinea-Bissau. In addition, there are also a number of ordinary cartel members and hired Bissau-Guineans. Working in the drug-trafficking industry is now the most profitable occupation in Guinea-Bissau. The drug cartels also have access to the latest means of transport and technological innovations, while state institutions, such as the police and the judiciary, even if they are determined enough to try to fight the cartels, are doomed to failure due to staff and hardware shortages. While the policemen lack police cars and sometimes even shoes, drug lords have motor boats, off-road vehicles, satellite phones and the best possible weapons. They live in well-appointed colonial-style villas, surrounded by wealth, while most Bissau-Guineans do not have access to electricity or running water. In this respect, the drug kingpins are often not only the best possible local employers, but also an alternative authority, "a state within a state" that pays off local politicians and officials with drug money (or with the drugs themselves) (McGuinn 2015: 73–87; Parkinson 2013; Tovrov 2012; Brice 2009).

The problem of institutional multiplicity in Mozambique is quite different. After independence, power in the country was taken over by the FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, the Mozambique Liberation Front), the former liberation movement. With the start of the civil war, its opponent, RENAMO (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana, the Mozambican National Resistance), tried to take over in the occupied areas institutional functions and replace the state power identified with FRELIMO. The third institutional force in the territory of Mozambique were the traditional authorities (autoridades tradicionais), headed by local chiefs (régulos, chefes tradicionais). During colonial times, they were granted legitimacy by the Portuguese colonial authorities. As a result, FRELIMO perceived them as corrupt, treacherous, and opposed to independence. The only chance to retain at least part of their competences was to join FRELIMO, which was reflected in the words of its founder, Eduardo Mondlane, "Only chiefs who join FRELIMO, that is become chairmen or secretaries of cells, interest groups, districts or provinces within our structures, will remain at their posts. In this manner, they will become completely equal to each of us" (excerpt from Mondlane 1977: 128, quoted after Lourenço 2010: 90). This kind of discourse would be present in the statements made by the ruling party's politicians also in the post-independence

period. The traditional leaders were depicted as a cultural element threatening FRELIMO's political project by favoring tribalism, feudalism, and obscurantism (Lourenço 2010: 89–90). An attempt to eradicate traditional authorities, however, was in fact a far more complex problem. Practically since its founding RENAMO had stressed its relationship with traditional authorities. On the occupied territories of central Mozambique, they restored chiefs to their positions, emphasizing their respect for African traditions, and before any major skirmish their commanders would seek out advice, blessings, and medical care for RENAMO soldiers from the local chiefs and healers. This kind of behavior appealed to the traditional local rural communities, and there RENAMO recruited most of its fighters. All this made FRELIMO avoid any direct confrontation with the traditional authorities (e.g. especially confrontations involving the use of force) for fear of losing any support or influence in rural areas (Wiegink 2015: 4; Lourenço 2010: 104–106). After the end of the civil war, the opposition of FRELIMO to traditional authorities has softened. In June 1995, the incumbent president, Joaquim Chissano, even said in a press interview, "We want the traditional authorities to exist"[16] (West, Kloeck-Jenson 1999: 457). However, while it seems that the activities of the traditional authorities — included, at least partially, within the framework of state institutions at the local level — do not pose a threat to the Mozambican government, the problem of RENAMO activity remains. Above all, it provokes the question of the sphere of the country's life in which RENAMO's activities would take place. The events of the last years seem to unequivocally confirm that the attempt to transform RENAMO and direct its activities only into the political sphere within the framework of the current democratic system and by respecting the Mozambican constitution, have turned out to be a fiasco. First of all, the fact that RENAMO has kept a contingent composed of several hundred of its armed forces, for which most likely recruitment has been again conducted in recent years, seems to be a violation of the Rome General Peace Accords (1992), which established one Mozambican army for the soldiers of both warring parties. The continuous justification that for all these years this contingent has played the role of the presidential guard for RENAMO's high-ranking politicians lost its raison d*'ê*tre when its militants began to conduct attacks on the Mozambican police and military forces in 2013. The competitive RENAMO armed forces stationed on part of the national territory do not allow the state to exercise its monopoly on violence. At the same time, this creates conditions for the inception of territories in which RENAMO plays the role of the "de facto authorities", such as in parts of central Mozambique, where RENAMO still enjoys the loyalty of local residents.

[16] In 2000, the FRELIMO government went even further and for the first time in the history of the independent Mozambique introduced new legislation (Decree 15/2000), which formalized traditional authorities and institutionalized the distinction of local authorities into urban and rural ones, and in the context of the latter the authority could be exercised by local chiefs. For a further discussion, see Buur, Kyed 2006.

Although the resumption of armed struggles and falling back on violent means in order to enforce their political demands is often seen today through the prism of the declining support for RENAMO and its desire to access future benefits from the natural gas resources, the actual reasons for this situation are sometimes forgotten. After the poor election results in 2009, RENAMO's leader, Afonso Dhlakama, realized more clearly than ever that his party has little to offer its supporters and war veterans. Without access to government funds to perform their own governance in the areas traditionally occupied by them, RENAMO's position became increasingly more fictional, and thus, the value of the informal institutional system proposed by this group significantly decreased[17].

In addition, it is worth keeping in mind that, judging by his behavior and way he exercises power in his own group, Afonso Dhlakama appears rather to be the leader of the warlords than the head of a political party. Few people in Mozambique today have doubts that in the territory controlled by Dhlakama he would like to introduce RENAMO's own institutional agenda. His followers are indeed convinced that he is simply predestined for this — assigning to himself all the merits of ending the war and signing the peace agreement. After all, as he describes himself, he is a "defender of democracy". Apparently, he chose not to remember that the peace negotiations were broken several times due to RENAMO's fault.

Finally, it should be noted that the phenomenon of institutional multiplicity does not always have negative consequences. At times, an alternatively operating institution is the only one that actually ensures the implementation of at least part of the public services, especially when it does not compete with the state and is the only functioning institutional entity. This is often the case of church institutions and organizations. Maliana Serrano cites the example of the Evangelical Congregational Church in Angola (Igreja Evangélica Congregacional em Angola) in Bunjei in the province of Huíla. After the conflict, in 2002, the government practically forgot about this region of the country, which during the civil war had been occupied by the forces of UNITA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). UNITA itself was also not too bothered with the administration and organization of at least basic public services on this territory. As a result, the Church became the

[17] Just before the end of the conflict, in the occupied areas RENAMO very intensively recruited various professional groups, i.e. nurses, teachers, political activists, from among its supporters. All of them were promised jobs after the signing of the peace treaty. In the 1990s, however, it appeared that the healthcare workers, social service employees, clerks and teachers that got jobs thanks to RENAMO protection were often not qualified for such work (in terms of their education and skills), blocking access to jobs for more appropriate candidates. Eventually, even the locals politically supporting RENAMO began to view it as extremely annoying. Hence, RENAMO slowly lost not only the possibility to provide patronage over employees of public services (and in fact to distribute job posts within the controlled territory), but also the support of the local people (Wiegink, 2015: 4; Vines 2013: 384).

only entity working to rebuild the city and improve the lives of its citizens. Today, it has de facto replaced Bunjei state institutions, and in practice it is responsible for almost all the projects related to the implementation of public services, such as vaccination campaigns or the rebuilding of a collapsed bridge (Serrano 2013: 149-164). A similar role in sub-Saharan Africa is played by Christian missions. In the area in which they operate, they not only organize pastoral services, but also implement education and medical care. In Angola, the Catholic missions are led, among others, by the Salesian male and female order (e.g. in Calulo in the province of Kwanza-Sul) (Sikora 2012: 6–11).

Conclusions

The phenomenon of "institutional multiplicity" occurs when on a given territory there are different forms of governance that overlap one another or, sometimes, exclusively co-exist. In the majority of cases, this kind of situation is perceived as potentially destabilizing for the institutional structure of the state and directly leading to state dysfunctionality, especially if, as a consequence, a state loses its monopoly on the use of legitimate force and its control over part (or the whole) of state territory. In accordance with the neo-institutional understanding of the concept of the "institution", i.e. as a stable, recurring pattern of behavior, political institutions are seen as "rules of the game". As a consequence, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, the importance of informal institutions should be emphasized, taking into account that some of them, such as traditional authorities, have probably had a longer history and are more rooted in African societies than the Western-shaped concept of a post-Westphalian state.

As shown within this article by the example of the Luso-African states, some other aspects should not be forgotten, including the fact that in some cases — due to the weakness of the state — informal institutions can contribute to a kind of legitimacy in the fragile democracy of a dysfunctional state (such as the traditional authorities in Mozambique). Moreover, subordination to a given set of rules may also be a matter of choice in some African dysfunctional states, especially when it is more attractive than the poorly functioning state institutions (as it takes place to some degree in Guinea-Bissau). Last but not least, sometimes the occurrence of the phenomenon of the "institutional multiplicity" can become a positive contribution to state functionality and the welfare of its citizens (such as in the case of the activities of churches and Catholic missions in Angola).

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Ewa Wołk-Sore

Among Manuscripts and Men of Ethiopia. Stefan Strelcyn's quest for African studies

Abstract

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Keywords: ???

The history of African studies at the University of Warsaw dates back to the year 1950 when a Chair of Semitic Studies was initiated as part of the Oriental Institute by Stefan Strelcyn (1918–1981), world renowned scholar of Semitic and Ethiopian studies. Born in Warsaw[1], the capital of independent Poland, into a Jewish family, young Strelcyn followed an educational path as suggested by his parents. He completed the best Jewish secondary school in Warsaw at the time — *Askola*, and the Wawelberg and Rotwand State High School of Machine Building and Electro-Technique constituted the last stage. However, in 1938, upon reaching maturity after three years of technical studies, having realized that his interests reached far beyond what he had been studying thus far, instead of completing the school Stefan Strelcyn left for Belgium. Growing anti-Semitism in Poland, which made his studying years a difficult experience, played important role in his decision to leave his homeland. His inquiring mind led him to the Free University of Brussels where he took up the Archaeology of the Orient. The outbreak of World War II interrupted his studies. Strelcyn joined the Polish Army in France to fight against the German agressors. In 1940, after the capitulation of France, he married Maria Kirżner, also a student of the same university and a resistance movement fighter, whom he knew from his schooldays in Poland. The war period was utterly vile for the Strelcyns, as they had to hide and change identities. Despite this, they were imprisoned several times and managed to escape twice from concentration

[1] The biographical data is based on: Piłaszewicz 2007, Mantel-Niećko 1996, Strelcyn 1996, Strelcyn 2015.

camps in southern France. However atrocious this time was for them, the most important fact was that they survived, unlike Strelcyn's parents and sister who perished in Poland. Stefan Strelcyn spent the last year of the war in a labour camp near Leipzig, from where he returned to France in 1945. He was awarded the *Croix de Guerre* for his participation in the resistance movement.

After the war, the Strelcyn family, along with their firstborn son, settled in Paris where Maria took care of the everyday mundane tasks while Stefan continued his education at Sorbonne. To make up for the many wasted years, he took up intense studies of Amharic at the *École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, Coptic at the *École Libre des Languages Orientales Anciennes*, as well as Ethiopian studies at the *École Pratiques des Hautes Etudes* under Marcel Cohen, the world famous Semitist and Ethiopianist. In a few years, he gained a broad and thorough knowledge of Ethiopian philology and languages. In 1949, after having acquired four diplomas, Stefan Strelcyn was employed at the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* as a specialist in Ethiopian philology. The Strelcyn family planned to return to their homeland after the war and Stefan started making arrangements to get a position at the University of Warsaw. However, events that followed the arrest in Poland of a French citizen André Robineau[2], accused of spying on behalf of France, caused a major break-up in Polish-French relations. Many Polish communists were removed from France as an act of retaliation of the French government. Stefan Strelcyn as a member of Polish Workers' Party was brutally expelled from France before his scheduled autumn return to Poland. He was blacklisted without the right to return to France.

Upon arriving in Warsaw, Stefan Strelcyn was immediately employed at the Oriental Institute of the University of Warsaw, and entrusted with the task of establishing a Chair of Semitic Studies. At the time, there was a great need in Poland for well-educated people, talented and experienced in public life and who in addition had organizational skills, as most of the Polish intellectual elites had been killed during the war. The first students of the Semitic studies in Warsaw were accepted in 1951, and the curriculum of the course included Classical Ethiopic — Ge'ez, Amharic, Hebrew, as well as Arabic. The character of the course was philological with a linguistic approach.

Rooted in northeast Africa, Ethiopian civilization lies at the crossroads between the African and Middle Eastern worlds, an outcome of many years of cultural synergy. The Ethiopian Empire was for centuries a strong player in the Horn of Africa. It evoked the interest of the outside world constituting a bridge between the African interior and the rest of the world — its history hides many mysterious treasures alluring to various European scholars. Some of them, such as Joseph Tubiana or Roger Schneider, gathered around the revered figure of Marcel Cohen

[2] 'The Robineau case' was an illustrious court trial conducted by Polish communist authorities in 1949 and 1950 to uncover the alleged French spy ring in Poland.

in Paris. Stefan Strelcyn was also one of them. Before returning to Poland, he acquired the name of a profound and meticulous scholar by cataloguing Ethiopic manuscripts in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris (Strelcyn 1954), as well as by preparing as his thesis a philological translation of one of the manuscripts from the Vatican Library collection on the subject of magical prayers used in Ethiopia to avert the effect of charms and spells (Strelcyn 1955).

A wish to introduce a broader scope of African studies at the University of Warsaw had been at the foremost of Stefan Strelcyn's aspirations from the very beginning, but it was not until the second half of the 1950s that it became possible and he was able to find suitable teachers with knowledge of African languages. The first one who joined the Chair of Semitic Studies was Nina Pilszczikowa, Leningrad educated specialist in the Hausa language and African linguistics. Rajmund Ohly, a Swahili specialist who was educated in Cracow, soon followed her. Thus from the academic year 1962/63 a new specialization of African studies with the Swahili and Hausa languages was opened. In the same year, the interdisciplinary Department of African Studies was called to life, offering a two-year postgraduate course in African studies. It was designed as a place joining scholars from various disciplines: historians, ethnologists, economists, anthropologists, sociologists, and others employed at various universities in Poland and interested in Africa. Professor Strelcyn remained head of his two creations until September 1969 when he received a letter from the President of the University of Warsaw that his employment was terminated[3]. From that time on, he was a *persona non grata* in the two countries that were closest to his heart. He spent the rest of his life in Great Britain, where he worked until his death at the University of Manchester.

Stefan Strelcyn was a man of extraordinary energy, rare integrity, great efficiency and dedication to the cause of Ethiopian studies. In his short but intense academic career at the University of Warsaw he reached the highest level becoming full professor in 1964. He initiated and acted as a chief editor of two scientific periodicals *Euchemer* and *Africana Bulletin*, he also was a member of editorial boards of two others *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* and *Rocznik Orientalistyczny.* After having settled down in England Professor Strelcyn joined editorial board of the *Journal of Semitic Studies* and from 1972 acted as its chief editor. His research focused on popular beliefs and magical practices in Ethiopia, an African country Christianized in the beginning of 4th century as one of the first countries in the world. Searching for sources of these beliefs and the sources of magical and magico-religious texts, he focused on ties between Ethiopian world and Western traditions. In his scholarly pursuit Professor Strelcyn looked for materials that were

[3] Years 1968–1969 in Poland were the time when Polish citizens of Jewish decent were forced by the authorities of the Polish People's Republic to leave as an effect of growing anti-Semitism. Many thousands of Polish intellectuals (engineers, doctors, economists and humanists) as well as artisans who had Jewish origin were driven to exile. Stefan Strelcyn was among renowned scientists and researchers who left Poland in 1969.

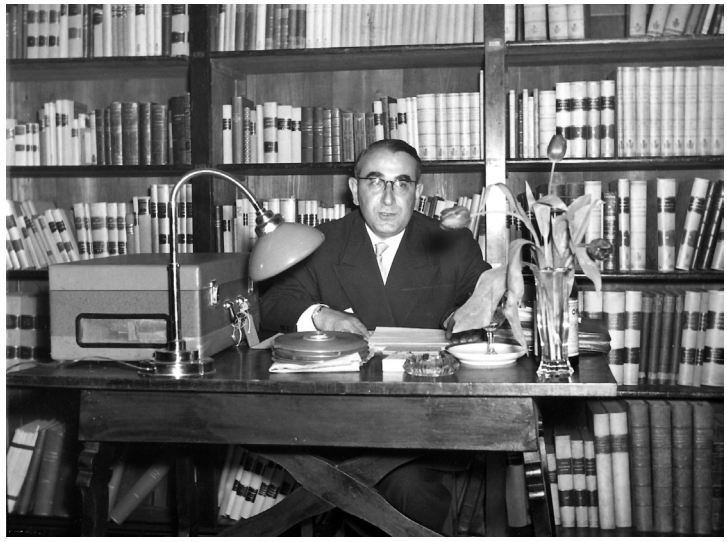
less sought by other researchers and paid particular attention to oral tradition. For his academic achievements he won many awards in Poland of which the highest was the Order of Polonia Restituta. Also the Emperor of Ethiopia noticed his accomplishments in preserving and promoting Ethiopian culture in the world and in 1967 awarded him with the prestigious Haile Sellassie I Prize for Ethiopian Studies.

The present article is the testimony of the founder of the academic discipline of African studies at the University of Warsaw about the circumstances that drove him to embark on the path of an Oriental philologist with a particular interest in Ethiopian manuscripts. The typescript entitled *Among Manuscripts and Men of Ethiopia* written in the form of a lecture was deposited in 1994 at the archives of the University of Warsaw's Library by his wife Maria long after Stefan Strelcyn's death. The exact audience for which it was meant and the exact time of its writing are unknown. It could have been the forum of the British Academy at Carlton House Terrace in London, when Stefan Strelcyn was accepted there as a member in 1976. The article is extremely interesting in many respects. Firstly, it reveals the natural sensitivity of a researcher who, in his quest for knowledge, forms contacts on a simple, human level with people belonging to a different culture. It also sheds light on many technical issues in the work of an Oriental philologist. Most importantly though, it shows the institutional beginnings of African studies at the University of Warsaw, indicating the profile and character of the academic research, which over the course of sixty-six years developed into the present Department of African Languages and Cultures.

Il. 1. Monks from Gundä Gunde. Photograph from Stefana Strelcyn's Collection. University of Warsaw Library Archives.

The article waited many years at the Manuscript Department of the University of Warsaw's Library to be discovered among many other documents and texts from the huge scientific legacy of Stefan Strelcyn. This collection contains valuable codices and scrolls acquired during his research visit to Ethiopia in 1957/58 from Ethiopian monks in monasteries he visited, most importantly the one called Gundä Gunde, famous for its manuscripts collection. Maria Strelcyn deposited numerous sheets of draft notes from her husband's scientific research, as well as his vast correspondence with a great number of important scholars in the field of Ethiopian studies and beyond.

The typescript of the text you are about to read looked faded and fragile and needed digitalizing before any work could be done with it. The editing involved deciphering the sometimes-illegible words, transcribing them into the present, readable form, and providing footnotes, wherever it was possible, to explain the context. All the footnotes in this article are provided by the author of this introduction. The original transcription of foreign scripts was maintained throughout. Stefan Strelcyn transcribing Ethiopian words into Latin alphabet generally used Wolf Leslau's[4] transcription, which, with minor modifications, has been adapted by the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* project based in Hamburg. However, while writing geographical names as well as names of people he often wrote them in the way they have been known in European languages, English or French.



Il. 2. Stefan Strelcyn in his office at the University of Warsaw. Photograph from the family archives, courtesy of Jerzy Strelcyn, son of Professor Stefan Strelcyn.

[4] Wolf Leslau (1906–2006) — one of the most prominent Ethiopianists of the 20th century whose broad scholarly interests included descriptive and comparative linguistics, philology and ethnology.

Stefan Strelcyn

AMONG MANUSCRIPTS AND MEN OF ETHIOPIA

Do you know the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris? Do you remember the big square building on the rue de Richelieu, the pleasant enclosed courtyard? Was there any greenery at that time? Going in by the main entrance, you went up to the second floor and took the door on the right — and here was the Department of Manuscripts. It is in this badly-lit room, furnished with big tables, with their special stands, you know, that I experienced for the first time in my life this marvelous feeling which was never to leave me, this unique pleasure we have when dealing with a manuscript, an Oriental manuscript, a manuscript from Ethiopia. Normally written on vellum, bound in wooden boards, usually covered with stamped leather, smelling so often of Africa, of the highlands, of thyme and of *bärbäre*[5]…

1947, I was no longer young, I was nearly thirty. The war had split my life. As so many others, I could not believe that I had survived this nightmare. But it was one more reason for believing that everything was possible, for working without respite, in order to make up for lost time.

I had spent about one year becoming acquainted with the manuscripts described by Zotenberg[6], by C. Conti Rossini[7], by Chaîne[8] and Grébaut[9] before it was proposed that I prepare the last volume of the catalogue of the Griaule[10] collection dealing with manuscripts which had not then been described and which numbered about three hundred. I said yes without too much hesitation, for at this time I already had an idea what these manuscripts were about and was particularly attracted by them because of their rather non-classical content. The origin of this collection was as follows:

In 1931 an ethnographic and linguistic expedition (called Mission Dakar-Djibouti) was organized by the *Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle* [National Museum of Natural History] and the *Institut d'Ethnologie de l'Université de Paris* [Institute of Ethnology of the University of Paris], led by the ethnographer

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[5] *Bärbäre* — spicy seasoning a mixture of several spices used commonly in Ethiopia.

[6] Hermann Zotenberg (1834–1909) — an Orientalist and a conservator of manuscripts at the Department of Oriental Manuscripts of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris.

[7] Carlo Conti Rossini (1872–1949) — one of the most prominent Ethiopianists of the 20th century, a true founder of modern Ethiopian studies.

[8] Marius Chaîne (1973–1960) — a French secular priest specializing in Ethiopic and Coptic philology.

[9] Sylvain Grébaut (1881–1955) — a French priest and an Ethiopianist who devoted his scholarly life to philological works and translations of Ge'ez manuscripts. He also acquired a large collection of 165 manuscripts for the Vatican Library during his visit to Ethiopia in 1926.

[10] Marcel Henri Griaule (1898–1956) — a French ethnologist who led Dakar-Djibouti Mission — a large-scale expedition that from May 1931 to February 1933 crossed Africa from west to east. The expedition brought from Ethiopia to France an important collection of manuscripts, paintings and ethnological object. They were deposited as the Griaule collection in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris.

Marcel Griaule. This expedition was to cross Africa and collect a large number of documents of various kinds, which were to enrich the French museums and the National Library, and to serve as a basis for numerous learned publications. This expedition had carried out, especially in Ethiopia, important research in the field of zoology, botany etc., in connection with ethnography, particularly with the study of magical and medical usage, as well as in the field of sociology and art. This is why a large part of the Ethiopic manuscripts brought back by this Mission were magical and medico-magical manuscripts, or documents with sociological contents, lists of different groups of the population of Gondar (for example a list of medicine-men), list of the contents of houses, churches etc.

Several years were to pass before the fourth volume of this catalogue appeared. It was not published until 1954. But working on the Griaule collection had had a decisive influence on the direction of my research work. Without fully realizing it, I followed up several of the problems that the Mission Dakar-Djibouti had worked on in Ethiopia: popular beliefs, magical practices in an African environment Christianized more than 1500 years ago. I started to search for the sources of these beliefs, the sources of the magical and magico-religious texts as well as of the medico-magical ones, to establish the relationship between the Ethiopian world and the Greco-Arab traditions. I tried to study this relationship not from the religious literature, which had come through "official" channels from Egypt, from Coptic Alexandria, through translations from Greek and Arabic, but rather through the oral tradition and the popular writings, amulets, magico-religious compositions, medicine-men's notebooks, divinatory calculations, all writings tolerated by the Church but only rarely officially admitted by it.

As opposed to the "great" Ethiopic manuscripts, with their beautiful appearance, their regular script, their illuminations, their nice smooth leaves, accurately cut in fine parchment, the popular manuscripts, the amulets, the recipe-notebooks are worn, often partly erased and illegible, stained by the sweat of those who held them or by their fingers, often dirty, of the users, dirty or simply moist from saliva used when turning the pages. But what treasures are contained in these poor MSS [manuscripts]! The whole life of a hard-working people is marvelously reflected in them; all their aspirations, all their fears. The very human desire first to know what will happen (divination) and then to have the power to influence their own destiny and the destiny of those close to them. It is all here. The Griaule collection alone contains not less than hundred different *ḥasab* — short treatises of divination based on arithmomancy. They correspond to every human preoccupation. We have calculations of the sick, calculations of illness and contagion, calculations of travel, calculations of the soldier, calculations of victory, calculations of hatred, calculations of love, calculations for the men who will give you money, calculations to know if one will become rich and to know if he will lose his goods, calculations of rain, calculations of destiny, of death, calculations of the men through whom you will learn the day you will die, calculations to know of the death of a person,

another to know if the man will get the woman, a calculation of the vagina, a calculation of the pregnancy, calculations concerning the child that will be born, a calculation of the sterile woman, of a single woman, a calculation to know if a man will divorce a woman, to know whether or not one will win a law-suit, to know a man's character, to know if a person will become great, if he will enter the palace, if a chief will become destitute etc., etc.

Amongst the magical prayers we find prayers against every demon and every common disease. Many of the demons are synonyms for concrete disease: *šotälay* is the disease that attacks the pregnant women and causes spontaneous abortion; *barya* is the demon that causes epilepsy. Among the current diseases we very often find chest-pains, collie, rheumatism, vaginal hemorrhage etc.

The prayers and especially the recipes contained in the witch doctor's notebooks all reflect the troubles and the aspirations of the people. To speak only of everyday problems we have prayers and/or recipes for everything, for fulfilling of every desire, for prosperity, against covetousness, to get money, to stop money leaving the house, to do good business, against the death of cattle, against thieves and brigands, against enemies, for being respected and loved, for winning a law-suit, for study and science, for learning nice handwriting, for learning to play a harp, for the revelation of mysteries, for creating illusions, for escaping from prison, against fire, against locust, against white ants, to stop wild animals eating the grain, for a girl to find a husband, for love, for fidelity, to stop a man beating his wife, against a jealous woman, to stop the wife of a slave running away, to stop little children crying etc.

A detailed study of certain manuscripts belonging to the Griaule collection, of the *Livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin* [The book of recipes of an Abyssinian *däbtära*[11]] edited by him in 1930 [Griaule 1930], as well as of other manuscripts I found later in Ethiopia, revealed to me the other side of the magical action, the "black magic", the noxious magic which of course occurs less often in writing because it is disapproved of and forbidden by law. But, already in the *däbtära*'s notebooks of the Griaule collection we find amongst others the following very noxious prayers: for causing enmity, to cause impotence, to take somebody ill, to cause madness, etc., etc.

As far as I can reconstruct the facts it was the curiosity for aggressive magic, which determined my choice of the *mäftəhe šəray* '(prayers) undoing charms' a large collection of magical prayers against magic. This kind of prayer is very common amongst the Christian population of Ethiopia. I had the luck of finding in the Vatican Library a manuscript (128)[12], which is a real encyclopedia of this kind, a very important collection of prayers and recipes, for undoing magic. The main

[11] *Däbtära* — an un-ordained priest of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church who performs many daily tasks in church and plays many important roles including that of a medicine man.

[12] This manuscript was produced during the reign of Menelik II (1889–1913). See Grébaut, Tisserant 1935-36.

interest of this category of texts remains the fact that in order to combat devils, diseases, magicians, we have to name them. And in fact we find here an exhaustive enumeration of demons and diseases, which people fear, long enumerations of people, professions etc., who are mostly suspected of practicing magic, we also find here enumerations of techniques of "black magic", which our prayers have to combat.

It was whilst preparing the edition of the *mäftəhe šəray* (published in [Strelcyn] 1955), that I first encountered the impassioning but often so difficult problem of the identification of the compiler or the author of an Oriental manuscript. The manuscript Vatican 128 really presents certain exceptional peculiarities. It is a recent manuscript, the writing is of the 19th century, but on several pages we find in the margins notes written in Modern Greek, for example f. 55v: "For desire. 11 (times) on wood. For love." But the most disturbing thing is the contents of the first leaves (ff. 1–10) and of the last (ff. 197–196). We find there first of all Greek and Ethiopic texts, written, without any doubt, by the same hand. On f. 22v there are, for example, 3 magical recipes against impotence and against being bitten by a snake. They are written in Greek but the technical terms such as plant names, are Ethiopic, simply transcribed with Greek characters. On f. 196v — another surprise: the Arabic talisman of the *seb'a hawâtim* 'seven signs', something unique for an Ethiopic manuscript. Above these signs we find written by the same hand the 7 corresponding Arabic letters representing the initials of the seven "great" nouns of God. Above them — the Ethiopic transcription of the Arabic letters, and at the bottom of the talisman — a long recipe for using it, written in Modern Greek but not without Ethiopic interpolations. But it is not all! On f. 22v we see on the same page the Latin magical square SATOR-AREPO-TENET-OPERA-ROTAS[13] corresponding to the five wounds (or nails) of Jesus Christ, the same nouns following the Ethiopian tradition, written in Ethiopic: sador-alador-danat-adera-rodas,[14] and below — the Greek magical square *ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ*[15]!

Who could this man be, the magician who knew Ge'ez and Amharic and Modern Greek, a man who was acquainted with the elements of Arabic, Greek and Latin magic?

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[13] Sator (or Rotas) square — a four-time Latin palindrome believed to have magical power, exact meaning of which is not known. Each word can be read as palindrome vertically and horizontally, they are thought to form a sentence, which as well can be read as a boustrophedon and translated "Gardener/farmer Arepo holds and works the weels (a plough?)". Believed to have Christian origin as the letters form two times Pater Noster 'Our Father'. It was widely used in the Western world in folk magic for various purposes, mostly connected with protecting against witchcraft. It was believed that such palindromes confused the devil.

[14] In Ethiopian tradition those five names refer to the five nails, with the help of which Jesus had been nailed to the Cross and they are written in a form of a sentence. Paraphrasing of the original version while translating was and still is a frequent practice in Ethiopia.

[15] Greek magical square with seven anagrams of the name *romayos* — about this and other things connected with Stefan Strelcyn's search for the man responsible for the manuscript see Strelcyn 1960.

In 1948 I began this impassioning and difficult inquiry, which I was able successfully to complete thanks to the help of my friend, the late *ato*[16] Tamrat Emmanuel[17], the great Ethiopian scholar, a Falasha[18] who was brought from Ethiopia when he was about ten years old. It was Jacques Faitlovitch[19] who found him whilst acting on behalf of the Baron de Rothschild[20]. Just like the *Alliance Israélite Universalle*[21], the Baron de Rothschild began to show his interest in the "Ethiopian Jews" at the beginning of this [20th] century and decided to bring two of them to Europe in order to give them traditional Jewish education. One of them was Tamrat. In the late forties *ato* Tamrat was Cultural Attaché at the Imperial Embassy in Paris but — just like some other Ethiopian scholars then holding diplomatic posts — he often attended meetings of *éthiopisants* and used to come to Marcel Cohen's[22] seminary at the *Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes* in Paris. So it was he who helped me to identify the man I was looking for. The only Greek who finished his days as an Ethiopian magician was the *balambaras*[23] Giyorgis. Two Europeans, G. Bianchi[24] and Dr. Mérab[25] mention him in their books. He was born in Epirus and spent a long time in Khartoum before going to Ethiopia about 1865. He entered into the service of *ras*[26] Adal (Täklä Haymanot[27], the King of Gojjam) as a soldier, and after a brilliant career, attained the rank of *balambaras*. G. Bianchi who visited the court of Täkle Haymanot in 1890 tells us with what pleasure he made the acquaintance of this intelligent *avventuriere* who spoke good Italian and certainly knew Arabic because he was responsible for

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[16] *Ato* — a form of address equivalent to mister, formerly a royal title.

[17] T'ä'ammɔrat Amanu'el (1888–1963) — an Ethiopian intellectual and teacher.

[18] Falasha or Betä Ǝsra'el — Ethiopian Jews who lived in the North and Northwest Ethiopia and during 1979-1990 were airlifted to Israel where at present live 80 000 of them.

[19] Jacques Faitlovitch (1881–1955) — a Jewish scholar and activist on behalf of the Betä Ǝsra'el.

[20] Baron Edmond de Rothschild (1845–1934) — a great Jewish benefactor, the initiator of the State of Israel.

[21] *Alliance Israélite Universalle* — Jewish organization founded in 1860 in Paris by Adolphe Crémieux to promote the ideals of Jewish self-sufficiency and self-defense through education and to safeguard the rights of Jews around the world.

[22] Marcel Cohen (1884-1974) — a distinguished French linguist with remarkable scholarly achievements in the area of Ethiopian studies.

[23] *Balambaras* — an Ethiopian honorary court title.

[24] Gustavo Bianchi (1845–1884) — an Italian traveler, who took part in two expeditions to Ethiopia making numerous and significant observations concerning an ethnic group Oromo (formerly called by Etiopian highlanders by pejorative term 'Galla'), published in 1896, after the author's death under the title "Alla terra die Galla".

[25] Pierre Etienne Mérab (1877–1930) — a French physician and writer of Georgian origin who served in 1908–1914 as a personal doctor of Menelik II and established in 1922 the first pharmacy in Addis Ababa. He also published several books on Ethiopian society and medicine (Mérab 1912, 1921–29).

[26] *Ras* — one of the highest Ethiopian honorary court titles.

[27] *Negus* ('king') Täklä Haymanot — (1850–1901, birth name Adal Täsämma), a dominant figure in the political life of Damot and Gojjam in the last quarter of the 19th century.

supervising the translation of letter to the Queen of Ghera [Gära][28] from Amharic into Arabic. Giyorgis was, even at this time, completely assimilated — he had an Ethiopian woman (perhaps more than one) and had apparently adapted himself well to the new conditions. *Lui adorava il tégg (mead) e l'araki come le belle donne*[29] writes G. Bianchi.

Due to his intelligence and qualifications Giyorgis quickly became a *hakim* — doctor and magician. One finds him in this position in Addis Ababa at the beginning of this [20th] century. When Dr. Méreb met him, he was eighty-four years old. He died almost centenarian in about 1926. When Mr Grébaut arrived in the Ethiopian capital in search of MSS for the Vatican Library, a Catholic scholar, Yassou Daniel, a leather-merchant, and from time to time an antiquary, provided him with a certain number of MSS, *ato* Tamrat told me. Yassou Daniel bought at least one of them from *balambaras* Giyorgis or from Giyorgis' son. This manuscript was certainly one of them.

Tamrat Emmanuel lived right opposite the *Bibliothéque Nationale* in Paris, and it was when I met him one afternoon at the end of November 1948 that he told me what he knew about *balambaras* Giyorgis, holding on all the time to my overcoat button, which was a habit of him. By the time he let go of my button it was past nightfall. Shortly afterwards I learned from a paper by Lanfranco Ricci[30] that two other manuscripts of the Vatican Library (113 and 118) also belonged to our Greek. In the first of those MMS Ricci discovered Amharic autobiographical song in which the old *balambaras* bemoaned his fate. A footnote by Carlo Conti Rossini indicates that the man probably died in about 1924 (and not 1926 as Tamrat Emmanuel thought).

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I remained faithful to the Ethiopian writings of popular and non-literary character. But how many surprises, how many adventures I had working on them!

* * *

I arrived in Ethiopia for the first time in December 1957. I don't need to tell you in what state of mind I set off and the emotion with which I took my first steps in this Promised Land, the land of my manuscripts. The programme I had worked out for this study-tour was naturally connected with the MSS on which I had been working before. When I was preparing the edition of the *mäftəhe*

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[28] The kingdom of Gära existed south of Ethiopia from circa 1830 until 1887 when it was annexed by the Ethiopian Empire.

[29] *It.* 'He adored his mead and liquor as well as beautiful women'.

[30] Lanfranco Ricci (1916–2007) — an outstanding Italian scholar of Ethiopian studies in the second half of the 20th century and probably the last that was able to embrace all of its branches.

šɔray ("Prières magiques *éthiopiennes* pour délier les charmes" [Strelcyn 1955]) I came up against the problem of the Ethiopian plant-names and their botanical identification for the first time. The manuscript Vatican 128 contains in fact, after the magical prayers I mentioned before a small collection of magical recipes based essentially on plants. I found about two hundred names of plants there. On the basis of the dictionaries and the other works I consulted at that time I was able to identify, from the botanical point of view, about half of them. Amongst the others a few dozen have never been noted elsewhere, and one can find in my index of plant-names the qualification "unidentified" in many places. The number of plants collected and identified in Ethiopia by the botanists is probably greater than 6,000 (judging by the admirable work, which is still appearing in parts in the "Journal du Jardin Botanique de l'Etat" in Brussels, the "Ennumeratio Plantarum Aethiopiae" by Georg Cufodontis[31] from Vienna). At the same time the number of plant-names in all Amharic dictionaries edited in Europe probably does not amount to five hundred. This difference is enormous — even if we admit that most of plant names noted by Cufodontis are not represented in the Amharic speaking area. On the other hand none of the botanists who worked in Ethiopia know any of languages spoken in this country and noted the vernacular plant-names very badly. The attempt at cooperation between botanists and linguists by the Dakar-Djibuti Mission had failed miserably due simply to negligence: the herbarium has been sent to the *Muséum d'Histoure Naturelle* but the corresponding linguistic cards remained at the *Musée de l'Homme* and have never been completed with the results of the botanical identification.

So, one of the main tasks I set myself was to check my register of plant-names with Ethiopian informants, their form and their use as well as the co-operate with a botanist if I could find one on the spot who was sufficiently interested in the problem. This inquiry was completed more or less as planned, and I found my botanist: it was the excellent specialist in systematic botany who died a few years ago, Dr. Herbert Kooney. The other goal I had set myself, closely related to the first, was to find new written sources containing plant-names. I knew that this task would be much more difficult than the first. Up till then plant-names were to be found almost only in the notebooks of medicine-men (*däbtära*) and they were extremely rare in European collections. The reason for this state of affairs was very simple. The "Livre de recettes", the only one edited until then, was published by Marcel Griaule [Griaule 1930] on the basis of a manuscript bought by our common teacher, Marcel Cohen, in 1911. This is what Cohen writes in his *Preface* to Griaule's edition:

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[31] Georg Cufodontis (1896–1974) — an Austrian botanist of Italian-Greek descent who specialized in East-African flora. His *opus magnum*, "Enumeratio Plantarum Aethiopiae Spermatophyta" was published in 1953–1972 in Brussels in 26 volumes of the "Journal du Jardin Botanique de l'Etat".

One *däbtära* from the clergy of Entoto, the ancient capital, now a suburb of Addis Ababa, used to come and see me from time to time in my little native house, on his way into town. He once suggested that I buy a note-book containing recipes — we know that the lower clergy made a little money out of them, I was a bit surprised and immediately agreed. Why could the idea of obtaining a very small sum of money make this man decide to give away one of the tools of his trade and divulge the tricks of his professional body? Apparently this booklet was a duplicate copy that was useless to him and he probably told himself that this *Frängi* [*färänği*][32] and all the others who would try to look at it would understand virtually nothing.

Well, things have not changed at all since then. It is almost impossible to buy such a book of recipes. One doesn't sell one's livelihood. People are afraid of competition. When consulted, the *däbtära* always gives the recipe orally; he never puts it in writing.

My principal informant and initiator in the field of popular beliefs and magic was *abba*[33] Ğirom (Jérôme) Gäbrä Muse[34] to whom Ethiopian studies owe a great deal. This robust old man with the head of Mephistopheles, intelligent face and eyes that sparkle with mischief, was the informant of Marcel Cohen, of the Dakar-Djibouti Mission (especially by introducing a few of its members into a *zar*[35] brotherhood), he was and remains a friend of my friends Tubiana[36] and Schneider[37]. I had the good fortune to work with him close. This man, who used to appear only when he wanted to and who could sometimes disappear for a week or a few weeks at a time, knew all Addis Ababa. I am not just talking about the high society, he knew all the clergy, the *däbtäras* and the *aläqas*[38], the medicine men carrying on their professions more or less openly and not always on the level. He promised me at least a few "books". Not for me to buy, he found it impossible, but only to photograph. But time went by and nothing came. I kept on at him but with no result. He was always promising…

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[32] *Färänği* — term used in Ethiopia to call a white person.

[33] *Abba* — 'Father' religious honorific title applied to monks, abbots, bishops and the patriarch.

[34] *Abba* Jérôme Gäbrä Muse (1881–1983) — a civil servant and the advisor to a number of foreign scholars, among others, Enrico Cerulli (1898-1988, an Italian scholar of Somali and Ethiopian studies, a governor and a diplomat), Marcel Cohen, Wolf Leslau, Roger Schneider, as he possessed a great knowledge and erudition.

[35] *Zar* — one of the best-known forms of spirit possession originated in Ethiopia, found in the most of the Horn of Africa and also spreading to the Middle East. *Zar* spirit possession is not exorcised but rather long-term relationships are cultivated taking a form of brotherhoods.

[36] Joseph Tubiana (1919-2006) — a French ethnologist and linguist who studied under Marcel Cohen at the *École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes* at the same time as Stefan Strelcyn and later succeeded his master as a lecturer of Amharic.

[37] Roger Schneider (1917-2002) — an eminent scholar of Ethiopian studies, epigraphist and philologist who was a close friend of Stefan Strelcyn beginning of 1945 when they studied together in Paris.

[38] *Aleqa* — ecclesiastical title given usually to the head of a major church or monastery.

In February I went to Eritrea to visit the country, to buy books and to pursue my inquiry into the plants. I was given a letter of introduction to a Catholic Tigrean Priest of Asmara, *abba* Yohannəs Gäbrä Ǝgziabher, whose famous Tigrinya-Amharic dictionary had just appeared ([Yohannəs Gäbrä Ǝgziabher] 1956). This dictionary contained a great number of plant-names and I was decided to obtain as much information as possible from *abba* Yohannəs. The man had charge of parish in Asmara, at the same time teaching Amharic at the Haile Sellassie I Secondary School, the director of which was at that time a Canadian, Mr. Demers. *Abba* Yohannəs received me warmly, but when he learned that I should like to pursue my inquiry into plant-names contained in his dictionary, his enthusiasm quickly declined. He was quite simply annoyed by the idea of discussing all over again the dictionary on which he had worked for so many years. After a few working sessions he had obviously had enough. But one day he mentioned in passing that at home (he meant his family home in Hebo, 70 km South of Asmara on the road to Dessie), there was a manuscript belonging to, or having belonged to his father, in which many plants were named. I jumped for joy and asked him to go there and get the manuscript on the following Sunday. But I was told that he had no time neither on the next Sunday, nor the one after, that he had to take Mass, that he could not. And in the week he took classes in the School. The director naturally agreed to allow *abba* Yohannəs to miss a few classes to go there, but apparently the priest was not keen to go to Hebo. I was terribly shocked. I implored him. I would naturally pay all the expenses, the School would provide him with a car, I would pay for the petrol. But nothing could be done. I had to accept that I was never going to see the manuscript. In the days I would have to go back to Addis Ababa, and two weeks later I would have to leave Ethiopia. *Abba* Yohannəs still kept promising to find this "book" when he went home. He would give it to Mr. Demers who would photograph it and send the photographs to me in Warsaw. I took the plane to the capital, and my heart was bitter. Send me photographs of the manuscript from Asmara? But there is no microfilm apparatus in the whole town! He thought me really naïve.

In Addis Ababa things were no better. *Abba* Jérôme could not be found and I had four days before my departure. Not a single recipe-book, not a single really interesting manuscript! I was in despair. How could one believe in these people? *Abba* Jérôme did, however, promise to find me MSS! *Abba* Jérôme! The impression I got reading Michel Leiris[39] "L'Afrique fantôme", the logbook of the Mission Dakar-Djibouti, where *abba* Jérôme appears as a rather equivocal character was certainly right!

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[39] Michel Leiris (1901–1991) — a French ethnologist, writer and poet. His diary of the Dakar-Djibouti expedition (Leiris 1934) is an important ethnographical study, large part of which concerns his research on *zar* cult in Ethiopia.

On Saturday I had to take the plane to Rome. It was Wednesday morning when Roger Schneider came to see me to tell me that *abba* Jérôme asked him to let me know that we would have to photograph MSS on the spot. The next morning we were waiting in the best-lit room in Schneider's house where we used to "microfilm" MSS. To "microfilm" meant, in our language, to photograph MSS laid on the ground, in sunlight. We worked together, one kneeling down, keeping the manuscript flat, the other working the hand camera. A man arrived, dressed in a *šämma*[40], with a fly-swatter in one hand, the other hand holding part of his toga up to cover his mouth. He had been sent by *abba* Jérôme. He took out two MSS from under his *šämma* and sat on the floor in the corner of the room. We started to photograph the first manuscript without even having the time to look through it. Turning over the leaves as I knelt on the floor I recognized a manuscript containing magical prayers. But look, there are recipes as well! Plant names. A longer Amharic text also containing plant-names. Have I ever seen this text before? Probably not. There is no time. I have to turn the leaves over. And now the other manuscript. The hours went by. The men in the corner did not move. But then we heard new voices. The *zäbäññа* (the caretaker) introduced a second man. He greeted us. He had also been sent by *abba* Jérôme. He crouched by the wall and waited for us to finish the Manuscript the first man had brought. Finally it is all done. I slipped some money into the manuscript and gave it back to the *däbtära*. We exchanged pleasantries and he went off. Now it is the *aläqa*'s turn. He is just as taciturn as the first and a little nervous. It is a big manuscript. How many leaves has it got? One, two hundred? My knees were aching, my fingers were numb. About every half-hour we had to change the film. Schneider was sweating profusely right next to me. I kept turning over the leaves. A manuscript of magical contents but rather unusual. But we will see it later…

I had time to develop the films before my departure but I did not know what I was taking with me. My friend Schneider gave me one more film containing the flyleaves of an 18th century manuscript photographed by him at the exhibition of Gondar in 1955. It also dealt with plants.

When I arrived in Rome where I had to give a lecture on the preliminary report of my research in Ethiopia, I started to read the films using a microfilm reader but I only had time to notice that it contained some new things. It was not until I got to Warsaw that I was able to enlarge the photos and discover, to my astonishment and joy, that — quite apart from other minor finds — in two MSS there were two versions of a little "Treatise of Hygiene and Dietetics", written in Amharic, the first really medical (and not magical) treatise found up until that time. It was probably translated from Arabic continuing the pure Greco-Arabic medical traditions.

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[40] *Šämma* — Ethiopian traditional garment made of hand woven white cotton.

And about six months later the postman rang my doorbell and presented me with a registered parcel from Addis Ababa. This parcel contained the photographs of the manuscript, which had belonged to the father of *abba* Yohannəs Ǝgziabher. I was just leaving to go to the university. I had classes to take. What agony! I suppose that that day my students must have certainly noticed that I was unusually distracted and impatient. The last lecture over I ran back home. The eight hundred meters, which separated the Institute from my flat, seemed like miles. Finally I shut myself in my study with the manuscript. I started to read and to translate: "In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, one God. We are writing the book of medicine for all sicknesses and for every part of the body, composed by learned men in order to provide a beneficial remedy for the sick. Chapter one…"

I did not know then that this manuscript would constitute the basic manuscript for the critical edition of what I called later the "Treatise of Therapeutics", the largest and the most important of Ethiopian medical treatises. Both treatises were edited ten years later (in 1968) as the first volume of *Médicine et plants d'Ethiopie*.

By correspondence with Ethiopia I learned that *abba* Yohannəs went to Hebo a few weeks after my departure as he had promised. He found his "book" and gave it to Mr. Demers at the School. Mr. Demers sent it to Mr. Chojnacki,[41] then director of the library of the University College in Addis Ababa and then another colleague, Mr. Sauter, a Swiss specialist in monolithic churches of Ethiopia and an excellent photographer, photographed this manuscript.

What a nice lesson in having confidence in people! With *abba* Yohannəs I maintained a friendly relationship corresponding with him in Ge'ez.

The research into Ethiopian magical and medical text is full of linguistic difficulties because they are written in a technical language ordered by special grammatical rules and representing a mixed and transitory linguistic stage: it is a certain kind of post-classical amharized Ge'ez. But one additional difficulty is the technical terminology and especially the medical one.

In 1964 I went once more to Addis Ababa for an inquiry about the names of diseases, which I found in great number in the medical treatises and which are no longer used in the contemporary language and are not to be found in modern dictionaries.

Most of this time I was working with a learned and very sympathetic Ethiopian who had previously been teacher of Amharic at the University of Moscow, *ato* Käbbädä Dästa, co-author (with E. Gankin[42]) of the Russian-Amharic dictionary (Moscow [Gankin, Kebbede Desta] 1965) and who was working for the Ministry

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[41] Stanisław Chojnacki (1915-2010) — a renown Polish connoisseur of Ethiopian art and librarian who spent many years in Ethiopia helping to found the Institute of Ethiopian Studies. His co-operation and friendship with Stefan Strelcyn was of great importance to the development of the Warsaw Chair of Semitic Studies library.

[42] Emmanuil Berovich Gankin (1922-2014) — a Russian Ethiopianist, lexicographer and specialist in oral literature.

of Education. He used to come to see me in my little hotel room. But I very soon realized that his information to often matched that of the all-Amharic dictionary entitled "Käsate Bərhan Täsämma"[43]. At all costs I had to find other informants. The main difficulty was that the break between the traditional medicine and the modern medicine in Ethiopia is now complete. But even the old medicine-men now use only the commonest names of diseases and they often have difficulties explaining them. On the other hand the young Ethiopian doctors do not know anything about the traditional medicine and generally condemn the non-scientific methods used by the old men. To bridge the gap between the two is one of the main problems of the Ethiopian health-service.

In my inquiries I got in touch, amongst others, with the Minister of Health of the Imperial Government, *ato* Abäba Rätta. I knew him when he was Ethiopian ambassador in London, he used to come from time to time to Paris and frequented the scholars dealing with Ethiopia. He is himself also a very good scholar with deep knowledge of the traditional culture of Ethiopia.

He received me immediately and without any formality, but when I explained my problem to him and presented him with a list of the terms for which I was trying to find an explanation, he immediately declared that he knew no one person able to answer all these questions. But, little by little, my host appeared more and more interested himself in my research and as I was leaving him it was he who offered to help me and to try to answer my questions. I was incredibly happy. I had to call the minister about ten days later. It would certainly be ready by then. But… I was only going to be there for four weeks and a minister is a minister; he is a very busy man. The first time I rang him, the secretary told me that the minister apologized — he was working on my list but was not yet finished. Please call again in about three or four days. You can imagine what happened next. I telephoned twice a week with no result.

Meanwhile I had fallen ill. It was a bad attack of influenza. I felt the fever worsening. I would have to go to a doctor. My compatriot, Mr. Chojnacki from the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, told me over the telephone: "Well then, go and see the Polish doctor". "What Polish doctor?" I exclaimed, because I did not know any Polish doctor in Addis Ababa. "You do not know Dr. Trzos?" said Chojnacki and he gave me the address of the doctor's "clinic", that is the flat where he saw his patients. I went there. The fever got worse. There were other sick people waiting in front of me. At last I entered. He examined me, sent me to bed and prescribed antibiotics for me. He did not seem too surprised to see a Polish patient, but as I was leaving he asked me, in passing, what I was doing here in Addis Ababa. I tried to explain to him briefly what I was working on, and what I was doing

[43] The title of the dictionary (see Täsämma Habtä Mika'el 1966) can be translated as 'Täsämma, the Light Revealer. Amharic dictionary'. Täsämma Habtä Mika'el (1890–1970) , the author of the dictionary, was an outstanding Ethiopian lexicographer.

in Ethiopia then. Everything changed immediately. I realized that the man before me was the man I was looking for, really interested in the traditional medicine, which he knew through his patients. Established in Ethiopia for more than fifteen years by that time, married to an Ethiopian woman, he spoke fluent Amharic. But our conversation went on end on and the patients in the waiting room were restless, so Dr. Trzos sent me to bed and promised to come and see me in the evening, at 8 p. m. He came… after ten o'clock ("according to Ethiopian time" just as *abba* Jérôme would say). He told me to get up and dine with him. I do not remember all the details of our conversation, which did not end until one a. m., but I learned 1) that alcohol goes very well with antibiotics under the country's gentler skies, 2) that Mr. Trzos was the head doctor in the Central Prison of Addis Ababa, that there were several people who knew the traditional medicine among the male-nurses helping him (it was not so far in time from the political coup of 1960[44]), and that they would all try to help me and to explain my list of diseases. It would certainly be ready before ten days…

You no doubt knew the Arabic *bukra*. In Ethiopia you usually hear *ɘshi, nege* 'Yes! Tomorrow'. I kept ringing both the minister and Dr. Trzos but with no results. Meanwhile Easter was approaching and we went to Keren, in Eritrea by road with Schneiders. I returned a week before my departure for Europe. Trzos's list was ready and was very interesting and useful. It was a document unique of its kind. Carefully typewritten, it began the famous preamble: "This Ethiopian name (sic) of disease and their equivalent symptom (re-sic) according to European identification is prepared by Dr. M. J. Trzos and his staff in Addis Ababa Prison Clinic".

But *ato* Abäba Rätta had not yet finished his work. By chance I learned that my friend Tubiana, the well-known French Ethiopianist who was spending a few months in Ethiopia working for UNESCO, and had to leave Addis Ababa on the same day as me, but in a different plane, was invited, with Mme Tubiana, to dine with *ato* Abäba Rätta on the eve of our departure. They also promised to ring me when they got home after dinner. Late in the evening, as the telephone had not rung, I rang the Tubiana's home. They had just got back. Mme Tubiana triumphantly announced that they had got my list, "but" — she added in a more worried voice — "Tubiana could not find the papers. Perhaps he has left them in the car". The car belonged to the university and Mr. Tubiana had left it in the university garage as he was leaving the next day… I was terribly depressed. So much effort for nothing! I was to leave the airport at eight a.m. "Don't worry", added Mme Tubiana, "if we find it, we will take it with us and you will get it in Athens". We would have to meet in Athens where both the Tubianas and myself were going to spend a few days.

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[44] An unsuccessful *coup d'état* staged by the Imperial Guard on 13 December 1960, while the Emperor Haile Sellassie I was on a state visit to Brazil.

I do not need to tell you that I spent a sleepless night. The next day Mr. Schneider was coming to collect me before seven a.m. to take me to the airport. Gloomily I waited for him. The departure went off without a hitch. Direct flight to Athens, with two stops at Asmara and Cairo. The Tubianas caught the plane a few hours later to go to Khartoum where they were to stay for one or two days. That evening in Athens, some friends invited me to dinner in the town. We got back late. An unexpected telephone message was placed on my table: "Arrived. Have your list. Tubiana". I saw them again the next day and this is what happened. Mr. Schneider had gone straight from the airport to the university garage and in fact the driver who checked the car found on the floor a double leaf, which he put on one side. It was *ato* Abäba Rätta's manuscript! It suffered a little from his greasy hands but it was there (you can see it, including the driver's fingerprints). Schneider went back to the airport and was in time to hand the text to Mr. Tubiana. The Tubiana's plane had been unable to land in Khartoum because of a sand storm. It had turned back and landed at Asmara to start again a few hours later. But, as the storm was still raging, it came straight to Athens. This is how I was able to regain possession of the precious leaves, which the Ethiopian scholar had set down his notes on the Amharic names of diseases.

I had another adventure during the same stay in Ethiopia in 1964. It is well known that Ethiopia is a country of manuscripts, although its population had been writing for about 1500 years, the printing-press was not introduced until the end of the 19th century. The largest collections of Ethiopia MSS are in Europe (Paris, London, Rome). In Ethiopia itself, there is no central collection[45]. The MSS belong (with the exception of the National Library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Haile Sellassie I University in Addis Ababa), mostly to monasteries, churches and great families. It is difficult to get access to these MSS for reasons I am unable to explain to you at present. The largest collection listed up until now and belonging to a monastery is the collection of Gundä Gunde in the Tigre. It contains hundreds of MSS. But its real value lies, not in their great number, not in the antiquity of many of them. This collection contains a large number of MSS the contents of which are unique and contained in no other manuscript. Amongst these MSS we find the lives of many priors of this convent, starting with its founder Estifane [Ǝstifanos][46] (died in 1438, it is he who gave his name to the current considered unorthodox or heretic by the conservatives of the Ethiopian

[45] In 1973 a huge project called Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML, now renamed Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, HMML) based on a partnership between three institutions: the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library in St John's University in Collegeville, Minnesota and the Divinity School in Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee was initiated with its main office in Addis Ababa. It resulted in creation of the biggest collection of Ethiopian manuscript microfilm library, available online (Hill Museum & Manuscript Library 2015).

[46] Ǝstifanos (1397/98–1444) — the leader of the religious movement of Stephanites, who is nowadays considered one of the Ethiopian saints.

Church — "stephanite"). Probably the first European to visit the convent was Mgr Justine de Jacobis[47], a Lasarist, in 1844, but we had to wait another one hundred years before the Italian scholar, Antonio Mordini[48], could get there and drew up the first list of about two hundred MSS. At the end of the 50s the Archeological Section (*Section d'Archéologie du Gouvernement Impériale Ethiopien*) re-organized as the Ethiopian Institute of Archaeology (*Institut Ethiopien d'Archéologie*) began systematic investigations in this library and it was Mr. Roger Schneider, expert in this Institute who made at least three visits, each of a few weeks, in order to photograph these MSS. The monastery is picturesquely situated, but access to it is very difficult. Located 1450 meters above the see level clinging to high mountains etched by torrent beds, this monastery could only be reached by starting from Addigrat (195 km south of Asmara, on the road to Addis Ababa) by mule (and partly on foot to climb the mountains) in two days.

During my stay in Ethiopia in 1964 I asked Mr. Schneider therefore to give me the photographs of several unpublished Lives of the priors of this monastery because I intended to propose their editing to some of my students as their thesis subjects. Mr. Schneider and I chose three Lives and we spent a few nights enlarging the films in the bathroom because I did not have the money to have it done by a photographer. We formed a production-line: Schneider would expose the photographs and I would put them first is the developer, then in the fixer and finally in a bath full of water. All this work went on normally for a few evenings. But, one day, as I was putting in order and numbering the photographs done in day before, I noticed that three consecutive photos of a manuscript containing the "Life of Gäbrä Krəstos"[49] (†1576), a unique manuscript, each had one column damaged.

What could be done? Of course, it would be impossible to go to Gundä Gunde to photograph the three double pages again. One could, at a pinch, edit this manuscript indicating gaps; perhaps they were not so important. Were there any other solutions? I was still thinking about this when one morning Schneider suggested the following: as we had to go to Asmara and Keren in a few days for Easter, he intended, as he had already done so in the past, to leave a few things for the monks of Gundä Gunde with the priests of the Catholic Church in Addigrat. In fact, from time to time somebody came down from the monastery or from the neighbourhood and came to the Catholic church where messages for the people up there were usually left. This time Schneider was to leave the photographs he had

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[47] Giustino De Jacobis (1800–1860) — an Italian missionary engaged in catholicization of northern Ethiopia for which mission he was put to prison by the emperor Theodore II and died shortly after his release. He was canonized as saint in 1975 in Italy.

[48] Antonio Mordini (1904–1975) — an Italian ethnologist and civil servant whose archeological, architectural and art historical research in northern Ethiopia and Eritrea was an important contribution to Ethiopian Studies.

[49] Gäbrä Krəstos — the seventh leader of the Stephanite monastery of Gundä Gunde, he actually died in 1594.

taken of the monks in the monastery during his last stay there, a Tigrinya bible and a few small gifts. He proposed to try something unprecedented: to enclose the bad photographs, paper for copying and a letter asking the prior to find the corresponding pages of the manuscript (do not forget that neither the manuscripts nor the pages are numbered), to copy them and to send them to the church in Addigrat as soon as possible. To understand how improbable this proposition was one must bear in mind that the monastery of Gundä Gunde is extremely isolated, the few monks there are not very learned, and they work hard on the land belonging to the monastery to provide them with their modest food. All this is very far from the image of a rich, worldly monastery, frequented by travelers, with a scriptorium! I was a bit skeptical, but as I was unable to suggest anything better, we prepared the photos and the letter to the prior of the monastery. In Addigrat we left the message and the gifts with a priest from Catholic church which is situated not far from the main road.

About three months later, in Warsaw, I received the copies of three leaves we had asked for. They had been copied in red ink by the man you see on the photograph — Täsfa Maryam, the scribe, the third from the left. The text had been carefully corrected, and as the copyist did not know whether it was important to us, he even reproduced on one of the leaves the string of the binding. On the bottom of each leaf we find a brief greeting to Mr. Schneider who had long since won the friendship and the respect of these monks. On leaf three, the last one, one can read: "to my honourable friend Mr. Schneider (*muse šnäydär*). O my friend, having finished what you ordered me, I now greet you."

O my friends, do not believe anyone who says that Africans do not understand the value of scientific research. Do not think that in our time Gundä Gunde is separated from Warsaw or Leeds by such inaccessible mountains, by such insurmountable barriers!

I have already spoken about the terminological problems concerning the names of plants and diseases in connection with the editing of medical MSS. There are many difficulties because in our age nobody knows certain terms used in the ancient treatises. Informants sometimes admit that they do not know a word, but in many cases they will, without any hesitation translate something by sheer fantasy. A modern inquiry has, of necessity, to be completed, if possible, by an analysis of the traditional vocabularies, the *säwasɔw*[50], which have not yet been sufficiently exploited. Occasionally you have the good luck to find a bilingual vocabulary written in Ethiopic characters. If it is old enough, it can give you the key to more than one enigma.

The most important of the bi-lingual Ethiopian vocabularies we know is the Arabic-Ethiopian vocabulary (partly Ge'ez, partly Amharic) contained in

[50] *Säwasɔw* — grammar books, especially of Ge'ez, which in Ethiopia developed into a whole literary genre.

a manuscript belonging to the d'Abbadie[51] collection[52] in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. It is the d'Abbadie Ms 116. The Arabic part is very interesting, but the words are often difficult to identify, because the terms used represent different Arabic dialects. I turned to this vocabulary many years ago. It is a copy made for d'Abbadie (19th century) but the writing of several Amharic names proves the antiquity of the original manuscript. Like most of the traditional Ethiopian vocabularies, it is divided into chapters dealing with names of diseases: it is chapter sixteen. This manuscript helped me to identify a few Ethiopian names of diseases, which nobody had been able to explain. This was the case with the disease called *yäkahnat* 'disease of priests', which turned into simply hemorrhoids or the case of the disease *yäwäyzazɔr* 'disease of ladies', which means scabies.

I decided to prepare an edition of the chapters concerning plants and diseases. I started with the plants (§§ 13-15) in about 1960. But the work dragged on. I found too many difficulties, too many doubts. But finally, at the beginning of 1966 I promised the editor of the "Rocznik Orientalistyczny" that I would let him have the article before the 15th of March. The text was virtually finished and had been lying in a drawer for long enough. But I could not bring myself to give my text to the editor, especially as I was about to go then to Ethiopia for 3rd International Conference of Ethiopian Studies. At the last moment I apologized to the secretary of the editorial board and I set off. What good luck that I did!

I arrived in Ethiopia just in time for the Conference and collected the papers that had already been mimeographed, and made sure that I would not miss too many of those that were in process of being duplicated. As usual it was a real hunt for the papers. But I did not manage to read all these articles. On the first or second day of the conference I went to listen to the paper given by Getatchew Haile[53] "Archaic Amharic Forms", a very tempting title for someone dealing with ancient Amharic. I followed his lecture on the copy in front of me. As I listened to him and thumbed the copy I gradually realized that the speaker was talking about "my" manuscript, the d'Abbadie 116! But it was at the same time one of "his" two manuscripts, the manuscript A, about which he said the following: "A year ago a certain *däbtära* was looking for someone who could tell him of the contents of a manuscript, which he had in his hands. Since there was no way of getting the manuscript, at least until a study had been made, I had to make a photocopy of it. The contents are varied, but the largest part (*ca*. 100 pages out of 210) is of Arabic words written in Ethiopic characters, in two columns arranged by topics such as

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[51] Antoine d'Abbadie (1810–1897) — a French-Basque academic and explorer with particular interest in geography, ethnography and linguistics of Ethiopia. Together with his younger brother Arnauld he carried out research in Ethiopia in the 1837–1848. He is known as a founder of Ethiopian studies in France.

[52] Manuscripts gathered by Antoine d'Abbadie during his long stay in Ethiopia were catalogued under the name *Caltalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens*, Paris 1859.

[53] Getatchew Haile (b. 1932) — an outstanding Ethiopian scholar specializing in Ge'ez manuscripts.

plants, birds, animals etc., and translated sometimes into Ge'ez and sometimes into Amharic. At times it is very difficult to say whether the translation is in Ge'ez or in Amharic due to the close relation of the Amharic to Ge'ez at the time. The largest number of the Amharic words below is collected from this manuscript. Its detailed contents will be discussed when the time comes to publish it." This manuscript dates from the reign of King Gälawdewos[54] (Claudius) that is from 1540–1559. Obviously, after the lecture I hastened up to the speaker to ask him if his manuscript was not another copy of this d'Abbadie manuscript. We both ran to consult it. Without wasting a minute I shut myself up in the small room in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies where the microfilm-reader was. Feverishly I rolled the film on. Yes, it was certainly "my" manuscript. I find the chapters of plants, the chapter of the names of diseases. I find the *yäkahnat* and the *yäwäyzazɔr*, but the Amharic forms often seemed to be more ancient. I asked Dr. Getatchew to allow me to take "his" manuscript as the basic manuscript for the edition of chapters 13–15, which was lying in my drawer in Warsaw. He kindly agreed. I had brought the microfilm with me and the next evening (it was the Wednesday of the Holy Week) as was already the custom, we did the enlargements in my friend Schneider's bathroom, of the pages I was interested in. I left the photos to dry and went back home, content. What a good job I had refusing to let my text be published!

The next morning I went to see Mr. Schneider to get the enlargements. I look at them and cannot believe my eyes. Even before arranging them I realized that only the right-hand pages were there. Every page was damaged, by time and use, in the top right corner. Everyone was a *recto*. One only had to look at pagination put at the bottom of each page by Dr. Getatchew — they were all odd numbered. As they stood, without the even numbered pages, these photos were absolutely useless. Where could I find Dr. Getatchew? It was Good Friday, an extremely important festival in Ethiopia. I find his telephone number. He is not at home. Perhaps he is at church? In the town? At friends? And I had to leave the next day. What could I do? I got into Schneider's car and we raced into town to search for him. We decided to try the university first. If we could find someone in his department (Department of Amharic) perhaps they could tell us where to look for him. We walked along the winding corridors, I knocked on his door, I opened it. There was Dr. Getatchew and two or three of his colleagues. Everyone is amazed. They, to see us invading the room completely unannounced, we, astonished at our good fortune in finding Dr. Getatchew so soon. A few words sufficed to explain the situation. Oh yes, Dr. Getatchew had forgotten, when he had had the manuscript photographed, that they had photographed all the right-hand pages first, and the left-hand pages afterwards another film. He went to his drawer and handed me the film of the even numbered pages.

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[54] Gälawdewos (r. 1540–1559) — the emperor of Ethiopia.

When I got back home I immediately established that Dr. Getatchew manuscript had been copied. Here was the proof: in the d'Abbadie manuscript, on f. 47v. §13, there was a gap of a few lines which I could never explain. Why had the scribe left it empty? Well, in the corresponding place in Getatchew's manuscript page 110, col. b, in exactly the same place as the gap, we see an ink-stain which makes it difficult to read the passage, especially for someone who apparently did not know Arabic.

Chapters 13–15 concerning the plant-names of this Arabic-Ethiopian vocabulary were not edited until 1968 but when edited the basic manuscript was the original manuscript found in Ethiopia.

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It is very hard to speak about oriental manuscripts, to praise the impassioning work of Orientalists, of oriental philologists after reading the magnificent book of the Russian master in Arabic Studies, Ignatii Yulianovitch Kratchkovsky[55] "Among Arabic Manuscripts" [Kratchkovsky 1953]. But the aim Kratchkovsky expressed in the "Prelude" to his book (it is the title of the prefatory chapter) as well as one of his final remarks (p. 187 of the English edition) complaining that Orientalists "seldom speak about themselves, their development, the emotions which accompanied their work and circumstances in which they made their discoveries" encouraged me to relate to you this evening a few of my own experiences when working on Ethiopian manuscripts. The passage of Kratchkowsky's Prelude I mentioned is the following (p. VIII): "I admit that my idea has been to do a little propaganda for my branch of study and talk loudly about Oriental scholarship. I have tried as well as I could show that the scholars who work in the field are not moved exclusively by personal and, as some will have it, queer inclinations, and that these studies do not only attract mere lovers of things exotic or escapists hermits. In recalling the emotions which manuscripts have stirred to me, I want to show how the smallest details of such work are connected with broad problems of the history of culture and how in the final count all goes to swell the mighty stream of human progress."

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I humbly implore the shadow of Ignatii Yulianovitch to forgive me if, by following his example and his advice, I have not been able to serve the interest of Oriental Studies this evening as much I should have liked to.

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[55] Ignatii Yulianovitch Kratchkovsky (1883–1951) — an eminent Russian Arabist who also contributed to Ethiopian studies.

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Different Perspectives of Studies on Languages

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What are plants good for? Plant names and related superstitions among the Kupto people (Northern Nigeria)

Abstract

It is a well-known fact that in traditional Africa flora plays an important role not only in respect to foodstuff, but also in respect to medicine. Memory of the distinct usage of plants for medical purposes remains alive among particular small ethnic groups, such as the Kupto, a Chadic-speaking community, living on the middle Gongola River in North-Eastern Nigeria. The number of their population might not exceed two thousand peoples, of which most have presently converted to Islam, but there are still a few aged men and women who adhere to their traditional religion. Some medical plants they use for healing will be described in our paper.

Keywords: Botanic names, Chadic linguistics, Kupto, Nigeria, superstition

In the following paper, we present a list of trees, shrubs and plants used within the Kupto society to heal the most frequent and typical diseases. At first, however, we would like to give a short overview of the Kupto people, their rural village life and their local environment. This is followed by a short outline of their social system as well as a note on their language, before giving a general explanation of their spiritual world. Here, we briefly concentrate on the traditional religion related to spirits and witchcraft as well as to superstitions.

For the majority of the Kupto people, the Kupto village and its nearest surroundings are the centre of their world. This does not mean that some of them do not travel within the country on business or just out of mere wanderlust. However, most of the people, especially women, remain in Kupto or in its close vicinity. Almost all adult Kupto are married to a member of the same clan, although nowadays marriages take place with members of surrounding ethnic groups, in particular with the people of Bole and Maha. The general economic base of the people is farming. They mainly grow, as typical within such an environment, beans, groundnuts and guinea-corn, while also breeding goats and sheep. In addition to

their usual food crops, the Kupto are famous for growing cotton and tobacco, since their homeland lies on both sides of the middle Gongola River in North-Eastern Nigeria. The language they speak is classified within West Chadic as a member of the Bole-Tangale group. It is a typical representative of this group as it displays many typological features, such as progressing feminization of nouns, as well as ventive, causative and plural extensions on the verb (cf. Leger 2014: 243–248). The number of users of this language is now decreasing considerably, as Hausa, the lingua franca of the area, gains more and more ground. Now the total number of speakers is estimated to be around 1,000–1,500 souls. Most are Muslims, although there might be a few elders who still adhere to the traditional religion. Their ethos is basically more open and permissive regarding Islam. Thus, they drink beer and place less emphasis on feminine modesty. Their traditional religion is heavily based on the veneration of various spirits and sacrifices to them. These spirits are believed to be divided into different groups that may interact with human beings for good or evil. Any member of the community who believes in these spirits may offer additional sacrifices individually. However, the most important rituals are performed on behalf of a compound (family) and its members. These ceremonies are usually conducted before the raining season, in order to assure a good harvest. Sacrifices to the spirits are offered at the base of selected trees in the bush, or in places kept secret by members of the settlements. Beer or grains are taken and placed at the sacrificial site. Sacrifices may be made to the spirits for personal reasons, or on behalf of the group, since spirits are mostly believed to be the cause of illnesses. Therefore, they must be satisfied in one way or another. For this reason, it is important to relate the sickness of an individual to a particular spirit. This can either be done by a traditional healer or a witch (cf. Wall 1988: 197f.). Witchcraft can affect men, women or children alike. It can destroy enemies by making them mad, blinding them, destroying their crops, stealing their wives or even killing them on the spot (cf. Wall 1988: 134–35). Witchcraft may also transform a person into a hyena or a snake — the two main animals. Few people know how to perform witchcraft and how to prevent others from being transformed into animals. All these forces originate from areas beyond human reality and can only be considered parapsychological phenomena (cf. Wall 1988: 192–204). This in particular applies to ‘health’, which among the Kupto is considered the good side of witchcraft. The other side of the medal, however, is disease or illness (cf. Wall 1988: 133–34). According to our research, the terms ‘illness’ and ‘disease’ lack precision. Even though they are sometimes used interchangeably, there is a core distinction between them (cf. Wall 1988: 135f.). “Illness tends to be used to refer to what is wrong with the patient, disease to what is wrong with his body [...]” (Wall 1988: 127). Illness, therefore, refers to the patient’s experience of ill-health. It comprises his impaired sense of well-being, his perception that something is wrong with his body, and the various symptoms of pain, and disablement. Disease, on the other hand, refers to

various structural disorders of the individual's organs that give rise to the signs of ill-health. Disease may thus exist for considerable periods of time without the patient knowing (cf. Wall 1988: 172–73).

Apart from this general outline, there is a further belief among the Kupto regarding water, which can be divided into two kinds of substances. On the one hand, there is celestial water, and — on the other — terrestrial water. The former is associated with the concept of 'heat', whereas the latter is perceived as being 'cold'. This is important because medicine mixed with water can only be strong when it comes from the right side. The concept of 'hot' water, which basically refers to rain, is connected with ancestors. Water from a river or well has no such connotation. There is another dichotomy in their beliefs concerning illness, which can also be perceived 'hot' and 'cold'. 'Cold illnesses' refer more to internal disease, 'hot illnesses' — in contrast — to external diseases. For each of the two types of diseases, special medicaments have to be applied as their cures. The table below provides a list of some trees, shrubs and plants, together with their applications in the case of various sicknesses, indicating if they are to be mixed with hot or cold water.

1. *táabà-táabà mà fìrìt*[1] species of plant (lit. 'tobacco of a spirit')
   This plant cures a disease called *fòo*, which causes a rash that is mainly located around the mouth. It is a similar to what we call herpes. The leaves of this plant have to be soaked in "terrestrial" water for some time so that the water becomes yellowish. It has to be applied to the affected parts and one has to rinse one's mouth with it.

2. *táfé* sp. of tree
   The leaves of the *táfé* have to be pounded and then applied on external wounds mainly resulting from farming in thorny bush.

3. *kùutà yáafé* sp. of plant (lit. 'bitter tomato of hen')
   It cures chicken diseases. The fruit has to be cut into pieces and dried for a certain period. After that, it is mixed with grains or maize and fed to the chickens.

4. *gòolùk mà lòolòw* sp. of plant (lit. 'shell of cotton')
   This plant has a watery element that — when put in water — is able to suck the blood and bring out a thorn.

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[1] Cf. **tataba** (Sok.). syn. **mashayi**, q.v. (Dalziel 1916: 92). **Mashayi** (Dalziel 1916: 75) *Clerodendron capitatum* (Verbenaceæ). A shrub with bunches of tubular white flowers and purple berries; the pithy branches are used for pipe-stems. Etym. Instrument used for smoking.

5. *kìmbà*[2] sp. of tree
It is a remedy for swelling of the body. The leaves have to be mixed with leaves of the *buraaza* and the *she*ɓɓ*e*. Pounded and rubbed onto the surface, the swellings will soon disappear.

6. *fòlmááfò* sp. of shrub
The leaves of the *fòlmááfò* cure chapping. They have to be pounded and applied fresh to the respective parts of the feet. The leaves are also consumed by animals.

7. *tùmáatùr* tomato
The fruit of the tomato plant is cut and applied to skin rashes.

8. *yàarò lállè* sp. of plant (lit. 'child of *lalle*')
This plant is used by pregnant women to abort pregnancy. The root has to be placed in "terrestrial" water until it dilutes. The woman has to drink it instead of eating food.

9. *yàaLíyà*[3] sp. of plant
It cures *sugow*, which is a type of diabetes often observed among the Kupto people. The leaves are soaked in "celestial" water for more than three days. The liquid extract is either mixed with food or drunk before eating.

10. *shàlà yàaLíyà* sp. of plant (lit. 'peel of *yàaLíyà*)
It cures the disease called *jàkàrkùmá*, which causes the swelling of a person's body. The plant, especially its skin, has to be pounded, mixed with potash or shea butter and rubbed onto the surface of the body.

11. *màrgá*[4] sp. of tree
It is used for healing dizziness. The dried plant has to be pounded and burnt. The patient inhales the smoke.

12. *shítímí* sp. of tree
It is used for healing dizziness. The dried plant has to be pounded and burnt. The patient inhales the smoke.

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[2] Cf. **kimba** (Dalziel 1916: 61) *Xylopia* æthiopica (Anonaceæ). 'African', 'Guinea', or 'Negro Pepper'. A tree: the small cylindrical black pods are sold as a medicine and spice.

[3] Cf. **yaḍiya** (Dalziel 1916: 103) *Leptadenia lancifolia* (Asclepiadeæ). A common twiner with half-succulent leaves and a thick greenish sap; the leaves and flowers are used as food, and the bark for fibre.

[4] Cf. *malga* or **marga** (Dalziel 1916: 74) vide **gamma faḍa**. **Gamma faḍa** (Dalziel 1916: 33) *Cassia Kotschyana* (Leguminosæ); a tree with laburnum-like yellow flowers and long cylindrical pods that do not split. Syn. **malga** or **marga** (Sok. Gobir, &c.).

13. *fábbùró shítímí* root of a sp. of tree (lit. 'root of *shítímí*')
The root of the tree has to be placed in "celestial" water. It is used by traditional medicine men, who also serve as barbers, and applied on the penis of a newly circumcised man.

14. *shàlà shítímí* bark of a sp. of tree (lit. 'bark of *shítímí*')
The bark of the tree pounded and soaked in "celestial" water cures venereal diseases.

15. *táabà* sp. of plant ('tobacco')
The leaves soaked in water kill flies, especially when they are flying around food. The liquid is also applied on the heads of children in order to prevent skin eruptions.

16. *yàarò táabà* sp. of plant (lit. 'child of tobacco')
See *táabà.*

17. *ʔàràk mè fè* sp. of shrub (lit. 'thorn which is white')
The leaves of *arak fe* are soaked in "celestial" water. The water is applied internally, i.e. by drinking, and externally by being smeared on the female private parts in order to combat menstrual problems.

18. *fábbùrò ʔàràk mè fè* bark of a sp. of shrub (cf. above)
The bark of this tree is soaked in water and drunk as a remedy against stomach pain.

19. *fáhá ʔàràk mè fè* branch of a sp. of shrub (cf. above)
This special branch of this tree (?) is applied on wounds.

20. *sásárín kúurá* sp. of tree (lit. '*sásárín* of a hyena')
The fruits of the *sasarin kura* are mixed with the fruits of the tamarind tree. It is consumed as a medicine for haemorrhoids.

21. *kábá* sp. of tree
The pounded roots of the *kaba* are used to stop internal bleeding. This mainly applies to stomach pains.

22. *kàndà máasón* sp. of shrub
The leaves of the *kanda maaso* are soaked in water for a short period. They are used to wash women's breasts when breast-feeding babies in order to prevent inflammation.

23. *réshén bìndà zúgù* sp. of shrub
The branches of the *binda zugu* are used to stop the bleeding if one is wounded.

24. *tífíit* sp. of shrub
Tifit is edible. The milk of the *tifit* is rubbed onto a wasp sting.

25. *làllè*[5] sp. of plant
Women use the colour of the *lalle* when soaked in water to decorate their hands and feet. *Lalle* also cures mycoses.

26. *Níim* sp. of tree ('Nim tree')
The leaves soaked in "hot" water cure malaria. It is also used as a cold drink to make people vomit after having eaten something bad.

27. *bàawòn níim* bark of a sp. of tree (lit. 'bark of the Nim tree')
The bark soaked in water is also a remedy against malaria.

The extent to which traditional medicine contains active pharmacological elements that effectively cure diseases is still unknown. This could be related to the placebo effect, which is not well documented. This effect lies in the relationship between the healer and the patient. An important aspect, however, is the social setting of this medical practice (Wall 1988: 182f.). In most of the cases within the Kupto society, the person who prepares, prescribes and administers the medicine is of utmost importance. It seems that medicine is more effective when it is prepared by somebody believed to be powerful, be it a herbalist or someone who has secret powers that he or she can apply directly on the patient. Apart from merely mixing, soaking and pounding, it seems that these medicines are priced higher when they are directly prepared by a specialist. The therapeutic effect may become reality, but this depends on the level of adherence to traditional beliefs in the patient. This also explains, for example, the practice of Koranic charms, written on an *allo*[6], i.e. on a slate, and then drunk, or wrapped in leather and worn on the body. Finally, it can be stated that to treat a person in the case of mental, physical and spiritual ailments, a holistic approach has to be applied in the Kupto society.

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[5] Cf. **lalle** (Dalziel 1916: 70) *Lawsonia alba* (Lythrarieæ). "Egyptian Privet" or "*Henna*"; a small shrub planted for the sake of the leaves, which are used all over the Sudan, in Egypt and the East to dye the nails.

[6] Wooden writing board used for practising Arabic script.

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Isa Yusuf Chamo

Language and identity in Africa: the use of place names as part of a person's name in Hausa[1]

Abstract

The paper investigates a person's name in the Hausa ethnic group. With reference to naming practices in Africa, it focuses on using place names as part of persons' names. The linguistic material consists of Hausa names presented to the public on various occasions and data gathered through a questionnaire. The aim is to find out why some Hausa people use place names as part of their personal names. Ethnography research methods and the social identity theory are used to analyze the data. The analysis shows that some Hausa people use place names as identity markers both from an individual and social point of view.

Keywords: onomastics, language, identity, names, Hausa

Introduction

The study of personal names falls under the umbrella of onomastics, which is the science that studies names in general. Onomastics is divided into anthroponymy, which focuses on the names of human beings, and toponomastics, which is the study of place names (Crystal 1998). A name is not simply a conventional sequence of sounds but it often refers to something. The name of a person may be used to trace his family, genealogy, culture, language, occupation, town, etc. Tiav (2012) sees the name as a linguistic item that is used to refer to all created things that exist physically or abstractly. Therefore, a name could be regarded as a word by which a person, animal, place or concept is known or spoken of.

Personal names among Africans serve as a communication tool and storehouse for the culture and history of the society. African societies use personal names as

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a means of conveying the cultural values and traditions of their daily experiences. Before people could read and write, personal names were used as a means of documenting important events, and they were part of the oral tradition, making them an integral part of every cultural system (Mandende 2009: 1).

The study of personal names in Africa has attracted a number of scholars over the years. For example, Yanga (1978) in his research on onomastics in Zaire discovered that personal names do not merely distinguish people from each other; they also operate as the "linguistic indicators" of socialization, in that they are usually representative of various social relationships within a family. He found that African personal names play an indexical role reflecting socio-cultural changes or events in the community. He discovered that the Zairian onomastic system reflects the history, culture and socio-political events that have marked the national scene. Agyekum (2006) studied Akan personal names and typology within the perspective of linguistics anthropology. The study shows that naming is a crucial aspect of Akan society and confirms that personal names reflect important aspects of the culture of societies. Rather than being arbitrary labels, names are socio-cultural tags that have socio-cultural functions and meanings. For example, the name *Táríshíkw Tárí* (lit. sixth-born male child born in the market place) is given to a child born at the market. Yuka (2007), who studies names in Lamnso (a Grassfield language spoken by the Nso people of Cameroon), identifies linguistic structure in Nso personal names and relates them to their primary structures and meanings within Lamnso syntax. Mandende (2009) makes an extensive study of the morphology of Tshivenḓa personal names. He states that proper names are meaningful as they are derived from Tshivenḓa verbs, nouns, adjectives, etc. Guma (2001) notices that among the Basotho of Southern Africa the naming process is a socio-cultural interpretation of historical events. He concentrates on the cultural aspects of the use of personal names such as teknonymies and the names acquired from initiation schools. He has further argued that Basotho personal names are not just words but they also include socio-cultural interpretations of historical events embodying individual life experiences, social norms and values, status roles and authority, as well as personality and individual attributes, i.e. the name Kofi refers to a wanderer/traveler. Wappa & Abanga (2013) investigate the typology of Kamuə names and discover names providing important insight into the kind of social and cultural patterns of the Kamuə[2] community, e.g. *Tìzhé* means the first-born male, while *Kúvè* — female. The results of the above examples of research show that African names have value and meaning, which is against Bach & Moran's (2008) assertion that

[2] The term Kamuə refers to both the people and the language. The Kamuə people live in the Michika local government area of Adamawa state. They are also found in places such as Madagali, Mubi, and Gombi and Song local government areas, all in Adamawa state, as well as in the Askira-Uba local government area of Borno state. They inhabit the top and slopes of the Mandara hills, while some few are found across the border in Cameroun.

personal names are arbitrary and there is no relationship between the name and its significance.

In the present work, attention is paid mainly to Hausa,[3] a Chadic language spoken in West Africa. In Hausa society, like in other African societies, a name is given to a child at birth by its parents or guardians. There are a number of works referring to the field of Hausa anthroponymy (Ibrahim 1982; Daba 1987; Ahmad 2001; Chamo 2012; Almajir 2013, among others).

The studies providing the typology of Hausa names (Chamo 2012) also show that names are not arbitrary and each Hausa name has a meaning attached to it. The sources of the names might differ. Almajir (2013) examines Hausa anthroponyms taken from the Qur'an.

In the available literature on Hausa onomastics, less attention has been paid to place names that are the source of persons' names. The purpose of this paper is to fill in this apparent gap in Hausa linguistics by finding out why Hausa people use place names as part of their names. The concept of identity, which helps to describe the way individuals and groups define themselves, is used for interpretation of the data.

Theoretical background

Social identity theory (SIT) was developed by psychologists (Tajfel 1982; Tajfel & Turner 1986) in the social cognition tradition of social psychology. Within this theory, social identity is defined by an individual identification within a group: a process constituted firstly by a reflexive knowledge of group membership and, secondly, by an emotional attachment or specific disposition to this belonging. Social Identity Theory explores the phenomenon of the "ingroup" and "outgroup", and is based on the view that identities are constituted through a process of difference defined in a relative or flexible way dependent upon the activities in which one is engaged (Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 25). The assumption is that besides our uniquely personal sense of self, we also have social identities based on the various groups to which we belong. Thus, we can maintain and enhance self-esteem through valued social affiliations, as well as by purely personal activities and achievements.

According to the theory, within-group favoritism is predictable since it reflects and supports the particular 'us and them' boundaries that can heighten feelings

[3] Hausa is the name of both the language and the people (Adamu 1974: 1). It is a major world language spoken as a mother tongue by more than 30 million people in northern Nigeria and the southern parts of Niger, in addition to the diaspora communities of traders, Muslim scholars and immigrants in urban areas of West Africa (southern Nigeria, Ghana, Togo, and the Blue Nile Province of the Sudan). It is widely spoken as a second language and is expanding rapidly as a *lingua franca* (Jaggar 2001: 1).

of individual worth. A corollary is that in-group solidarity should be expected to strengthen at a time when one's sense of worth is threatened or tenuous (Edwards 2009: 27). Herrigel (1993: 371) states: "By social identity, I mean the desire for group distinction, dignity and place within historically specific discourses (or frames of understanding) about the character, structure, and boundaries of the policy and the economy". The concept of identity helps to describe the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language and culture (Deng 1995: 1). The theory is advanced in the work of Hogg and Abrams (1988, Breakwell (1993), Robinson (1996), Benwell and Stokoe (2006) and Edwards (2009), among others.

The structure of Hausa personal names

The naming practices among Hausa people include various factors that determine the form of a person's name. Names of Muslim origin, given at birth, are the first names that function in direct communication as forms of address at various levels of social hierarchy. Patterns of personal naming include other names acquired at a later stage. Very often the Muslim name is followed by the father's name, sometimes introduced by *ɗan* 'son of' occasionally followed by the name of the father's father, e.g. *Ibrahim (*ɗan*) Bello Abdullahi* (lit. Ibrahim son of Bello Abdullahi). Instead of (or along with) these additional names, place names may be used, e.g. *Ahmadu Bello Zaria*, where the first element is a Muslim name, the second is the name of the father and the third is the name of the city the person comes from. The first name is very important in a person's identification, but for official purposes (for example when one is enrolled into a public school), it is this additional name that functions as the surname in the system of a person's registration. Taking into consideration that among the Hausa there is no widespread adoption of a family name that is hereditary, the surname becomes the subject of personal choice. Naming conventions reflect some social aspects and their significance for a person's identity.

The paper investigates Hausa personal names that have a place name (town, quarter, village, region) as its constituent. The linguistic material was gathered as both primary and secondary data. The primary data were collected through the distribution of a questionnaire to seventy (70) respondents drawn randomly from different Hausa speaking areas. The corpus was enriched in 2012 as a result of fieldwork conducted in Kano and Jigawa. The secondary data were taken from the Bayero University attendance list of the 45th Congregation of 2012. As a native speaker of Hausa, I was able to identify these names when people were addressed, referred to in public gatherings or mentioned in broadcasting media.

Motivations for the use of place names as part of a person's name

I present here a sample of Hausa names from the corpus of collected data. The person's name is written in plain font, while the place name is italicized. Through the analysis of situational use and common practices, I try to establish the reasons for the acquisition of place names by Hausa people.

Avoidance of the use of the father's name

People under this category acquired place names to avoid mentioning their fathers' names in public. The introduction of Western education in northern Nigeria played a key role in the process of changing a father's name into a place name. In public schools, where the system of education is based on the Western model, students are addressed with two names: their first name and that of their father. This practice is contrary to that of Hausa society, in which people are called by their first names only. When students are asked to say their full names (i.e. their first name and their father's name), they feel ashamed. The reason lies in Hausa culture where elderly people are not called by name by younger members of the community, regardless of the nature of their relationship; instead, the proper forms of address such as Baba or Malam are used. In addition, people avoid speaking the names of their parents and grandparents and if it happens that their friend bears the same name as that of their father of mother they would rather refer to him or her using a nickname. The shame of speaking one's father's name makes the students replace the name of their father with a place name referring to the quarter, hamlet, village, town or city they come from. The majority of names under this category belong to pioneer Hausa students of public schools in northern Nigeria. Below are some examples of such names:

S/N	Name	Gender	Types of place
1.	Aminu *Kano*	Male	Province
2.	Isiyaku *Kiru*	Male	Town
3.	Abubakar *Tafawa Balewa*	Male	Town
4.	Yahaya *Gusau*	Male	Province
5.	Sa'adu *Zungur*	Male	Village
6.	Inuwa *Dutse*	Male	Province
7.	Magaji *Dambatta*	Male	Town
8.	Musan *Musawa*	Male	Town

S/N	Name	Gender	Types of place
9.	Isa *Kaita*	Male	Town
10.	Tanko *Yakasai*	Male	Quarter
11.	Shehu *Minjibir*	Male	Town
12.	Muhammadu *Gwarzo*	Male	Town
13.	Sani *Zangon Daura*	Male	Village
14.	Bello *Kano*	Male	Province
15.	Garba *Dankano*	Male	Province
16.	Shehu *Galadanci*	Male	Quarter
17.	Wada *Limawa*	Male	Quarter
18.	Dahiru *Kiyawa*	Male	Town
19.	Haruna *Ungogo*	Male	Town
20.	Baba *Chai-Chai*	Male	Village
21.	Maikudi *Karaye*	Male	Town
22.	Sule *Katagun*	Male	Town
23.	Shehu *Azare*	Male	Town
24.	Ali *Rano*	Male	Town
25.	Mansur *Yola*	Male	Quarter
26.	Sule *Gaya*	Male	Town
27.	Safiya *Sallari*	Female	Quarter
28.	Jamila *Tangaza*	Female	Town
29.	Abba *Kwaru*	Male	Quarter
30.	Ado *Gwaram*	Male	Town

The social significance of this practice is confirmed by the fact that many well-known people from the post-independence period have a place name as their surname, such as, for example, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa — a famous writer and the first Nigerian Prime Minister, Aminu Kano — a former Federal Minister and National Chairman of the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), Sa'adu Zungur — a former Minister, poet, and activist in Nigeria.

A place name as part of the father's name

Names belonging to this category were acquired from parents. Some of the first Hausa students who received Western education started working for the government or set up their own businesses. Many became successful, popular and influential, and their children, who wanted to be identified with their well-known fathers, used their full names, i.e. their first name is followed by a full version of their father's name consisting of a Muslim name and a place name. It is worth mentioning that these names were mostly used by males. Females rarely took the full name of their fathers, but such instances are represented in the corpus below:

S/N	Name	Gender
1.	Ibrahim *Bello Kano* (i.e. Ibrahim son of Bello Kano)	Male
2.	Bashir *Shehu Galadanci*	Male
3.	Ma'aruf *Shehu Minjibir*	Male
4.	Tijjani *Inuwa Dutse*	Male
5.	Sadik A. *Tafawa Balewa*	Male
6.	Attahiru *Muhammad Jega*	Male
7.	Hilal *Kabiru Galadanci*	Male
8.	Ahmad *Tanko Yakasai*	Male
9.	Asim *Yusuf Chamo*	Male
10.	Auwalu *Baba Chai-Chai*	Male
11.	Aliyu *Yahaya Gusau*	Male
12.	Fatima *Haruna Ungogo* (i.e. Daughter of *Haruna Ungogo*)	Female
13.	Halima *Isiyaku Kiru*	Female
14.	Fatima *Maikudi Karaye*	Female
15.	Salamatu *Sabo Bakinzuwo*	Female
16.	Maryam *Mansur Yola*	Female
17.	Binta *Sule Gaya*	Female
18.	Jamila *Suleman Gezawa*	Female

However, the above category of second name or place name as their surname is dependent on the user's interest in adding it.

Place name as an identity marker

This category is the most widely represented in the collected data. The people belonging to this group use place names as an identity marker which allows associating the bearer with the place of his origin, hence, attributing some other social or historical aspects to his identity. The practice involves members of all Hausa social groups: politicians, academics, businessmen, laborers, students, etc. The bearers of such place names are usually proud of their place of origin and for this reason decide to add it to their name. Nowadays, it is the most representative pattern of the Hausa personal name (58 users in the corpus of data), in which the place name is preceded by two first names (the first name being the first name of the person, the second — the first name of his father) , as shown in the following data:

S/N	Name	Gender	Type of place
1.	Bello Bako *Dambatta*	Male	Town
2.	Abdu Yahya *Bichi*	Male	Town
3.	Kamilu Sani *Fagge*	Male	Quarter
4.	Aliyu Muhammad *Bunza*	Male	Town
5.	Sadik Isa *Rada*	Male	Village
6.	Murtala Sabo *Sagagi*	Male	Quarter
7.	Sa'idu Ahmad *Babura*	Male	Town
8.	Suleman Ibrahim *Katsina*	Male	Province
9.	Aliyu Mustapha *Sokoto*	Male	Province
10.	Abdullahi I. *Darki*	Male	Village

Moreover, this category of place names is not inherited from their parents as in the earlier mentioned group, but it is used as an identity marker where the bearers acquire the names by themselves.

The use of place names to differentiate people with the same name in schools

The last group of users of place names is connected with some practical reasons. The bearers acquired the names at schools. In order to differentiate two students with the same names, the administration of the school adds the place name to a name comprised of two elements, i.e. the first name and the name of the father. This happens regularly in boarding schools where students usually come from different places. By using a place name, the student can easily be identified for internal or external communication purposes. Below are some examples of such names:

S/N	Name	Gender	Type of place
1.	Isa Yusuf *Aujara*	Male	Town
2.	Isa Yusuf *Chamo*	Male	Town
3.	Musa Garba *Dandago*	Male	Quarter
4.	Musa Garba *Beli*	Male	Village
5.	Salisu Ahmed *Alkanawy*	Male	Province
6.	Salisu Ahmed *Kontagora*	Male	Town
7.	Usman Muhammed *Balangu*	Male	Village
8.	Usman Muhammed *Gwale*	Male	Quarter

Analysis and interpretation of the results

Table 1 analyzes the sex of the respondents. Seventy respondents with place names as parts of their name were asked to respond to the questions provided, 51 (73%) were male and 19 (27%) female. This indicates that the number of Hausa men using place names as part of their name is higher than that of women.

Table 1: Distribution of respondents by gender

	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	51	73
Female	19	27
Total	**70**	**100**

Table 2 presents the educational qualifications of the respondents. 31 (58%) have higher degrees, which relates to the fact that the secondary data was collected at a university.

Table 2: Distribution of respondents by educational qualifications

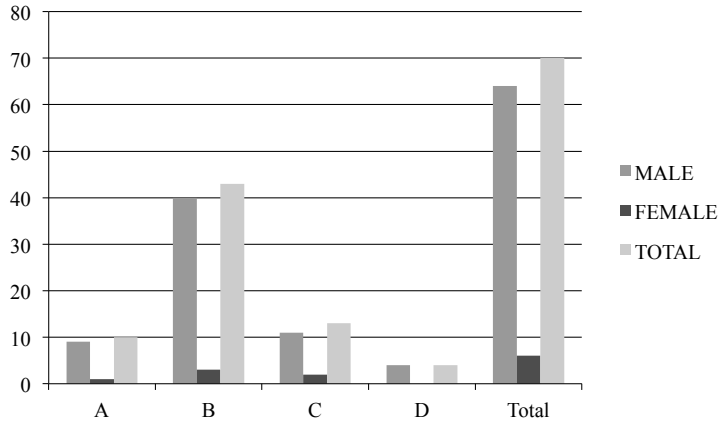
Qualification	Male	Female	Total	Percentage (%)
Nil	7	-	7	10
O' level	6	2	8	11
National Certificate of Education/ Ordinary National Diploma	11	4	15	21
Degree & above	31	9	40	58
Total	**55**	**15**	**70**	**100**

Table 3 summarizes the reasons for using place names as part of a person's name. Most of the respondents (43) use place names as an identity marker, 13 of them have acquired the names from their fathers, 10 use place names to avoid mentioning their fathers' names at schools and 4 acquired the names at schools to be distinguished from another student with the same name. The comparison is further reproduced in the form of multiple Bar charts below.

Table 3: Distribution of respondents for the purpose of using place names in Hausa

REASONS FOR THE USE OF PLACE NAMES IN HAUSA	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Avoidance of the use of father's name	9	1	10
Identity marker	40	3	43
Acquired from father's name	11	2	13
Differentiating names at school	4	-	4
Total	**64**	**6**	**70**

Table 4. Multiple Bar chart showing reasons for the use of place names in Hausa



A = Avoidance of the use of father's name
B = Identity marker
C = Acquired from father's name
D = Differentiating names at school

Table 5 shows the response of respondents concerning the significance of the use of place names. Most of them (84 %) think that the use of place names has some advantages, which include receiving recognition and gaining favor with the inhabitants of these places. The rest (16 %) believe that the use of place names has no significance to them because it does not bring them any privileges.

Table 5. Significance of the use of place names

Does the use of a place name in a person's name have any significance?	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	59	84
No	11	16
Total	**70**	**100**

Some respondents (19%) disclosed that the use of place names has some disadvantages, especially if someone lives outside his/her state of origin. The children of such a person are deprived of some privileges restricted[4] to the inhabitants of a given state, even though the children were born there. People living in a different state than their state of origin discourage their children from the use of place names as part of their names. However, for most of the people (81%) the use of place names has no disadvantages.

Table 6. Disadvantages of the use of place names

Does the use of place names in a person's name have disadvantages?	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	13	19
No	57	81
Total	**70**	**100**

Conclusions

This paper investigates the rationale behind the use of place names as part of a person's name in Hausa. It has discovered that four reasons account for the use of place names by the Hausas. These include avoidance of the use of a father's name, the use of a place name as an identity marker, the use of a place name as the full name acquired from one's father, and in order to provide a distinction between the same names at school. The paper also confirmed that place names are the subject of individual choice as opposed to proper names (i.e. first names), which are given by parents or relatives. In addition, the research revealed that Hausa females use place names less frequently as part of their names.

[4] According to Nigerian Law, any Nigerian settling in a region other than his own for two years is entitled to the privileges that are given to the people of that region, but — due to ethnic differences — this is violated in many regions of the country.

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Seyni Moumouni

Écriture et société en Afrique au 20e siècle d'après quelques documents *ajami* haoussa du Nigeria

Abstract

The article deals with manuscripts in the Arabic script that are instances of the *Ajami* texts created at the early stage of adopting the written tradition to the Hausa language. The documents examined are a set of judicial opinions in Hausa *Ajami* from History Bureau, Sokoto State (Nigeria) that are stored in the Department of Arabic and Ajami Manuscripts at the University Abdou Moumouni in Niamey. These documents combine two languages, Arabic and Hausa and give evidence of the language contact and the channels of incorporating the Arabic words into Hausa.

Keywords: Nigeria, manuscripts, *Ajami* writings, Arabic, Hausa

Résumé

L'article est une étude des manuscrits en écriture ajami par l'utilisation des caractères arabes. Il s'agit des exemples de textes *ajami* écrits au début de la phase d'adoption de la tradition écrite en langue haoussa. Les documents examinés sont un ensemble d'actes juridiques en langue haoussa du Nigeria qui sont conservés dans la bibliothèque de History Bureau, Sokoto (Nigeria) au département des manuscrits arabes et ajami de l'Institut de Recherches en Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Niamey. Ces documents combinent deux langues, l'arabe et le haoussa, et constituent des preuves du contact de la langue et de canaux d'intégration de mots arabes dans la langue haoussa.

Mots-clés: Nigeria, manuscrits, écriture, *ajami*, arabe, haoussa

Introduction

La tradition manuscrite ouest-africaine s'appuie sur l'enseignement de l'écriture. Elle eut pour conséquence l'invention d'une autre forme d'écriture, telle que l'écriture dite *ajami*, produite à partir d'un système de transcription de langues locales par l'adoption de l'alphabet arabe. Ce type d'écriture a permis de fixer

des langues jusqu'alors orales: haoussa, fulfuldé, sonrai, gonja, mampurlé, wolof, swahili, etc. Les langues, moteurs de la culture des peuples sont le plus souvent empreintes de diversesinfluences ,engendrées par les échanges culturels entre les peuples. Pendant une longue période, l'arabe était réservé aux lettrés «ulémas» et utilisé par les cours et administrations royales (Lefebvre 2014: 64). Cette tradition manuscrite est intimement liée à l'islam, et au commerce caravanier, qui en a été le principal moteur. Les premiers contacts avec l'islam sont situés autour du VIII^{e} siècle. L'arrivée de l'islam et le développement de l'enseignement arabe ont permis la mise en place progressive d'une tradition manuscrite et la formation de générations de lettrés. Somme de connaissance transmise de génération en génération et qui contient des informations précieuses sur l'évolution de la société, cette tradition manuscrite fait partie intégrante des langues et des cultures d'une société, d'un groupe humain à une époque déterminée, celle de son élaboration. Il s'ensuit que sa fonction et sa signification sont nécessairement inscrites dans l'histoire et que la langue et son environnement culturel sont le passage obligé pour toute exégèse et pour toute interprétation.

La tradition manuscrite s'accorde à l'ensemble des traits qui considèrent la pensée humaine comme l'ensemble des conditions historiques, culturelles et sociales d'une époque donnée. Elle s'attache à fixer, à enseigner, à commenter et à évaluer les idées, cherchant à mettre à jour les éléments de la vie sociale et culturelle. Produits des structures savantes organisées notamment à Tombouctou et dans bien d'autres centres, les manuscrits présentent une référence essentielle dans le domaine de la pensée et de la création littéraire et artistique.

On trouve en Afrique des manuscrits en langue et écriture arabes et des manuscrits en langues africaines (haoussa, fulfuldé, soŋey-zarma, kanuri, tamacheq, swahili, wolof, yoruba, etc) écrits en alphabet arabe (Pawliková-Vilhanová and Moumouni 2014 ; Cissé 2006 ; Sharawy 2005, Hunwick 1995). Parmi eux, il y a des documents qui indiquent la réalisation de jugements à partir de la *shari'a* dans les langues locales. Par exemple, dans les *majlis* (conseil) issus de l'empire théocratique de Sokoto, les jugements étaient rendus au XIX^{e} siècle, en langue locale (haoussa), par le *kadi* (juge musulman) devant le *Sarkin musilimi* (roi des musulmans) suivant le droit malikite, notamment celui de la famille, des successions et de la propriété. Ces jugements sont ensuite consignés dans la même langue par le *kadi*.

L'article est une étude d'un ensemble de documents (avis juridiques) en *ajami* haoussa du Nigeria, conservé au département des manuscrits arabes et ajami de l'Institut de recherches en sciences humaines de l'Université de Niamey. Les manuscrits analysés unissent deux langues — arabe et haoussa. Les documents contiennent beaucoup de mots arabes qui enrichissent le lexique, notamment lorsque la langue haoussa ne possède pas de mots pour rendre la notion.

Une analyse critique de ces textes implique leur étude linguistique. Nous proposons d'analyser le passage à l'écrit de langues dites à tradition orale et les

consequences de cette nouvelle dimension sur les structures des deux langues: par exemple l'étude des lettres de l'alphabet que partagent ou ne partagent pas les deux systèmes graphiques et les modes de transformation des mots d'emprunt et leur réception dans la langue haoussa. Un autre aspect qui pourrait être non moins intéressant à analyser, ce sont les conventions d'écriture des lettres haoussa qui n'existent pas en arabe.

Présentation et analyse descriptive des manuscrits

Les manuscrits que nous avons choisi de présenter dans ce travail sont des actes juridiques. Ils ont été recueillis à Sokoto au Nigeria lors de nos séjours de recherche sur les œuvres du cheikh Uthmân dan Fodio. Ils sont localisés à la bibliothèque de Sokoto History Bureau et référencés sous le numéro 291, dossier intitulé *al-murâsilâtbil-lugat al-haoussâwiyya* (correspondances en langue haoussa). Ce dossier contient une vingtaine de manuscrits en langue haoussa: parmi eux nous avons choisi les textes à caractère juridique. Contrairement aux manuscrits en langue arabe, l'incipit des manuscrits étudiés ne commence ni par un *basmala,* ni par une formule pieuse; ainsi que l'explicit ne termine pas par la formule pieuse (*tasliya*). Les manuscrits sont datés d'après le calendrier chrétien. Les dates varient de 1929 à 1933.

Ces textes sont sont transcrits sur des feuillets où le texte recouvre une surface écrite de 200 mm x 145 mm, avec le nombre des lignes entre 17 et 23. Les différentes parties du texte sont séparées par trois points en forme triangulaire. La forme de l'écriture change d'une correspondance à une autre. Les textes en langue haoussa, écrits en caractères arabes, sont nombreux. Le haoussa utilise deux systèmes d'écriture, l'un basé sur l'alphabet arabe et l'autre sur l'alphabet latin. La transcription arabe a été introduite au nord du Nigeria avec l'arrivée de l'islam. Elle s'est développée à partir du XVIII^{e} siècle avec la fondation de l'empire de Sokoto par le cheikh Uthmân dan Fodio (1754–1817). Quant à l'alphabet latin, il a été introduit par les Anglais au début du XX^{e} siècle. La richesse du vocabulaire est due en grande partie à de nombreux emprunts à l'arabe (notamment des termes commerciaux, juridiques et religieux) et, plus récemment, à l'anglais (Nigeria) et au français (Niger).

Analyse du système graphique

L'arabe a naturellement fourni à la langue haoussa un important stock lexical désignant des réalités nouvelles. Les mots arabes intégrés dans la langue haoussa subissent le processus d'adaptation qui comprend l'équilibre différentiel entre les deux systèmes phonologiques. Dans le texte, les lettres arabes peuvent ne pas être

suffisantes pour marquer toutes les caractéristiques qui sont pertinentes pour le système haoussa et nécessitant, à cet effet, le développement de stratégies.

Le système phonologique arabe comprend ving-huit consonnes et six voyelles dont trois voyelles courtes {i, u, a} et trois voyelles longues {î, û, â}. Dans les textes étudiés, les signes diacritiques *fatha*' (ً); *kasra* (ٍ) et *damma*' (ٌ) sont utilisés comme en arabe, pour noter les voyelles brèves: a, i, u. De même, les voyelles longues sont notées, suivant le système conventionnel arabe, au moyen des lettres «*'alif*», «*waw*» et «*ya*».

La langue haoussa compte trente-deux consonnes classées en consonnes (y compris le coup de glotte ' et semi-consonnes), cinq voyelles courtes {i, u, a, e, o}, cinq voyelles longues: î, û, â, ê, ô et deux diphtongues.[1] Le parler haoussa est composé d'un système de tons qui s'efface peu à peu au profit d'un système fondé sur l'accent et la longueur vocalique.

Dans la transcription de la langue haoussa à l'aide des lettres arabes, nous avons observé qu'elle utilisait presque la totalité des consonnes arabes. Certaines lettres {ش, ص, ز, ض, ح} sont employées seulement pour les emprunts. Les consonnes qui sont spécifiques à la langue haoussa sont rendues par des lettres arabes d'une manière conventionnelle. Certains équivalents qui sont souvent utilisés dans les textes *ajami* haoussa (cf. Piłaszewicz 2000: 42) peuvent également être confirmés dans les manuscrits à l'étude, par exemple les consonnes glottalisées de la lettre 'ɗ' sont transcrites de la manière suivante ط (ṭā') qui est 't' dans la transcription[2] romaine, tandis que 'd' est د (dāl). D'autre part, les lettres 'b' et 'ɓ' sont rendues par ب (bā'), de même que les lettres 'k' et 'ƙ' en adoptant ك (kāf). La consonne transcrite au niveau de l'orthographe standard haoussa, comme dans 'c', a un équivalent arabe ث (thā') quidans les mots d'origine arabe, est cependant transcrit en alphabet latin en 'th'. Dans la présentation des manuscrits, les mots arabes qui ne sont pas conformes à leurs équivalents en langue haoussa restent inchangés dans la transcription arabe.

Les voyelles longues sont marquées à l'aide de signes diacritiques en utilisant i, a, u selon le système arabe, mais seulement si elles sont clairement indiquées par l'utilisation de lettres «*'alif*», «*waw*» et «*ya*». Certaines parties des textes sont marquées pour ce qui est des voyelles, d'autres non; et la valeur correcte de la voyelle doit être déduite de la norme de la langue parlée. La question des lettres 'e' et 'o' est d'une importance particulière. Tandis que les semi-voyelles «*waw*» et «*ya*» sont utilisées pour indiquer respectivement 'u' long et un 'e' long, d'autres signes diacritiques peuvent également être utilisés, par conséquent, au niveau des mots haoussa كو est 'kô' (et non kaw/, يڤي 'ya-cê' / (pas yathe/ et مِيْ 'mê' pas /may/.

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[1] Newman, Paul. 2000. *The Hausa Encyclopedic Reference Grammar*, p. 392.

[2] L'équivalent en caractères latins est basé sur la romanisation standard: ALA-LC Standard for romanization of the Arabic script.

Les diphtongues sont laissées en /ay/ et /aw/ dans l'ensemble du texte. La gémination, même si elle n'est pas marquée, est conservée dans la transcription haoussa (avec des caractères arabes, *wannan* est transcrits en *wanan*).

Voici des exemples de mots *ajam*i transcrits en langue haoussa et leurs équivalents en langue arabe dans le manuscrit A:

Emprunts	**Transcription**	**Arabe**	**Définition**
دليل	dalîli	دليل	'preuve'
ياتبتام	yâ- tabbatâ-ma	تبّت	's'assurer'
آشيدام	ashaydâ-ma	شيد	'témoigner'
ستين	sittîn	ستين	'soixante'
وزير	wazîri	وزير	'ministre'
مسلم	musulmi	مسلم	musulman

Exemples dans le manuscrit B:

Emprunts	**Transcription**	**Arabe**	**Définition**
دليل	dalîli	دليل	'preuve'
لحد	Lahadi	**احد**	'dimanche'
صلا	sallâ	صلاة	'prière(fête)'
حكمثي	hukumcî[3]	حكم	'jugement'
مسلم	musulmi	مسلم	'Musulman'
هكذا	hakadhâ	هكذا	'Ainsi, c'est ainsi que'
توبا	tûbâ	توب	'se repentir'

[3] Le mot est transcrit en hukumcî pour l'utilisation dérivationnel morphème en langue haousa. Le mot d'emprunt à l'arabe حكمثي (hukumthi) est un nominateur qui permet au mot d'emprunt d'intégrer dans la langue haoussa accompagné du suffixe haoussa -ci / «thi».

Exemples dans le manuscrit C:

Emprunts	Transcription	Arabe	Définition
حاكم	hâkim	حاكم	'juge'
بحثي	bahathî[4]	بحث	'recherche / enquête'
مثال	mithâli[5]	مثل	'exemple'
يتبتام	ya-tabbatâ-ma	تبَّت	'certitude'
قاضي	qâḍî[6]	قاضي	'juge'

Dans ces tableaux, les emprunts haoussa de l'arabe sont intégrés dans le système graphique arabe sans transformation significative. On trouve les lettres qui ont leurs équivalents directs dans le système alphabétique haoussa comme dans *dalîli, wazîri*, *sallâ*. Au niveau de certains mots, la transcription ne se conforme pas aux formes contemporaines haoussa (reconnues comme des formes standard haoussa), par exemple *bahasi*, *misali*, *alƙali*. La variante des formes graphiques des mots arabes reflète le développement de la tradition écrite en haoussa. Dans certains cas le mot emprunté a subi une petite transformation qui n'affecte pas la racine. Certaines transformations, parmi les plus communes, sont les suivantes:

– les morphèmes dérivationnels haoussa (-ci) pour former des noms abstraits;
– l'intégration des verbes arabes dans les modèles de conjugaison en langue haoussa et par ajout des extensions verbales (*a-shaydâ-ma, yâ-tabbatâ-ma*);
– la longueur des voyelles dans la plupart des noms et des verbes suit la forme originale arabe. Dans d'autres cas, le procédé est cependant différent, par exemple *mithâli* (cf. SH. *misâlî*), ar. مثل. Les règles de phonotactiques en langue haoussa peuvent être violées quand une voyelle longue est utilisée dans une syllabe fermée, comme dans *sittîn*, ar. ستين alors que dans SH seul *sittin* est accepté. La voyelle finale des verbes peut être allongée dans le texte *ajami* ce qui est en accord avec le motif du verbe en langue haoussa, comme c'est le cas dans *tûbâ* (ajami H. توبا, Ar. توب) ou *bahathî* (ajami H. بحثي, Ar. بحث.

[4] *Bahasi* en SH.
[5] *Misâli* en SH.
[6] Cf. *alƙâlî* en haoussa contemporain.

Autres emprunts (manuscrit B):

Emprunts	Transcription	Définition	Anglais
ووكشف	wôkushuf	‘atelier’	‘workshop’
إنجينيا	injiniyâ	‘ingénieur’	‘engineer’
رفوتو ربوتو	rafûtû rabôtô/ rapôtô	‘rapport’	‘report’

Les emprunts présentés dans ce tableau sont empruntés par nécessité à l’anglais et transcrits en arabe. Ils montrent le début de l‘influence de l’anglais et l’utilisation des mots anglais dans le vocabulaire haoussa.

Voici des extraits des manuscrits dans lesquels des exemples lexicaux mentionnés ci-dessus sont indiqués dans leur contexte de proposition simple.

Manuscrit A:

سركي كِيَاوَا كورا يا أيكو غ سركن مسلم دبتون سركن فلاني نَطَن عِيسَى.
*Sarkî Kiyâwâ Kiwarê yâ aykô ga sarkin **musulmi** da-batûn sarkin filânî na dan îsa.*
‘*Sarkin*[7] Kiyâwâ de Kwaré a adressé une lettre à Sarkin **Musilimi** au sujet de l’affaire de Sarkin Fullâni de Dan Isa’

سركن فلان ياتبتام وزير وطنن كرطي سنا غريش
*Sarkin Filani **yâ-tabbatâ-ma** Wazîri wadannan kurdî sunâ garê-shi.*
‘Sarkin Fulani**a confirmé à** Waziri que l’argent est avec lui’

Manuscrit B:

سركنمسلم يا تنبي متول دليل رشن زوا ورن عيك
*Sarkin musulmi yâ-tanbaya mutawali **dalîli** rashin zuwâ wurin ayki*
‘Sarkin musulmi a demandé à Mutawali **les raisons** du refus d’aller au travail’

إن ياقار ين حك زي سام حكمث
*in yâ-kâra yin haka **zay-sâmu hukumci***
‘s’il recommence à faire cela, **il sera condmné**’

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[7] Le mot prononcé en *Serkin* par *Sarkin* pour rester fidèle au système graphique arabe, qui ne possède pas de voyelle «e». La forme haoussa standard suit également cette convention. Le terme haoussa *Sarkin* signifie «roi, chef traditionnel» (autorité coutumière); exemple: *Sarkin fulani* signifie le chef représentant légal des Peuls.

Manuscrit C:

دليلن حك القاضي يتبتام علو غونا

Dalîlin haka al-qâḍi *ya-tabbatâ-ma alû gônâ*
‘**C’est pourquoi le juge** a adjugé le champ à Alou’

Éditions et transcriptions des manuscrits choisis[8]

Manuscrit A

سركي كِيَاوَا كورا يا أيكو غ سركن مسلم دبتون سركن فلاني نَطَن عِيسَى. يثي سركن فلاني يا بات كرطن جَنْ غَلِي فم عشرنْ دعك د سلي بيو ياي بحثن بتوني عبند يسامو غريش دوكي بيو د دمي ستين عنك سير فم عك د سلي غوم شابيو عبند يرغي غ سركن فلان فم غوم شاتر د سَلِي غوم، سركن فلان يثي بابس دليلن حك يبا سركن مسلم لاباري، باين حك وزير يا تن بي سركن فلان بسغ ونن مغنا د سركن كِيَاوَا يي، سركن فلان ياتبتام وزير وطنن كرطي سنا غريش وزير يا تن بيْ شِ فم غومَ شاتر د سُلي غوم يثي بابس وزير يثي ميْ كو شناد ونأب كمر وند ذي سير أسام ونأب ياثي باشد كوميْ وزير يا تن بي يارن سركن كياوا كو سركن فلان ناد ونأب يارون سركن كياو ياثي سركن فلان باشد كومي وزير ياثي تو سركن فلان يا تبت يا بات فم غوم شاتر د سلي غوم، ياثى كو باشدا أبن بيا سى أشيدام سركن مسلم سى عبند يثّى[9] أبند سركن مسلم يثى أيمى بولآل عشرن دفُط دطَمْر شكَرَ غُدَا.

Transcription:

Sarki(n) Kiyâwâ Kiwarê yâ aykô ga sarkin musulmi da batûn sarkin filânî na ɗan îsa. Ya cê sarkin filânî yâ ɓâta

kurɗîn jangali fam ashirin da ’uku da sulê biyû. yâ yi bahathin batû nê. abin-da ya-sâmû garêshi dôkî biyû da damî sittîn

anka sayar fam uku da sulê gôma shâ biyû. abin-da yâ-ragê ga sarkin filâni fam gôma shâ tara da sulê gôma: Sarkin filâni

yâ cê bâbu su. dalîlin haka kuma ya-bâ sarkin musulmi lâbâri: bâyan haka wazîri yâ-tanbayi sarkin filâni bisa-ga wannan maganâ da sarkin

kiyâwa yayi: sarkin filâni yâ-tabbatâ-ma wazîri waɗannan kurɗî sunâ garê shi. wazîri yâ-tanbayê-shi fam gôma shâ tara da sulê gôma.

yâ-ce bâbu-su. waziri yâ-cê mê kô shinâ-da wani abu kamar wanda zai sayar a-sâmi wanna(na)bu. ya-cê bâ-shi-da kômê. wazîri yâ tanbayi

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8

9 La marque de gémination de l’arabe (ّ), appelée *tashdîd*, apparaît plusieurs fois dans les textes. Cela pourrait réfléter l’influence de la prononciation et de l’orthographe des mots arabes correspondants.

yâran sarkin kiyâwâ kô sarkin filâni nâ-da wani abû. yârôn sarkin kiyâwa yâ-cê sarkin filâni bâ-shi-da kômê. wazîri ya-cê

tô. sarkin filâni yâ-tabbata yâ ɓâta fam gôma shâ-tara da sulê gôma. yâ-cê kô bâ-shi-dâ abin biyâ say a-shaydâ-ma sarkin musulmi

say abin-da ya-cê abin-da sarkin musulmi ya-cê. a-yi mai bûlâla ashirin da-fuɗu da ɗamri shekara gudâ.

Traduction:

Lettre adressée par Sarkin Kiyâwâ de Kwaré à Sarkin Muslimi à propos de l'affaire de Sarkin Fullani de Dan Isa. Sarkin Kiyâwâ de Kware dit que Sarkin Fullani a détourné l'argent de l'impôt d'un montant de 23 livres et deux schellings. Ainsi, il condamne Sarkin Fullani et ordonne la saisie et la vente de ses biens, deux chevaux et soixante bottes de mil vendus en tout et pour tout à trois livres et dix schellings. Il reste à Sarkin Fullani dix-neuf livres et dix schellings à rembourser. Le wizir a signifié la situation à Sarkin Fullani et lui demande de rembourser le reste dû. Sarkin Fullâni reconnaît avoir pris l'argent mais dit qu'il n'a rien pour rembourser. Il en informe Sarkin Muslimi. Le Wizir lui demande s'il a autre chose à vendre pour rembourser. Sarkin Fullani dit qu'il n'a rien. Le Wizir demande alors à l'assistance de Sarkin si le Sarkin Fullani a un bien quelconque caché quelque part. Ils disent que Sarkin Fullani n'a rien. Enfin de compte, le Wizir a rédigé son rapport en disant que Sarkin Fullani a reconnu avoir détourné l'argent des impôts. Il lui reste dix-neufs livres et dix schellings à rembourser. Il n'a rien pour rembourser le reste dû. L'affaire fut ainsi transmise auprès de Sarkin Muslimi pour être jugée. Sarkin Muslimi condamne Sarkin Fullani à un an de prison ferme et vingt-quatre coups de fouet.

Manuscrit B

مغنر متولّ سَرْدَونَ يا كيش وُرنْ سركن مسلم سبود بسُ ذوا ورن عَي كِيب ووكشف سركن مسلم يا تنبي متول دليل رشن زوا ورن عيك متولّ يثي إنجينيا يربوت عودا يا جي وكشف فوتن صلاّ كوانا بيو، تو غاش كم عني غمو يحد يثك بللي لحد باب أيكي سبود حك متولّ ياطي بي لحدي دغ ثكن فوتن صلاّ بس زوا عيكيب رن أتّتن شيكو متول بي ربوتوبا نبتون طيبي لحد غ فوتن صلاّ سبود حك سركن مسلم ياثي أمي سي ورن وزير شدوب ونن مغنا، وزير يا تن بي متول دليل، متول يا فط سبود فوتن صلاّ وزير يثي م متول زنن باش و نن باش زما دليل سي دي كبام دليل متولّ يثي م وزير باش كار ين حك دغ يو إن العمري يا فار إرن حك للي سي شي رفوتو ورن سردون، وزير يا يمس قطا، وزير ياثي سي أمي سي غ سركن مسلم عج عبند يثي ،عبند سركن مسلم يثي للي متول إن ياقار ين حك زي سام حكمث دون شسن باشد عيكن باد فوتو سي يا سام إذن دغ ورن سركن مسلم، متول يثي ياجيا يا توبا شي أ عبند عني دشي.

Transcription:

maganan mutawalli. sardawna yâ kay-shi wurin sarkin musulmi. sabô-da ba-su zuwâ-wurin-aykî-ba wa wokushuf. sarkin musulmi yâ-tanbaya

mutawali dalîli rashin zuwâ wurin ayki. Mutawalli ya-cê injîniyâ ya-rubûta ôdâ yâ jê wokushuf fûtun ṣallâ kwânâ biyû : tô

gâ-shi kuma an-yi gamô ya-hadɗa ya-cika balle lahadi bâbu aykî sabôda haka mutawalî ya-dɛ̃bē lahadî daga cikin fûtun ṣallâ. Ba-su

zuwâ ayki ba ran littinin shî kô mutawalî bay rabôtô ba na-batûn dɛ̃bē lahadi ga fûtun ṣallâ. sabôda haka sarkin musulmi yâ-cê

a-ma-yi say wurin wazîri. shi dûba wannan maganâ, wazîri ya tanbayi mutawalî dalîli. mutawalî yâ fadî sabô-da fûtun ṣallâ. wazîri yâ cê

ma mutawali zanan ba-shi. wannan bâ-shi zamâ dalîli say day ka-bâ-mu dalîli. mutawali ya cê ma wazîri bâ-shi ƙâra yin haka daga yawân

al'amarî yâ-fâru irin haka lâlle say shi rafôtô wurin sardawna. wazîri yâ yi masa fadɗa. wazîri yâ cê say a-ma-yi say ga

sarkin musulimi. a-ji abin-da ya-cê. abin-da sarkin musulmi yâ-cê lalle mutawali in yâ ƙâra yin haka zay sâmu hukumci dôn shi-san

bâ-shi-da îkon bâ-da fûtû say yâ-sâmu izini daga wurin sarkin musulimi. mutawali ya cê yâ-jiya yâ-tûbâ shi a abin-da an-yi da shî.

Traduction:

Rapport concernant l'affaire que Mutawali de Sardaouna a déposé auprès de Sarkin Muslimi au sujet du jour férié célébrant la fin du ramadan. Sarkin Musilimi : demande à Mutawali pourquoi les ouvriers refusent d'aller à l'usine. Mutawali dit : l'ingénieur a fait afficher une note dans laquelle il accorde deux jours de repos aux ouvriers à l'occasion de la fête de ramadan. Ces jours fériés sont : le dimanche et le lundi. Or, le dimanche il n'y a pas de travail. C'est pour cela que nous avons saisi Sarkin Muslimi. Il demande que l'affaire soit portée devant le wizir. Le wizir demande à Mutawali les raisons de cette grève. Mutawalî répondit : nous réclamons des jours de repos à cause de la fête. Le wizir dit : Mutawalî, ceci n'est pas une raison, donne-nous une autre raison! Mutawali dit : c'est une affaire qui doit être rapportée par Sardaouna et non par le Wizir.Le wizir s'est senti offensé, il s'est mis en colère, l'insulte et demande à Sarkin Muslimi de prendre une décision. Sarkin Musilimi dit : certes, si Mutawali persiste dans son comportement, il sera puni. C'est le Sarkin Musilimi qui donne les autorisations de repos et non les ouvriers. Mutawali dit : j'ai compris, je m'en excuse. En ces termes, l'affaire est close.

Manuscrit: C

مثيطو كورصكتو ياي كارر علو بُوطِنْغَ كلن بين جمعة غوم شاحُط غرجبْ يثي عباني يابا كناس أرون غونا، كناس ياتاش يا بر غونا حكمن كل بين يبا علون بوطنغ القاضي يكّري علون بوطنغ يتن بيش ،علو يثي غونا تكنا ست يغزا يبان كطن حرج سلي غوم شاحط د سيسي سي يبيا يكام غونا تن لوكثند عن كي أون غونكي مثط يي كاراتي غألقاضي سماعيل مجلي القاضي ياي بحثي يتبتام علو غونا يرق كما مثطو يي كاراتي غألقاضي سماعيل، القاضي يي بحثي يتبتام علو غونا، غونا تاذاموا شيكر غوم شابكي غحنوني، القاضي يتنبي مثطو، مثطو يثي سنذو تاردعلو غألقاضي سماعيل القاضي يشغ بحثي سي علو يبزوا عبند يسنن أنن القاضي يثي م مثطو باكد غونا دومن تاذموا غعلو شي كر غوم شا بكي، دليلن حك القاضي يتبتام علو غونا، تو عبند سركن مسلم يثي ياغ و نن مغنا د علو يي عن تبتامي غونا غسكياتا.

Transcription:

Macido kware sokoto yâ-yi ƙârar alû bûdinga kalanbayni jumma'ah gôma shâ-huɗu ga-rajab. ya cê ubânay yâ-bâ ƙanâsa arôn

gônâ. ƙanâsa ya-tâshi ya-bar gônâ hâkimi kalanbayna ya-bâ-alûn bûdinga. Alƙālī ya-kira alûn bûdinga ya-tanbayeshi. alû

ya cê. gônâ ta-ƙanâsa-ta ya gaza ya-ba-ni kuɗin Harājī sulê gôma shâ huɗu da sîsî say ya-biyâ ya-kâma gôna tun lôkacin-da an kay

awon gônaki. Macidô ya yi ƙârâtay ga Alƙālī samâ'îil mugîl Alƙālī ya yi bahathî ya-tabbatâ-ma alû gônâ ya-riƙâ kumâ macidô

ya yi kârâtay ga Alƙālī samâîl. al-qâdi ya yi bahath**î** ya-tabbatâ-ma alû gônâ, gônâ ta-zamû shekarâ gôma shâ-bakuy

ga hanûnay : al-qâḍi ya-tanbayi macidô, macidô ya-cê sun zo târe-da alû ga- Alƙālī. samâîl al-qâḍi ya-shiga bahath**î** say alû

ya-bar-zuwâ abin-da ya-sanî a-nan : Alƙālī ya-cê ma macidô bâ-ka-da gônâ dômin tâ zamu ga-alû shêkarâ gôma shâ bakuy. dalîlin haka

Alƙālī ya-tabbatâ-ma alû gônâ. tô abin-da sarkin musulmi ya-cê yâ-ga wannan. maganâ da alû ya yi an tabbatâ-may gônâ gaskiyâtâ […].

Traduction:

Machido de kware Sokoto convoque Alou Boudinga de Kalanbayni vendredi 14 du mois de rajab. Il dit que son père a prêté un champ à Sarkin Kalanbayni. Ce dernier a exploité le champ pendant quelques années avant de le confier à Alou de Boudinga. Le Cadi convoque Alou au sujet de cette affaire. Alou dit : que le champ lui appartient qu'il l'a acheté à 14 schellings et six centimes. Il a payé la totalité de la somme. Machido saisit ensuite le Cadi Isma'îl Mujil. Le Cadi a fait ses investigations et en déduit que le champ était resté dix-sept ans sous

la responsabilité d'Alou. Il en informe Machido. Machido demande ensuite une confrontation entre Alou, le Cadi et lui. Le Cadi dit qu'en vérité Machido n'a pas de champ, car il est resté pendant dix-sept ans sous la responsabilité de Alou. Cadi remit le champ à Alou. Sarkin Musilimi dit qu'il approuve la décision du Cadi[10].

Conclusion

Les manuscrits ajami sont des compositions spécifiques, où l'alphabet arabe a été adopté pour transcrire certaines langues africaines. C'est le système le plus employé en Afrique de l'ouest avant l'introduction de l'alphabet latin. C'est grâce aux manuscrits, riches et divers, qu'une bonne partie de l'histoire nationale a été conservée. Les disciplines qu'ils abordent sont diverses et couvrent tous les domaines de la connaissance : la littérature, l'histoire, la pharmacopée, l'astronomie, les sciences politiques, sociales et juridiques. Les manuscrits analysés dans ce travail sont des actes juridiques très bien écrits, sans doute par un lettré. Les auteurs consignent les faits en introduisant parfois des mots arabes dans le texte haoussa. Les manuscrits ne comportent ni de *basmala,* ni de formules pieuses. Les jugements sont rendus sans référence aux textes fondamentaux de l'islam (Coran, Hadith, etc). Néanmoins, les hiérarchies en matière de jugement dans un contexte culturel musulman sont respectées. Dans ces cas d'espèce, Sarkin Muslimi renvoie l'affaire auprès du wizir qui à son tour fait appel au Cadi.

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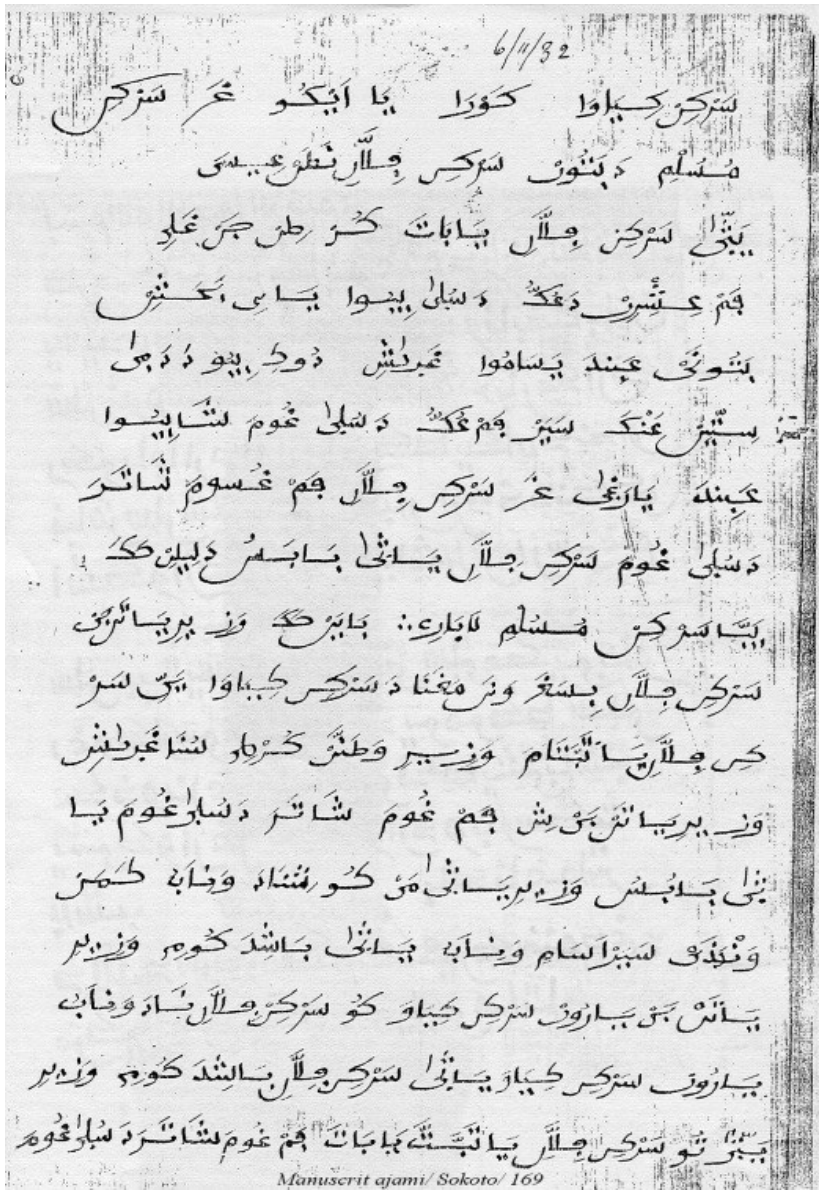
[10] Et la raison pour laquelle il ne revint pas sur cette décision est que le père de Machido qui était propriétaire du champ l'avait gagé et lorsque les gens de Kalanbayni ont pris le champ, il a informé la famille de Machido. Le père de Machido était malade et au bout d'un an, il est décédé. En vérité au nom de la tradition muhamadienne et de la loi musulmane Machido voulait le champ parce qu'il appartenait à son père. Ainsi, pour Machido, le champ devint un héritage. Certes on n'abandonne pas un héritage. Mais nous ne reviendrons pas sur une affaire de plus de dix-sept ans.

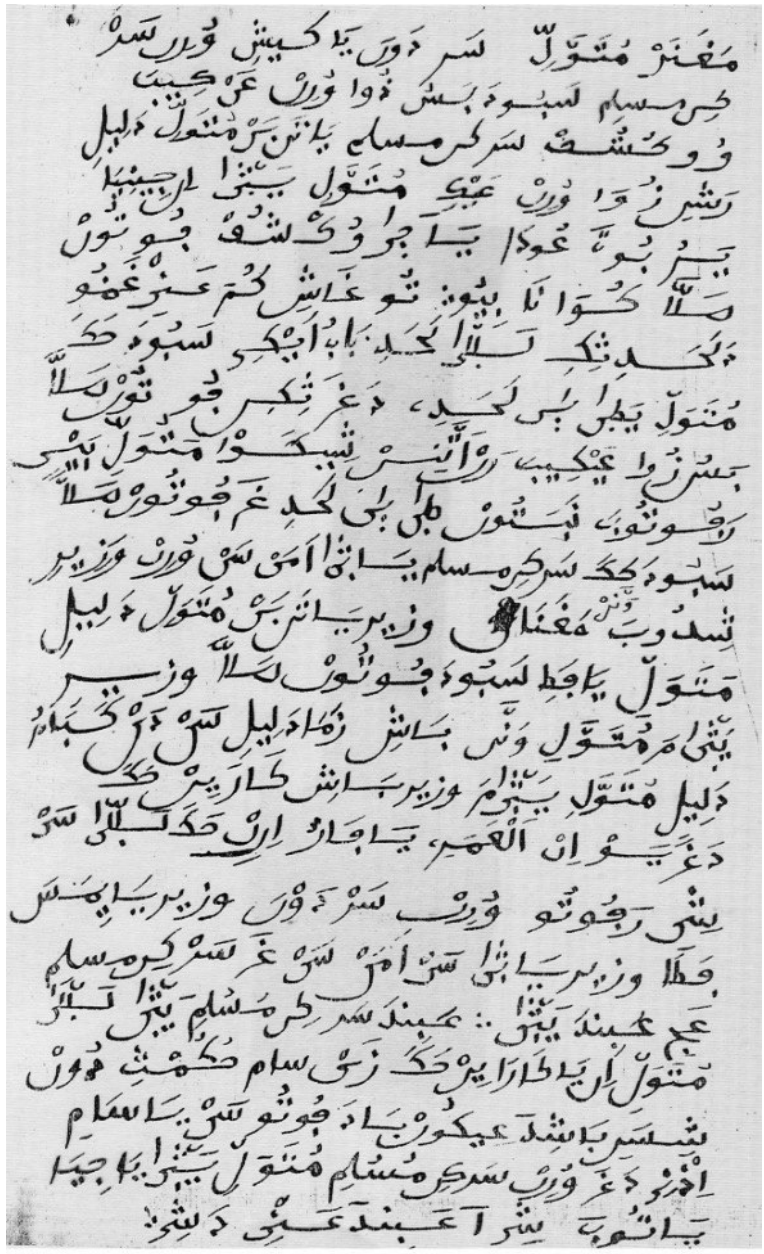
Annexes

Manuscrit A



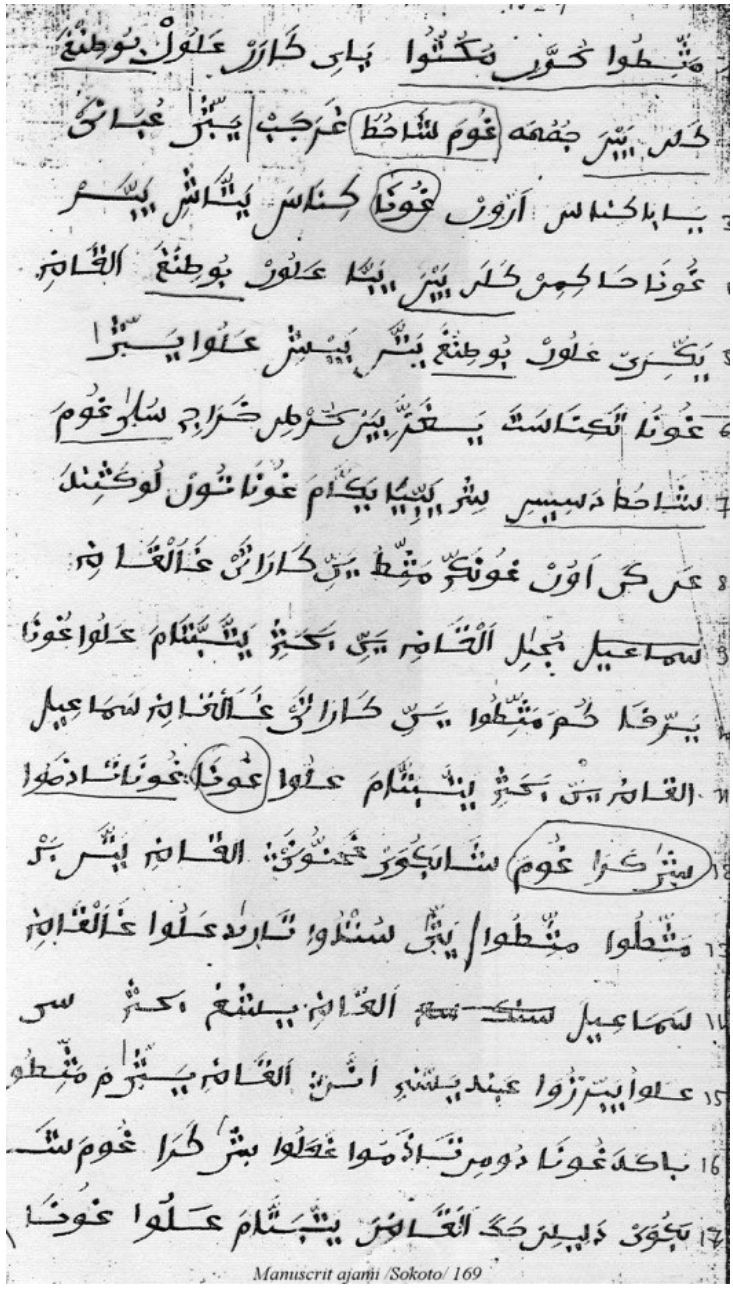
Manuscrit ajami/ Sokoto/ 169

Manuscrit B



Manuscrit ajami / Sokoto/ 169b

Manuscrit C



Manuscrit ajami /Sokoto/ 169

Nina Pawlak

Between oral and written tradition: the concept of 'truth' (*gaskiya*) in Hausa

Abstract

The paper investigates the concept of 'truth' in the Hausa language. It explores direct statements concerning the idea of 'truth' and analyzes the language phrases and figurative expressions through which this idea is rendered. The aim of the work is to present the conceptualization of TRUTH in the linguistic perspective and to interpret it as a cultural value. The meaning of 'truth' is also perceived as an opposite notion to *karya* 'lie' ('falsehood').

There are two kinds of Hausa language sources that are used for this analysis, namely spoken language and texts documenting oral tradition on the one hand, and some specific kinds of texts, mainly literature related to Islamic religion on the other. It is shown that the differentiation between the oral and written tradition of the Hausa language and culture determines the understandings of the idea of 'truth'. Different meanings motivated by the sources of knowledge about the truth interfere with each other in discourse and create space for individual interpretations of the notion.

Keywords: truth, orality, linguistic worldview, Hausa, *gaskiya*

Introduction

'Truth' is a concept that refers to the notion of value. Its definition is the subject of controversy, as its understanding is determined by many factors. The notion has drawn the attention of philosophers (Rorty 1991, for example), but it is also important for all debates that refer to the semantics of some general terms and their culture-specific understanding. For that reason, the term for truth has been widely examined in literary studies (Danaher 2003), but its specific meaning is of special interest to linguists, who aim to show how the users of a language understand its content.

Theories on 'truth' vary. In philosophic discussions, different approaches provide a multitude of interpretations, but the epistemic definition starts from

the statement that truth is "indefinable". In linguistic works, the word 'true' was occasionally qualified as a semantic prime (Wierzbicka 1996). Truth is also seen as a symbolic concept that functions in a cultural environment; therefore, its quality is measured with criteria that are similar to beauty and goodness (Manaktala 2011) and its form is a cultural construction.

The word for 'truth' is one of the most important words in any language and various aspects of its meaning are manifested in language use.

Within linguistic analysis (Puzynina 2008), the definition of the lexeme 'truth' may have various perspectives, including subjective and objective interpretations. It is commonly accepted that truth refers to reality, but the appropriate judgement of reality or its elements is understood in various ways. Linguistic data are in fact statements about the truth that refer to facts, attitudes, or behaviour. The understanding of the truth that refers to cultural interpretation places stress on the opinion accepted by the community. Therefore, the meaning of 'truth' also encompasses the experience of the society in their history.

The cultural criteria of understanding words referring to 'truth' are defined by context rather than by lexicon or grammar. Some languages have more than one word for truth. In Russian, *pravda* and *istina* both mean 'truth' and their use in collocations confirm the salience of the differentiation between the two equivalents.[1] In cognitive studies, the understanding of truth is reflected in language metaphors that conceptualize the notion of TRUTH. Textual analysis gives an idea about what the content of the statement that TRUTH = KNOWLEDGE is, where special attention is placed on the source of knowledge about the truth. As some literary sources indicate, metaphoric expressions conceptualize this meaning as KNOWING IS SEEING (Danaher 2003).

The methodology and scope of the analysis

The methodology of the article falls within the scope of lexical semantics that identifies meanings through the contextual use of words. Therefore, word meanings are recognized through many factors, such as the occurrence of a given word in phraseological units, the metaphoric and metonymic function of words, their specific collocations, their grammatical categories and some extra-linguistic factors that are relevant for the use of particular items. The set of these meanings represents the semantic scope of the word that determines a specific understanding of the notion. According to the concept of 'language view (picture) of the world/ *sprachliches Weltbild*/linguistic worldview' (Underhill 2011; Bartmiński 2006;

[1] *Istina* is more basic than *pravda* as it refers to something like "ultimate truth", "absolute truth" (Wierzbicka 2002: 10). The differentiation functions within conversational routines valuing people's 'telling the truth' in terms of directness and the need to persuade the listener of the 'truthfulness'.

Bartmiński 2009),[2] every language community has developed its own way of interpreting the world, and therefore the cultural frames of a particular notion are different. It is also significant that the terms for values are not stable in their semantic content and undergo changes influenced by external factors.

The present work focuses on the meaning of the word 'truth' in the Hausa language. The analysis investigates the concept of 'truth' with reference to Hausa culture and history for which Islam is regarded as one of its most important features. (Salamone 2010: 114).[3] However, the linguistic "worldview" goes far beyond religious tradition; it also includes the pre-Islamic heritage and preserves the cultural values in all its aspects. Linguistic interpretation is based on the analysis of systemic data and the way they are used to express the notion of TRUTH. Two kinds of texts have been distinguished as sources that are relevant for the analysis, namely spoken language and oral tradition on the one hand, and some specific kinds of texts, mainly literature related to Islamic religion, representative of written sources on the other. The question is whether the cultural understanding of the notion may be determined by the distinction between the oral and written tradition in which the language functions.[4] The difference between oral and written narrative (Tannen 1983) is therefore seen as an indication of the difference between linguistic worldviews that co-exist in one communication sphere.

The data were extracted from various sources that document oral tradition (a collection of proverbs, the literary text "Magana Jari Ce"[5]), but also vocabularies and other texts which are characteristic of written narratives, religious publications in particular. Additionally, internet resources provide some amount of data: BBC programs, Islam Quest net, Bible Questions, Iran Hausa Radio, the blogs of intellectual leaders and private persons.

The meaning of 'truth' is often perceived as an opposite notion to 'lie'. The two words 'truth' and 'lie' are used as antonyms mostly in the area of verbal communication when they refer to the quality of statements. This also means that the cultural definition of 'lying' (i.e. the folk theory on lying, cf. Sweetser 1987; Mecke 2007) is also significant for understanding the domain of truth.

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[2] The idea is traced back to earlier works connected to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and other contributions devoted to the study of the relations between language and culture. The linguistic worldview is here understood as implicit in the language as a conceptual system, but it may also be regarded as an individual or a group concept.

[3] Islam began to spread into the Hausa ethic territory in the fourteenth century (Piłaszewicz 1992: 39).

[4] The conceptual category of orality has various dimensions. It is mostly applied to societies that function without the adopted technologies of literacy (especially writing and printing). The study of orality is linked with studies on literary tradition and language communication that has either an oral or a written form. In modern times, it is more common for both spoken and written texts to have traces of orality in the sense of "oral residue" or "residually oral cultures" rather than "primary orality"(Ong 1982: 31f).

[5] "Magana Jari Ce" (translated occasionally as 'Speaking is a treasure' or 'The art of storytelling is an asset') by Abubakar Imam is a collection of fables and tales which blend traditional Hausa narratives with borrowed plots and incorporate them into a stylistic convention of literary texts with a box structure of stories within stories transmitted by a parrot.

Gaskiya — the Hausa word for 'truth'

The Hausa word corresponding to the English 'truth' is *gaskiya*. It is a feminine noun, but in the phrase 'it is true', it attaches a masculine copula form, i.e. *gaskiya ne* (the phrase also means 'quite so!', 'that's right!'). This unusual combination of the elements of the non-verbal sentence becomes clearer when the full equational sentence is used and the subject is expressed. The agreement results from the subject-controlling system of syntactic agreement (Newman 2000: 163), like in the following statements, in which the nominal phrase is masculine (in the first example) and feminine (in the second one):

(1) *Yawancin labaran da suke cikin wannan Littafi* ***gaskiya ne***
'Most of the stories (masc./pl.)[6] that are in the Book are true/ real (lit. truth)'

(2) *Shaidar nan tasa kuwa* ***gaskiya ce***
'His testimony (fem.) is true (lit. truth)'

In conversational practice, the phrase *gaskiya ne* can perhaps best be explained by saying it is a short form for something like *abin* (masc.) *da ka ce gaskiya ne* 'what (lit. 'the thing that') you are saying is truth', which correctly requires masculine agreement (Skinner 1982: 107). Abraham (1962) notes that the equivalent of *gaskiya ne* (it's true) is the phrase *gaskiyarka* (lit. your true) as both are used in direct conversation to express affirmation for what is said by the interlocutor, e.g.:

(3) *Mutane suka ce, "A'a! Ai ko, Allah ya ba ka nasara,* ***gaskiyarsa****!*" (*Magana Jari Ce*)
'People said, "Oh, You, May Allah give you a victory, **he is right**!"'

In spoken language, the word *gaskiya* often appears as an optional modal element, either as a single word that carries the meaning 'in truth, honestly, really' or in the phrase *bisa kan gaskiya* 'in reality, in actual fact' (lit. on top of truth), e.g. Jaggar 2001: 679:

(4) ***Gaskiya****, ba ni da dabara* '**honestly**, I knew nothing about it'
(5) ***Gaskiya*** *ni aure nake so* '**really**, I want to be married'

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[6] The agreement follows the head noun *yawanci* 'majority, most', which is masculine (in the singular), but it may also be related to the plural noun *labarai* 'stories'.

As a cultural key word, *gaskiya* primarily refers to interpersonal relations. The word is used in phrases that attribute some qualities to a person, such as *mai gaskiya/mai ba da gaskiya* (trusted, honest; lit. with/giving truth) or *maras gaskiya* (dishonest, untruthful; lit. without truth).

The notion of 'truth' in contextual use

The word gaskiya in nominal compounds

The word *gaskiya* is a high-frequency noun in Hausa. It is used in many collocations in both spoken and written language. The most common applications are genitive constructions in which the word *gaskiya* is a dependent (modifier noun). It is interesting to note that the construction has a freestanding linker *na/ta* (not the bound linker), irrespective of the syntactic environment.[7] In these phrases, the word *gaskiya* is used as an adjunct, as for example:

(6) *magana ta gaskiya* 'true talk'
(7) *addini na gaskiya* 'true religion'
(8) *tsoro na gaskiya* 'real fear'
(9) *Kiristoci na gaskiya* 'true Christians'
(10) *wa'azi na gaskiya* 'true sermon'
(11) *ban taba jin wani mai wa'azi na gaskiya haka ba*
'I never heard a sermon filled so much with truth'

As a modifier, the word may have the form *gaske.* Preceded by a noun in the genitive (having a bound form of the linker), it emphasizes the quality of preceding a noun, i.e. *jarumin gaske* 'a really brave person', *yawan gaske* 'in great numbers' (Newman 2007: 71), also the following examples:

(12) *akwai kananan kungiyoyi da daman gaske* 'there are really many associations'
(13) *cigaba mai yawan gaske* 'really great prosperity'

The adverbial use of the word has the form *da gaske* 'truly, really', as in *kwarai da gaske* 'very much', *kishinmu da gaske* 'our great craving'. The semantic equivalence of both forms (*gaskiya* and *gaske*) is confirmed in alternative statements from the same text (*Amsassun tambayoyin Littafi Mai Tsarki* 2002-2016), namely:

[7] The free linker is used as an alternative to the bound form in N of N expressions in which the relationship is not possessive in the narrow sense (Newman 2000: 302).

(14) *Ko Littafi Mai Tsarki* ***da gaske*** *maganar Allah ne?*
'Is the Holy Book **really** God's talk?'

(15) *Yaya zan iya amince da abin da Littafi Mai Tsarki* ***gaskiya*** *ne kuma daga wurin Allah?*
'How can I accept the fact that the Holy Book is the truth and it comes from God?'

The attributes of *gaskiya* are not numerous. They are *ainihi* or *hakika(ni)* 'authenticity, reality' that can be part of the nominal phrase in which *gaskiya* is used, e.g.:

(16) ***Ainihin*** *gaskiya dangane da rayuwa a wannan duniya*
'**real** truth connected with life in this world'

(17) *Me ake nufi da gaskiya, kuma wace hanya ce zata kai ga samun* ***hakikanin*** *gaskiya?*
'what is meant by *gaskiya* and what should be done in order to get **real** truth'

In the above examples, the word *gaskiya* in the function of a modifier expresses the state of being in accordance with fact or reality. In an extension of the meaning, it is also used to express that something is original, standard or ideal.

The word *gaskiya* in verbal compounds

The noun phrases consisting of the word *gaskiya* often occur as complements of verbs denoting the meaning of speaking/saying. In these statements, mostly used in direct conversation, truth refers in its meaning to what was said. The verbs are *fadî* 'say' and *gaya* 'tell' (*fadî gaskiya* 'say the truth', *gaya wa wani gaskiya* 'tell somebody the truth'), e.g.:

(18) *In zaka fadi,* ***fadî gaskiya*** *(proverb)*
'whenever you intend to speak, say the truth'

(19) ***Gaya*** *masa* ***gaskiya,*** *malam, laifinsa ne*
'tell him the truth, *malam,* it is his fault'

As *gaskiya* is interpreted as fact, reality, the source of knowledge about truth (*sanin gaskiya)* should be primarily found in what can be seen; however, it is also recognized in what is said.

Contextual use of the word *gaskiya* and its collocations with the verbs *bayyana* 'explain', *zama* 'become', and *fayyace* 'explain thoroughly' confirm that the understanding of truth is related mostly to verbal interaction between people:

(20) *ba ya tsoron* ***bayyana gaskiya*** *a ko'ina*
'he is not afraid of propagating the truth everywhere'

(21) *Maganarmu ta* ***zama gaskiya***
'what we said is true' (lit. it became truth)

(22) *ya wallafa bayyanasa na* ***fayyace gaskiya***
'he published his explanation revealing the truth'

In a cognitive interpretation, the Hausa examples indicate that the prototype meaning of the notion of TRUTH as expressed by the term *gaskiya* is directly related to what was verbalized. Linguistic exponents of this notion also include expressing the hearer's perspective, as in *ji gaskiya* 'hear the truth'.

The noun *gaskiya* may co-occur with many other verbs that are in fact action verbs. It follows the verbs *yi* 'do, make' (*yi gaskiya* 'rely on truth, lit. to do truth), *rike* 'keep' (*rike gaskiya* 'keep [on following] the truth'), *kwantanta* 'put, lay' (*kwantanta gaskiya* 'secure the truth'), *tsare* 'protect' (*tsare gaskiya* 'protect the truth'), *tsaya* 'stop' (*tsaya kan gaskiya* 'rest on the truth'), e.g.:

(23) *Bahaushe ya* ***yi gaskiya*** *da ya ce yabon gwani ya zama dole*
'It is sensible when a Hausa man says that praising an expert[8] is obligatory'

(24) *Don haka ya kamata kowa ya koma ga Allah ya* ***rike gaskiya***
'that's why it is necessary to return to Allah and hold the truth'

(25) *mutum mai kamun kai kuma mai* ***kwatanta gaskiya*** *ga aikin shi*
'a self-restrained man who is acting with truth'

(26) *Editoci, ku* ***tsare gaskiya***
'Editors, protect the truth'

(27) *Tsayuwa Kan* ***Gaskiya*** (title) 'Rest on the Truth'

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[8] *Gwani* is the title of a person who has memorized the Koran and who is a past-master in this field (Abraham 1962).

In these phrases, ***gaskiya*** is referred to as a real object or an idea. With this understanding, knowledge about the truth is found in what is defined (accepted) as true. In other words, truth represents the system of cultural values shared by the community.

The meaning of *gaskiya* in oral tradition

The word *gaskiya* is deeply rooted in the Hausa language. This status is confirmed by the proverbs, popular sayings and *kirari* (descriptive epithets) in which *gaskiya* is used. The examples show the significance of truth in human life and connect the idea with the authenticity of statements, attitudes, and behaviour. The statements focus on the moral aspects of human activity that is based on truth.

(28) *Daga kin gaskiya sai ɓata* 'when you do not follow the truth, you will be lost'
(29) *Gaskiya matakin nasara* 'the truth (makes) stairs for success'

It is shown that the way of protecting truth is not easy to follow:

(30) *Gaskiya wuyar faɗi gare ta* 'it is not easy to tell the truth'
(31) *Gaskiya ɗaci gare ta* 'truth is bitter'

The meaning is related to various aspects that constitute the notion. In a broader sense, it encompasses truth, honesty, sincerity, faith, fairness and objectivity (Aminu 2003). The particular meanings are manifested in contextual use. In these statements, truth is often seen as the notion of the highest quality, in comparative phrases it is contrasted with wealth, charm or other valuable things and the best material products. The phrase 'truth is the best policy' has the following equivalents:

(32) *Gaskiya ta fi jaka* 'the truth is worth more than a bag (of money)'
(33) *Gaskiya ta fi laya* 'the truth is worth more than an amulet'
(34) *Gaskiya ta fi kwabo* 'the truth is worth more than a penny'
(35) *Gaskiya ta fi dokin ƙarfe ƙarfi* 'the truth is stronger than a steel horse'

Gaskiya therefore represents values that function as a system of controlling social behavior. It establishes moral principles that refer mostly to relations between people. People who want 'to know the truth' have 'to tell the truth'.

Proverbs and well-known statements are open for creative use in context. The proverb *Gaskiya ta fi dokin ƙarfe ƙarfi*' is interpreted as 'honesty is stronger

than a steel horse', which means that "with *gaskiya* one is gifted with a powerful companion to face any hard affair" (Aminu 2003: 5). Another interpretation states that comparing *gaskiya* 'truth' and *dokin ƙarfe* 'a steel horse (bicycle)' indicates that *ko tana gudu kama ka haye, ba ka faɗuwa* 'you can capture the horse running, you can mount him and you will not fall down' (Na'iyya 2007). As a value, *gaskiya* is therefore an individual belief. *Tsafi gaskiyar mai shi* 'everyone believes in his own powers' (lit. fetish is a power only for those who have it).

Gaskiya is seen as something obvious that does not need a definition. *Gaskiya sunanta gaskiya* 'truth always prevails' (lit. the name of truth is truth). Only truth endures the test of time, i.e. *a daɗe ana yi sai gaskiya* 'truth will stand', and is unchangeable (*Gaskiya ba ta sake gashi* 'the truth does not change its hairs/feathers'). Truth is evaluated in interpersonal communication rather than in other trial runs. This aspect has its specific manifestation in trade deals. The final agreement can be made on the basis of spoken statements when the buying transaction has reference to credence only:

(36) *Ba gaskiya, awo a ɗak*i 'give credence (now), you will check it later (lit. at home)'

The meaning of 'truth' in Hausa traditional culture refers to the value attributed to spoken words. The truth is realized as individual belief, but its understanding is deeply rooted in cultural norms. However, the norms are not stable and remain subject to negotiations.

The meaning of *gaskiya* as a discourse variable

With reference to the statement that TRUTH = KNOWLEDGE, the content of the truth should be defined through the source of knowledge about the truth. The Linguistic model of 'truth' in Hausa is strongly influenced by the type of discourse that determines the ways it is conceptualized. As stated above, the oral tradition locates the notion of truth in interpersonal relations; therefore, the meaning of *gaskiya* depends mainly on what is said.

The social context allows for distinguishing some types of texts in which the word *gaskiya* has a special status. Truth is a basic concept for any religion; therefore, religious texts often contain references to it. Hausa written tradition[9] is significantly dominated by publications on Islam. In religious texts, the faith is the only proper understanding of the truth.

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[9] The Hausa language functions in a 'digraphic' system of writing, in which both *Ajami* (based on Arabic letters) and *Boko* (based on the Latin alphabet) are used. The latter one has the function of the official style of writing.

(37) *Addinin musulunci shi ne addinin* ***gaskiya***
'Islamic religion is the true religion'

Truth is achieved through faith. In various discussions conducted on the internet (*Me ake nufi da gaskiya* […] 2006), the truth is defined by moral principles:

(38) *gaskiya tana nufin bincike da yi wa kai hisabi, da yin bauta, da kaskantar da kai ga Allah, da jin tsoronsa madaukaki, da tuna mutuwa da tsoron lahira, da shiga tafarkin gaskiya, kuma yana daga abin da aka sallama ne cewa wanda duk gaskiya ta bayyana gare shi, to hakika ya gane ta ne kuma ya san masu gaskiya ne. Imam Ali (a.s) yana cewa: "Ka san gaskiya zaka san masu ita".*
'…truth means searching for filling the head with reflection, it is worship and humility to Allah, it is fear of God Almighty, it is keeping death and the Next World in mind, it is proper behavior, which is understandable to those who stay in contact with honest people. Imam Ali says, "When you know *gaskiya*, you will know those who live with *gaskiya*."'

It is interesting to note that religious discourse (in both its oral and written forms) easily incorporates traditional Hausa statements and proverbs on *gaskiya*, though the semantic content of this term is different from the original one. *Gaskiya ba ta neman ado* 'the truth does not need any adornment' is now used to explain the nature of submissiveness by presenting some aspects of the Prophet Muhammad's life, i.e. *dabi'ar tawali'u wato kankantar da kai da rashin nuna isa a rayuwar fiyayyen halitta Manzon Allah* 'lit. the submissiveness or diminishing of one's own status in the life of the Messenger of God' (*Gaskiya ba ta neman ado* 2010). This means that the truth is based on the experience of the Messenger of God, not human experience.

The individuals also initiate a discussion on the proper understanding of truth. The phrases taken from oral tradition now receive a religious understanding, i.e.:

(39) *Hausawa ke cewa, daga* ***kin gaskiya*** *sai bata*
'Hausa people say that when you ignore the truth, you will be lost'

(40) *Muna kimanta mutane da* ***gaskiya*** *ba* ***gaskiya*** *da mutane ba*
'We judge people through their relation to gaskiya, not gaskiya through its relation to people'

The above statements also function in a non-religious context in which their meaning has no reference to revelation. When incorporated into a religious text,

the petrified statements from traditional culture find their special significance. Although they preserve their meanings from colloquial use, the understanding of the notion of truth is based on what was said by God.

(41) Ya Allah ka ƙara bayyana gaskiya, kuma ka **bai wa gaskiya** nasara akan ƙarya
'Oh God, keep revealing the truth, and allow the truth to win over lies'

As far as the linguistic phrase *ba da gaskiya* (lit. give the truth) is concerned, it has different contextual variations and discursive interpretations. Used as *ba/bai wa (wani) gaskiya* (lit. give truth to somebody), it means 'believe', 'trust' (with reference to accepting somebody's arguments). In the clause *ya ba da gaskiya ga Allah*, it has a religious connotation and means 'he believes in God', lit. he gave the truth to Allah.[10] When used in official documents, it means accepting observable facts or those established through logical deduction according to the legal code.

(42) *A Nigeria, kotun ƙolin ƙasar ta **baiwa** Jam'iyyar CPC **gaskiya** a karar da ke gabanta*
'In Nigeria, the Highest National Court **declared** that the CPC **was right** in a lawsuit filed against this party'

Therefore, the notion *gaskiya* functions differently in all these types of discourse. The one referring to direct communication reflects a current state, which, however, is subject to negotiations. In texts representing the written code, this aspect is weakly manifested, although the difference between religious and legal discourse is also significant in this respect. In religious interpretation, knowledge achieved through faith remains open for interpretations derived from the Holy Book. In legal statements, *gaskiya* contains reference to reality, which is proven through evidence. As such, it may not be questioned, even if someone does not agree with it. Therefore, the cultural meaning of truth is determined by the source of knowledge that is accepted as a basis for evaluating the truth.

For centuries, Hausa culture has been exposed to foreign influences. In earlier centuries, the transmission of new ideas was mainly connected with the spread of Islam. Contact with European civilization in colonial times brought new perspectives

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[10] Christian religious texts also extensively use the word *gaskiya* with reference to faith. The discussion on the essence of truth refers to the Bible and the contexts in which the word 'truth' is used. The religious connotation of the word *gaskiya* is preserved in some metaphoric expressions: *gidan gaskiya* (lit. the house of truth) is an equivalent of the notion 'the next world' for which also the Arabic term *lahira* is used. A figurative expression with this compound expresses the meaning 'to die', e.g. *Shugaban ƙasar Ghana ya riga mu gidan gaskiya* 'The president of Ghana died', lit. reached the house of truth/the next world before us (*Gaskiya ta fi kwabo*).

in many areas. The concept of truth received a new meaning. Statements in English (usually in written form) became a new source of knowledge about the truth. The Hausa saying *Gaskiya ta fi Turanci* (lit. the truth is worth more than what was said in English) is an indication of how oral tradition interferes with new rules. It shows that any statement in English, which is supposed to be a reliable piece of information or an official written statement, can still be questioned in terms of its truth.[11]

Gaskiya 'truth' *vs. ƙarya* 'lie'

The linguistic model of 'truth' in Hausa is clearly manifested when juxtaposed with the opposite notion 'lie'. The word corresponding to 'lie' is *ƙarya* (*karyayyaki* in the plural[12]). 'To lie' is a phrasal composition with either the verb *yi* 'do', *sha* 'drink'or *yanka* 'cut',[13] i.e.:

(43) *ya yi (ya yanka) mini ƙarya* 'he told me a lie'
ƙaryarka ta sha (ta yi) ƙarya 'be sure your crime (lie) will recoil on you!'

The word *ƙarya* has a homogenous counterpart that is the name of a type of desert rose. The two words are seen as similar in their function, as rendered in the following proverb:

(44) *ƙarya hure ta kai ba ta 'ya'ya*
'a lie is the pink-flowered shrub that brings flowers but no fruit'

Hausa traditional norms of social existence place stress on living with *gaskiya*. *Mai gaskiya* 'a person protecting truth' is a positive example, while one who is guided by lies should be ashamed of his/her behaviour and other people ought to avoid him or her (Bunza 2006: 263). There are some common sayings and proverbs to confirm this:

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[11] The significance of the truth that functions as spoken agreement has found its manifestation in the strategies of the political parties in Nigeria. For the purpose of the presidential elections, there was an unwritten rule that the PDP's presidential candidacy should alternate between Muslim northerners and Christian southerners. When Goodluck Jonathan received the nomination of the party in 2014, it was seen as a violation of that rule. The decision evoked protests and resignations from party membership.

[12] Some other alternative plural forms are noted in Abraham's dictionary (1962), namely *karere, karairai*, *karairayi*, *karyace-karyace*.

[13] In emphatic expressions, the verb *share* 'sweep' or *zuƙa* 'draw' may be used.

(45) *kowa ya yi ƙarya ana samun ɗan garinsu*
'everybody who lies will have to deal with a member of the community'
(46) *ƙarya mugun guzuri* 'lying is a bad travel allowance'
(47) *yau da gobe karyata boka*[14]
'slowly slowly the lie becomes a wizard'
(48) *ba a ƙarya a tayar da kai sama*
'the head should be not raised when one lies'
(49) *ramin ƙarya gajere ne*
'a lie is soon detected' (lit. the hole of a lie is shallow)

The domain of lying is easily metaphorized as an event or action. Linguistic expressions that refer to what is being said are in fact descriptions of some acts that are seen as false, e.g. (Dikko, Maccido 1991):

(50) *zuba beza* (lit. spill salt) '
tell good news which is deliberately false'
(51) *zance wani kudî wani bashi*
(lit. conversation about money and about debt) 'statement which is half true, half false'
(52) *shafa-labari-shuni*
(lit. smear on indigo over the news) 'exaggerator'; 'statement beyond the truth', 'lie'
(53) *kama gemunka* (lit. hold your beard) 'this is a lie'

Various metaphors and metonymic expressions function as euphemisms for lying. The strategy to avoid bad words is in agreement with the chief goal of Hausa life, i.e. *zaman lafiya* 'living in peace' (Aminu 2003). In consequence, lying is strongly condemned within Hausa culture, and bringing people to the truth is the moral obligation of the society. The frequency of the word 'lie' in language use confirms its deep rooting in the Hausa language. As expressions evaluating the truthfulness of words, they strengthen the significance of spoken statements in understanding the notion of 'truth' in Hausa culture. However, similarly to truth, lying may also be evaluated with reference to current conditions. In proverbs on 'lying', some of the statements indicate "excusing and justifying lying as a necessary concession to life, despite the supreme splendor of the truth" (Wierzbicka 1997: 14).

[14] *Boka* is a term for 'wizard' or 'native doctor', but it is also a figurative expression meaning 'liar'.

Gaskiya in the modern world

In modern times, it is the process of globalization that affects social values. The notion of truth is the subject of discussion, intellectual reflection, and creative interpretation in which *gaskiya* gains new dimensions. It functions as an abstract notion that can be adopted to the current situation. For example, the short forms of some common phrases (in bold in the examples below) containing the word *gaskiya* are used as 'templates'. Their 'extension' is known by everyone, but added occasionally or not expressed at all. Their use is an indication of cultural identity and values that are defined through the context:

> ***In za ka faɗi, faɗi gaskiya**, komai taka ja maka ka biya*
> '**whenever you intend to speak, say the truth**, whatever it may cause to you, take it'
>
> ***Gaskiya wuyar faɗi gare ta**, in ka faёa ka hau doki ɗan dubu*
> '**saying the truth is difficult**, if you utter it you had better ride off on a fast running horse'
>
> ***Ciki da gaskiya** wuka ba ta huɗa shi*
> '**the stomach that contains truth** cannot be pierced (even) with a knife'

This aspect is manifested in the rhetoric of 'truth' addressed to African people in particular. The discourse of Islamic (mostly Shi'a) publications (Murtadha 2009) touches on the fundamental issues concerning the existence of African people: race, history, cultural tradition and even the slave trade. In such publications, Africa and African people are presented as part of a plan created by Allah (*Africa Gidan Wahayi)* that is implemented in joining black people (*mutanen bakar fata*) and white people (*mutanen farar fata*) into one society of truth. The focus is placed on a common history as well as the most spectacular civilizations (Egypt and Ethiopia are indicated first).

The cultural understanding of the word *gaskiya* and its incorporation into well-known phrases gives it a special place in public life. It functions as a label and therefore it is present in the names of institutions, factories, events, as well as the titles of songs, films and various products. For example, *Gaskiya Corporation* is a well-known publishing house founded in 1939 to protect Hausa culture and develop literature in the *boko* script. Nowadays, we can find *Gaskiya* Tourism & Travel Agency Ltd., *Gaskiya* chemicals (company), *Gaskiya* boutique, rsd-gaskiya (*rassemblement social démocratique-gaskiya*) — a political party in Niger. Entertainment songs and music video are advertised as 'love you *da gaskiya'*. 'A good man' is *namijin gaskiya. Gaskiya* was recognized as a word used for

creating new terms, such as 'disability' (*rashin iya gaskiya*) or giving existing terms new meanings (*soyayyar gaskiya* 'true love'). The word *gaskiya* also has its application in bargaining, in which the phrase *kudîn gaskiya* (lit. money of truth) means 'the possible lower price'.

Summary

The word *gaskiya* as the term for truth has various meanings reinterpreted according to the context. However, the multiple meanings do not reflect a polysemy of words as its semantics is not arranged according to the derived meanings. It is rather a set of various homogenous notions that are connected with the discourse in which the word functions.

Gaskiya is a notion that is well rooted in the Hausa language. It mostly refers to interpersonal relations and norms of proper behaviour. In this understanding that comes from oral tradition, the exact meaning of *gaskiya* lies in what is accepted by the community. As such, its definition is unstable and negotiable.

The term *gaskiya* is often used in other types of discourse, including religious texts or legal statements, where it brings about new understandings: stable and not open to interpretations. Here, the understanding of the truth is different; it is based either on faith or on other foundations (such as logic and rational proof). The elements of oral discourse that are characteristic of Hausa texts in written form are used as a strategy for the interpretation of the statement. The notion of truth is also involved in the process that makes it a discourse variable.

With reference to the statement *Gaskiya ke nasara* 'the truth is success', the standards of *gaskiya* are used in the battle for values. It is a battle between cultures and civilizations. Since the globalizing world carries many different values, the meaning of *gaskiya* is interpreted variously even by users of the same language.

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Izabela Romańczuk

Swahili women's traditional creative writing

Hybridity is thus positioned as an antithesis to essentialism (...) constituting a form of 'third space' that blurs the limitations of existing boundaries and calling into question established cultural and identitarian categorizations.

Alamin Mazrui (2007: 2)

Abstract

This article discusses traditional Swahili women's creative writing by analyzing a number of oral texts as well as chosen examples of classical Swahili poetry called *tenzi*. It focuses on the cultural and literary identity of Swahili women, emphasizing its hybrid character. The author presents the critical feminist perspectives that undermine the false assumptions of essentialism and the universal female subject and focuses on the multiple factors shaping women's identities. Therefore, the subjectivity and creativity of Swahili women are analyzed in cultural, social and historical contexts. The main aim is to reflect on the plurality and contextuality of Swahili women's identities and the diversity of their experiences, which are reflected in their literary creativity.

Keywords: feminism, poetry, Swahili, *tenzi*, women's identity

Introduction

Swahili culture awakens our imagination and also causes disputes, when it comes to its ability to push the boundaries of the possibilities of thinking about society and its identity. Swahili identity — as a hybrid or synthesis — questions normative categories used to describe it. Such categories as race, ethnicity and nationality evoke the notion of borders. When confronted with notions of heterogeneity and hybridity, "border categories" can easily lose their clarity and lose the authoritarian position they normally occupy.

More often than not, beneath the notion of hybridity lies solely the reference to colonialism and its transformative power to change whole societies and singular

beings (Mazrui 2007: 1). Nonetheless, this notion was a strong characteristic of Swahili society long before the Europeans arrived. Swahili civilization was born as a result of the synthesis of at least two different cultural aspects: African and Arab-Islamic. Currently, Swahili identity possesses a triple heritage, shaped by native Bantu cultures, its fusion with the ancient Arab-Islamic world, and the impact of Western European cultures (Mazrui 2007: 15). Therefore, if we decide to become submerged in Swahili literature, we cannot ignore its uniqueness, which manifests itself in its syncretism and hybridity shaped by a long-lasting cultural exchange.

This article focuses on a relatively small extract from the large literary output of the Swahili people, as it describes only traditional women's creative writing: verbally passed on songs and classical pieces of poetry called *tenzi* (sg. *utenzi*). The term "traditional", which I use in reference to Swahili women's creativity, is understood in opposition to contemporary literature, which unfortunately could not be discussed in this article due to lack of time and space. I prefer to use the term "traditional" to "precolonial", as I do not wish colonialism to become the main reference point for further analysis. I am aware that the texts analyzed here derive from two different traditions: oral and literary, and there were many more traditions not included in this article. It should be emphasized that there is no evident line of division that would mark a smooth passage from oral to written traditions in Swahili society. All the more as both forms existed and were practiced simultaneously. Oral texts functioned within the collective consciousness of East African coastal societies long before written texts, but the introduction of writing did not stop orality from flourishing. Thus, the repeatedly expressed words made their way into stories, and eventually found their reflection in written texts. What emerges is an image of tradition as a multi-faceted reality and not a static and unequivocal past.

Swahili women's creative writing will be analyzed in three contexts from which women's subjectivities sprung and within which they were shaped, that is the cultural, social and historical. The stress is placed on the plurality and contextuality of women's subjectivities. Not only the visible presence but also the hearable voices of a plurality and diversity of women's subjects have led us to a rejection of the notion of the universal subject: "woman". As Judith Butler (1990) noticed, "there is the political problem that feminism encounters in the assumption that the term *women* denotes a common identity" (Butler 1990: 3). This becomes a problem from the very beginning, when the idea of a commonly held identity is in the process of creation. Every attempt to define the female subject leads to simplifications and to the exclusion of an entire array of subjects who fail to fit into the normative category of "woman" (Butler 1990: 3–6, 14).

The assumption of the universal subject of feminism — a seamless category of women — has been strongly criticized among feminist thinkers (see hooks 1984; Boyce-Davies 1986; Ogunyemi 1985; King 1988; Spivak 1988; Butler 1990) for

its exclusionary practices and seen as another form of colonizing and appropriating non-Western cultures. For all these critical voices, the feminist subject "woman" is based on a false assumption that there must be some universal basis — an identity that exists cross-culturally and is defined by one's sex and the experience of patriarchal oppression and masculine domination. Women from geopolitical margins, such as black women or women of color, have drawn attention to the multiple and coexisting agents shaping women's identities: race, class, ethnicity, nationality, religion and age. These factors constitute multiple jeopardies in women's lives (hooks 1984; King 1988; Ogunyemi 1985: 67).

The critical perspective of women of color has introduced a need for a more profound rereading of the female subject in cultural, social and political contexts. Opening up to the incoherence existing within the category of "woman" and to its inherent plurality also entails an opening to the semantic multidimensionality of women's texts. As Marie Krüger states, the plurality of women's identities undermines "social and literary monolithic constructions" (Krüger 1995: 9).

The article analyses critical feminist thought on the contextuality of female subjects and the diversity of their experiences as reflected in their creative writing.

Women in Swahili society — the heterogeneous margin

The name *Waswahili* 'Swahili people' is derived from the Arabic word for coast — *sawahil*; therefore, it means 'the people from the coast'. The name clearly pertains to the origins of Swahili civilization, which was born along the East African coastal line. It is not the name of an ethnic group, but rather it defines a complex social and cultural formation (Rzewuski 1978:294) and an identity based mostly on a common language and customs.

The heterogeneous society of the *Waswahili* was a challenge, if not a threat to the colonial doctrine and its fixation on simple binary oppositions (Mazrui 2007). Ideas based on racist stereotypes, notions like race and tribe, dominated 19th-century European historiography. As a result, Swahili society suffered due to its complexity, multi-ethnicity and lack of tribal structures. In the past, it was falsely interpreted and presented as an obtained culture or as given to the Bantu people by Arabs. Europeans were more likely to favor external influences and their role in creating Swahili civilization. As much as the influence of Arabic culture was very important in shaping this civilization, this should not be used to contest the role that the African component played in this process.

The growth of the Swahili civilization was connected with the development of navigation and commerce, the rhythms of which were steered by monsoon winds. The people from the East African coast were for many centuries engaged in a dialog with different societies navigating the Indian Ocean: Arabic, Persian, and indirectly with Indian, Chinese and Malayo-Polynesian. This dialog in time

began to sound like a shared language, when the merchants arriving at the coast started to settle and integrate with local communities. Swahili civilization was born because of these long-lasting interactions or, as Rajmund Ohly (1985) describes it — out of the mutual adjustment of two different cultural aspects: the indigenous African and the Arab-Islamic (461).

The 9th century is a period characterized by an intense settlement of the Persians and the Arabs from Oman, a formation of cities and the expansion of Islam. This was when the Swahili culture and civilization were shaped (see also Abdulaziz 1979; Knappert 1979; Mazrui 2007; Middleton 1992; Prins 1961; Rzewuski 1978). At that time, the Swahili people acquired features that distinguished them from their neighboring societies. These features were as follows: cultural syncretism, well-developed naval, mercantile and urban culture, the lack of a tribal structure, Islam and writing.

The Swahili people did not group into tribes nor did they create a unified political structure. Bigger settlements were established along the East African coastal line, which are usually compared with Ancient Greek *poleis*. These settlements can be divided into two types: *miji ya mawe* 'stone-towns' — bigger settlements, built with stone and encircled by a stone wall, and *miji ya shamba* 'country-towns' (Middleton 1992: 54). They were different in terms not only of their population density or the construction material used, but they also performed different social, political and symbolic roles.

Swahili city-states, like Kilwa Kiswani, Mombasa, Lamu or Pate, controlled the oceanic and terrestrial trade by providing a link between the African interior and the rest of the world. *Mji* 'the town' symbolically defined the clans (sg. *ukoo*, pl. *koo*) based on patrilineal kinship and united by the same ancestor, the town's founder (Abdulaziz 1979: 29; Middleton 1992). The stone and coral used in the architecture symbolized the longevity of a particular kinship group and indicated the high social and economic status of the inhabitants. *Miji ya shamba* were built with the usage of less lasting materials and their inhabitants' main occupations were in the fields of agriculture, crafts and fishery (Middleton 1992: 54–120).

The stone walls surrounding the towns formed not only visible physical barriers but also invisible ones inside the society. They separated the world of *ustaarabu* 'civilization', 'high culture' from those regions of the interior inhabited by barbarians and pagans. The *Waswahili* society was characterized by a complex hierarchy, which included the differences between the towns and villages, ancestry (African or Arabic), sex/gender (man or woman), religion, and social status (slave or free man) (see also Abdulaziz 1979; Gower *et al*. 1996; Middleton 1992). Therefore, the inhabitants of stone-towns from Muslim communities were at the top of the hierarchy, and they called themselves *waungwana* meaning free, civilized and noble men. All the rest, i.e. the inhabitants of the interior and non-Muslims, were called the *washenzi* 'barbarians', 'pagans'. The third social group was made up of the *watumwa* 'slaves'.

Women in Swahili society did not comprise a unified group of interests united by the same experiences. Every woman was involved in three different yet interpenetrating levels differentiating one's position in society. First of all, a woman's position was defined by the fact that she was a woman. Her roles were sanctioned by Islamic culture and the customs and norms of the East African societies. Likewise, other factors, like ancestry and inhabitancy, led to the internal division into women from stone-towns and country-towns, free women and slaves.

The women from the *waungwana* group had a higher economic and social status than other women, and a much higher status than the slaves which surrounded them. In spite of their privileged position, they experienced spatial limitations due to the exclusionary *purdah* practices. These excluded women from public spaces and public life by isolating them in their households, and they also had to be covered from public eyes by wearing the proper clothes. Religious and moral rules controlled women's sexuality and required that they guard the purity of their kin and their families, with purity understood as both virginity and morality (Middleton 1992: 114-116). Women from less urbanized regions were less subjugated to the *purdah*; therefore, they had a more egalitarian status in society and more economic and social freedom as they participated in food production and petty trade (Gower *et al.* 1996: 256).

The household was the kingdom of the highborn woman, and a space they could control — as Emily Ruete emphasized in her memorials from the end of the 19th century. Before she married a German merchant and moved to Europe, her name was Sayyida Salme, and she was an Arabian Princess, the daughter of Sayyid Said, the Sultan of Zanzibar and Oman. For Princess Salme, the power that women performed in their houses was an argument against a typically held belief that Muslim women were 'victims' of the patriarchal order without any rights at all (Ruete 1998: 110).

The reality of the *waungwana* women was in fact much more complex than that, as Rebecca Gower and others tried to show in the article *Swahili Women since the Nineteenth Century* (Gower *et al*. 1996). The traditional position of elite women was grounded "on the beliefs that they were the most important means by which the lineage perpetuated itself. Elite women had power over their households and acquired property through marriage unlike women in country-towns" (Gower *et al*. 1996: 257–258; see also Ruete 1998: 110; Middleton 1992: 114). In spite of these advantages, Swahili elite women experienced discrimination in many public fields, due to widespread laws and attitudes towards women and the prevalence of Islam. "Historically, in Muslim societies men have been placed in a more advantageous socioeconomic status than women (…). (1) they were able to divorce more easily, (2) they usually had the sole custodial right in case of divorce, and (3) the only way for a woman to gain social and economic security was through a second marriage" (Gower *et al.* 1996: 257). In the case of a divorce, the law favored men, because their words were believed to have a greater importance than

women's did. (Gower *et al.* 1996: 257). Therefore, unlike women, men did not have to present any witnesses or proof to get a divorce. Moreover, Islamic law as well as the common laws of many patrilineal Bantu societies conferred the custody rights to children onto the father (Middleton 1992: 124–125). Despite the differences between the social classes, all women in Swahili society were subject to the same discriminative norms and laws based on sexual divisions (Gower *et al.* 1996: 257).

A separate group within Swahili society was composed of the *watumwa* 'slaves'. As some researchers emphasize, the category of slavery in Swahili culture was a fluid one and the position of slaves is presented as ambiguous because of the internal diversification within this group (see Eastman 1994; Middleton 1992). Some slaves had their own slaves, and there was a hierarchy among them. A slave was able to improve his/her position through marriage with a free person or through a voluntary act of the owner. Slavery was not a perpetual state (Middleton 1992: 117).

The most typical form of women's slavery was *usuria* 'concubinage', and household slavery sometimes combined with work in the fields. *Masuria* 'concubines' as well as free wives were supposed to provide consistency of the lineage. As a result, they had more rights and privileges than other female slaves. They could not be sold during their owner's lifetime and they could gain freedom after his death if they had given birth to a child by him. However, they still had a lower position than legitimate wives, but their own offspring, if they were considered legitimate by their father, had the status of freemen (Gower *et al.* 1996: 259; Lihamba *et al*. 2007: 14; Middleton 1992: 116).

It would be overly simplistic to universalize the position and experiences of Swahili women. They did not occupy a unified position nor did they have a static and fixed identity. On the contrary, the image that emerges from analyzing Swahili women's society in the 19th century is an image of diverse identities determined by many factors, such as location, class, religion, descent and sex. To paraphrase Judith Butler's words (Butler 1990), to be a woman in Swahili society surely did not mean one could not be anyone else. Their biological sex was and is only one of the factors shaping their identity, influencing their experiences and the ways in which they are portrayed in the literary texts of women.

The lyrical orality of Swahili women

The discussion of women's images in Swahili oral tradition deserves a separate article. Here, it is important to mention briefly that many different images of women have been preserved in Swahili oral output: images created in proverbs, legends, songs and tales. In the texts, we find smart, brave and clever heroines (see *Binti la ng'ombe mia* 'woman for one hundred cows' in: Bertoncini-Zúbková 2009:

16; *Binti Ali the Clever* in: Lihamba *et al*. 2007: 98-103), as well as images of unfaithful women doing harm to themselves and their husbands (see also Büttner 1894). What matters for us is the creativity of Swahili women, the self-portrait emerging from the texts composed and used by women.

For many centuries, Swahili women were actively involved in the development of oral texts, stepping into the roles of performers and narrators, as well as teachers — *waalimu*, sharing their experiences and wisdom. This analysis will focus on a discussion of songs — lyrical oral texts that lie at the boundary of the personal and intimate and that which becomes collective experience.

Jan Knappert (1986; 1990) gathered and published a large collection of Swahili women's song. In these volumes, we find love songs presenting the relations between men and women, numerous lullabies, songs about maternity and marriage. This should come as no surprise in a culture in which maternity has always been and still is the most important aspect of women's lives. In Swahili culture, the state of maternity is glorified and treated as a blessing for a woman, as expressed in the proverb *Furaha ya mama ni watoto* 'a mother's happiness is her children'. Maternity was not only an important part of one's private life. This state or its lack underpins a woman's position in society, and so also in her public life. To be a mother was the primary function of a woman in Swahili society, considered her duty toward her husband and family. The role of a mother was in fact a significant factor in determining a woman's social status, and the lack of a child led to the degradation of a woman's position (Balisidya 1982: 3; Lihamba *et al*. 2007: 11).

Many of the collected songs are initiation or occasional songs, performed during a special time in one's personal or public life, such as the birth of a child, attaining sexual maturity, a wedding or a funeral. Lullabies (*nyimbo za kubembeleza*) make up a significant portion of the songs. They had their practical function of calming a weeping child or lulling it to a sleep. The below lullaby is a piece of advice for a mother on how to deal with a crying child.

Mwana huyu ana nini?	What ails this child?
Anidhiki roho yangu	He makes my soul suffer
Usiku kucha hulia	He cries all night long
Ana kata ini langu	It cuts into my heart[1]'
Mwana wako akilia	When your child cries
Mubembeleze alaye	rock him that he may fall asleep
Ayanywe na maziwaye	let him drink his milk
Azile na sukaria	and let him eat sweets

[1] Ini means 'liver'. It was translated by Knappert as 'heart' to give the metaphorical meaning *of ini as a symbol of the soul.*

Mwana wako akilia	When your child cries
Umwimbie nyimbo mia	sing a hundred songs for him
Mwana wangu wa lilanji	My child of orange blossom
Mwana dhahabu wa ranji.	my golden coloured child.

(Knappert 1990: 132)

Women's songs also tell us about the difficult experience of childbirth. The song below illustrates the mother's pain and her fear for her child's life.

Uzazi ni pato	Motherhood is a precious thing
Kima ni uketo	but the price is high,
Ni tete na moto	it hurts like a spark of fire,
Haina wendani.	there is nothing like it.
Naomba kwa kite	I pray in pain
Rabbi siniate	Lord do not leave me alone,
Nusuria mte	Help the tender young plant,
Wangu maskini	my poor darling.

(Knappert 1990: 129)

Women usually describe childbirth as a painful experience, which every mother must face alone. It is compared to a high price that a woman must pay for her future happiness (see Knappert 1986: 104, 109, 116, 134; Knappert 1990: 129–130). Songs about childbirth were performed by a more experienced woman for one who was expecting a child. They could be part of initiation rites. Women could share their experiences and instruct younger girls on the life of a community, teaching them to accept social norms.

Another important role in a woman's life connected to her reproductive functions was the role of a wife. A large amount of songs from the repertoire of Swahili women are about marriage and the relations between the sexes. These songs were sung mostly during weddings, and they defined the traditional woman's position within the marriage, as the example below illustrates:

Ladha ya mume	The pleasure of having a husband
Ni kula na nguo	Is that he provides food and clothes
Na maneno mema	And well-chosen words
Yapayo kituo	Which give one peace of mind
Na aliyosema	And what he has said
Yawe chako chuo	Let it be your school.

(Knappert 1986: 115)

The above-quoted short song shows the values of a husband and his role as the family's guardian and provider. It also presents the attitude prized in a married woman, which is that of a wife who shows obedience and respect to her husband. In another wedding song, women offer advice to men:

Mke mrai mpembe	Coax and cajole your wife
Kwa ukweli na uwongo	With true and invented stories,
Mpigwa na'ti ni jembe	The hoe is used to hit the earth
Inuliwayo ni 'kongo	The spear is what has to be raised,
Mkulima lisha ng'ombe	Farmer feed your cow
Deni ongeza kiwango	Increase your debt by a notch.

(Knappert 1986: 128)

In this song, the woman is symbolically presented as a hoe (a tool normally used by women during work in the field), and the man as a spear (a phallic symbol), and respectively as a cow and a farmer. The song words advice to a husband that he should show kindness and attention to his wife (by telling her true and made-up stories), and care for her well-being, just as a farmer feeds and takes care of his cow. The more attention he gives to his wife, the more his wife will owe to him. As Knappert suggests, feeding can be seen as a metaphor of impregnation. Therefore, a woman can pay her 'debt' by giving birth (Knappert 1986: 128). The value of a woman, a wife in particular, is defined by her reproductive abilities. Women are presented as economic means used to increase a family estate, and as a man's property. This image is also illustrated by the Swahili proverb: *Mke ni nguo, mgomba kupaliliwa* 'a wife is clothing, a banana tree needs to be weeded' (Balisidya 1982: 14).

On the other hand, if a husband does not fulfill his duties, or the love within the marriage is dying, a wife will sing to him:

Mkiona umevuka	When you see that (the fire of love) has gone out
uutote ukawake	Stir it up that it may burn again;
Mke akitaka toka	If a wife wants to go away
Tapata ndia atoke.	She will find a way to get out.

(Knappert 1986: 128)

Many songs composed and sung by Swahili women were critical voices and protest songs against oppressive norms and traditions, such as the institution of arranged marriage or divorce law. The song quoted below in fragments is a protest song, the lament of a divorced woman addressed to Muslim judges. It invokes experiences recognized and shared by many Swahili women, separated from their children after divorce.

Muniradhini mabwana wa bara na 'Pwani piya	Forgive me gentleman, from the Coast, and from up-country too,
Mzazi kuaswa mwana ni mila au shariya?	To withhold a child from her mother, is it a custom or law?
Nipeni yenye maana akilini kuningiya	Give me a meaningful answer, so that the mind can retain it:
Mzazi kuaswa mwana ni mila au shariya?	To withhold a child from her mother, is it a custom or law?
Na mume tulioana Mwangu katujaaliya	My husband and I married, and God granted us,
Nasi tukaopata mwana	That we had a child
(...)	(…)
Kisha tukaja gombana utesi ulipongiya	In the end we quarreled, as discord entered (our house),
Na mume tukaachana talaka kanandikiya	And we were divorced, my husband wrote a divorce note for me,
Kwake sasa siko tena kwetu nikajirudiya	I no longer live with him now, I have went back to my parent's home.
Mzazi kuaswa mwana ni mila au shariya?	To withhold a child from her mother, is it a custom or law?
Mume akatwaa mwana kazidi kuniusiya	My husband took the child away, and lectured me as well:
„Siye mwana wako tena natalaka nakwambiya	"She is no longer your child, we are now divorced, I tell you,
Hata ukiwa mgonjwa si ruhusa kukujiya."	Even when you are ill, she may not go to see you."
(...)	(…)
Nikawa shariya sina kama alivyoniambia	So I was without (help from) the law, as my husband told me,
Maadamu tumeachana mwana kanizuiliya	While we were divorced, he kept the child away from me
(...)	(…)
Usiku hata mchana sina raha ya duniya	At night and in daytime, I had no rest on earth. And now I have no child, and this is the law.
Hivi leo sina mwana basi hii ni shariya	
Mzazi kuaswa mwana ni mila au shariya?	To withhold a child from her mother, is it a custom or law?

(Knappert 1986: 111–113)

Arranged marriages are yet another frequently criticized institution. In the song, the presented young women satirize the older men usually chosen for them by their families:

Sitaki kizee	I do not want an old man
Endae kama gambo	Who walks with difficulty,
Nataka kijana	I want a young man
Endae kwa tambo	Who walks with a big stick.
Ndiye ayuwae	He will know
Kunipa vipambo	To give me ornaments
Na kupanda chombo	And to climb on board ship.

(Knappert 1986: 114)

The act of adorning a wife and climbing onto the ship symbolize the sexual act. In a humorous way, young girls are expressing their preferences in respect to their future husbands.

Aside from the ordinary lullabies previously discussed, there are also others with a twofold function and meaning. In these lullabies, women share with their children secrets connected to their painful experiences. Through the calming melodies, women found comfort and soothed their regrets and loneliness. In this lullaby, a woman is remembering the sorrow she felt when she was forced to marry an older man:

Angole, angole mwanangu,	Hush, hush my baby,
mwanangu nakuchombeza	I am lulling you my baby
Usilie usilie ukilia waniliza,	Do not cry, for when you cry you make
wanikumbusha ukiwa	me cry
Ukiwa na Baba na Mama,	As you remind me of the bitterness and
kunioza dume kongwe	loneliness
Halisafiri, halendi kazi lapiga	Caused by my father and mother
matonge	Who have married me off to an old man
Likiingia kitandani hunguruma	A docile, inactive and useless man
kama ng'ombe	All it knows about is gluttony
Likiingia mvunguni,	And when it goes to bed
lagongoresha vikombe.	All it does is snore like a cow
	And when near the bed,
	It knocks the utensils over.

(Senkoro 2005: 2)

With a gentle voice, soft rhyming words and a swaying rhythm, women told their secrets without a worry that they would be revealed by the small child. In this song, a woman is singing about her secret love to a man she cannot see:

Ukenda nisalimie	When you pass on my greetings
Kwa jina usinitaje	But do not mention my name
Mlangoni pana watu	There are many people at the door
Kidege nitapitaje?	How can I, poor bird, pass through?
Ukenda nikonyezee	So, when you go there give him a wink
Jioni mwambie aje.	Tell him to come in the evening.

(Senkoro 2005: 3)

The oral creativity of Swahili women can be defined as intimate and individual, as well as presenting a collective mind. In the first case, intimacy is shown when a song touches the personal realms of life, when it provides a narration about relationships and motherly experiences. Because of the subject matters and stylistics, the songs intend to create a sensation of intimate creativity, in which a woman unveils herself. Nevertheless, even the most intimate piece belongs to a collective consciousness. It is expressed at the right moment, and then further disseminated by women who share similar experiences.

The resonance of oral texts is ambivalent as — on the one hand — they can be defined as closed and fixed, and — on the other — as variable and flexible. i.e. "(…) fixed in the sense that they conform to specific thematic, formal, and linguistic patterns, but also flexible in the sense that they can be accommodated to the performer's individuality and creativity. Improvisation is, therefore, an important feature of the oral tradition" (Nnaemeka 1994: 138).

The narrator's improvisation and her/his individual approach to an oral text leads to the performance of a new and unique creative act every time. Even though the text's prototype does not disappear from view completely, each time it is occluded by its own reflections — improvisations.

Women's oral creativity has similar characteristics. It has been shown that women's songs can be closed and fixed by complying with stylistic rules and by thematic references to social and cultural norms (such as songs presenting women in their main reproductive role). At the same time, many examples show that this part of creativity was and remains variable and flexible. It can be used to undermine social paradigms. Suffering, angry and disappointed women have found ways to express their feelings through direct criticism or by using poetic language and metaphors to compose ambiguous or humorous texts.

Therefore, an analysis of Swahili women's oral creativity exposes an identity oscillating between a static and a dynamic state. On the one hand, it is an identity that remains stable and agrees with women's normative cultural roles. On the other, it is dynamic and creatively influences the existing reality. This unstable state of mind is not a negative one. It only shows that women's creativity is a dynamic space open to multivocality.

Lyrical orality is one of the aspects shaping women's literary identity. The next part of the article focuses on the Muslim aspect of this identity and other expressions of Swahili culture.

Didactic and moralistic poetry in the *tenzi* tradition

Swahili culture was a culture of the spoken and written word. While storytelling was an important part of *Waswahili* society, it went hand in hand with burgeoning literature written in Arabic script. Until the beginning of the 20th century, it was mainly didactic, moralistic and religious in character (Knappert 1979; Mazrui 2007; Ohly 1972). As Mazrui states (2007), the dominant religious character of Swahili literature from before the 20th century, consists not only in the themes but in the authors' beliefs, as it was created by Muslims for whom texts should above all promote religious values.

The beginnings of the development of Swahili literature remain unclear, as does women's contributions to it. In an article presenting women's creative writing in the classical period of Swahili writing (from 17th to 19th century), we can find information about a poetic letter written by Mwana Khamisi Mwinyi Mvita in the 17th century, criticizing the Portuguese rulers of Mombasa (Mulokozi 1993: 107; see also Ohly 1972: 24). Next, a recently published volume about women's writing from East Africa includes a letter by Fatima binti Muhammad Mkubwa — the ruler of Kilwa, written in 1711, in which she proposes or accepts an alliance with the Sultan of Oman against the Portuguese expansion (Lihamba *et al.* 2007: 71–72). Albeit, the letter is not a literary text, it testifies to women's participation in the development of writing in Swahili, and it reveals an interesting piece of Swahili history in which women participated. However, these subjects remain in majority unexplored.

As Rajmund Ohly writes (1972), Swahili literature flourished between the 18th and 19th centuries, dominated by the tradition of the *tenzi* — narrative poems with a characteristic construction and a defined rhyme. Every verse within a *utenzi* is composed of four lines and eight syllables, the first three lines rhyme and the last fourth line ends with a rhyme which is repeated throughout the whole poem (every four lines).

Women's literature from the classical period does not form a sizeable collection, which results from the above-described position women held in Swahili Muslim society. Writing in the Arabic script was predominantly the domain of men, and women's education was only allowed on a very basic level. It usually included only teaching women to read and did not include writing. In addition, women were only able to gain such rudimentary skills if the parents decided to teach their daughters (see Ruete 1998: 53–58; Mazrui 2007: 92).

Women who overcame the obstacles created by social and cultural norms managed to produce literary texts that to this day are considered some of the greatest Swahili poems. The most frequently analyzed *utenzi* composed by a woman is *Utenzi wa Mwana Kupona* written by Mwana Kupona Binti Mshamu. Another poem, *Utenzi wa Fatuma* (Knappert 1979: 120–127), probably composed by Mwana Said Amin, has also entered the canon of classical Swahili poetry. It is important

to mention that in both poems religious values and norms of behavior for Muslim women prevail. Moreover, both poems were composed by women with a very high social and economic status, as they derived from the noble houses of the w*aungwana*.

The exact date of the creation of *Utenzi wa Fatuma*[2] is unknown. It is assumed that the poem was written at the beginning of the 19th century by Mwana Said Amin, from the house of Sayyid, descendants of Hussain, the son of Fatima and Ali. According to Jan Knappert (1979: 121), Mwana Said Amin could also have copied a poem written by one of her descendants. Therefore, this would mean that the poem comes from the 18th century. Even though we cannot clearly define the author of the poem, without any doubts we can state that Swahili literature owes to Mwana Said the protection and dissemination of the words of the poem and of Fatima's tradition.

According to Muslim tradition, Fatima was the beloved daughter of the Islamic Prophet Muhammad and his first wife, Hadija. Fatima was Ali's wife and the mother of Hassan and Hussain. Fatima is well known among all Muslim women; she is a heroine and a role model for religious and moral virtues.

In the poem, Fatima marries Ali, the Prophet's cousin and one of his first followers. Initially, when Ali falls in love with Fatima, he does not have the courage to ask her for hand in marriage because of his poverty. He prays to Allah for help, and God decides to hear him out. With the help of angels, he arranges a wedding in heaven. At the ceremony, Fatima is represented by God himself, and Archangel Gabriel performs the role of Ali. This picture is in accordance with Muslim tradition, according to which the bride is not present during marriages arranged between families, but rather she is represented by her father or another elder male member of her family (Knappert 1979: 124). After the wedding, angels descend to Earth to bring Allah's will and to present the wedding gifts to Fatima. She accepts God's decision, but refuses to accept the gifts. Instead, she asks Allah if on the Judgment Day she could pray for all the women's souls to be rescued and accepted into heaven. Allah grants her wish (Knappert 1979: 120–127).

Fatima occupies the position of a religious woman; therefore, she fully accepts Muslim laws commanding devotion and obedience to Allah's will and that of the Prophet Muhammad. They have a decisive influence on her life. Fatima does not care about wealth and temporal goods, and she accepts living out her life with a poor man like Ali. She forfeits the gifts from heaven in return for the salvation of all women. This act of sacrifice and goodness makes her a heroine of Muslim women.

Presumably, because of its main theme and the main character (the heroine Fatima), *Utenzi wa Fatuma* was wrongly perceived as a moral and religious text referring only to women. Through analyzing the acts of the other main character

[2] The fragments of *Utenzi wa Fatuma* are quoted after Knappert 1979.

— Ali, we recognize that the poem is in fact comprised of moral teachings for all Muslims.

Ali ibn Ali Talib is a religious man who accepts Allah's will. He has a modest character, and — just like his beloved wife — helping other people in need is more important than collecting material wealth for himself. When Ali wakes up after the wedding, he decides to travel in search of food and work. After a long march, he reaches Syria where he manages to collect three gold coins. On his way back, Ali meets a beggar, a hungry old man and a mother. He does not hesitate to give them his money. Next, he meets a man who wants to sell him a beautiful camel and because Ali has no money, the man agrees to be paid later. In front of Ali's house, another man appears who gives him a pouch of gold coins in exchange for the beautiful camel. He later discovers that all the people he met on his way were angels sent by Allah. For showing them goodness, Ali and Fatima receive gold from God. The couple organizes a big wedding feast and the rest of God's gold they give to the poor and the hungry (Knappert 1979: 126-127).

The discussed poem should be counted among other religious poems belonging to Swahili traditional literature from before the 20th century. The author, Mwana Said Amin, presents ideas characteristic for Islam, where Allah is the creator of all things and creatures, deciding about their lives and their destiny. People should remain obedient to God's will and trust his wisdom, just like Ali and Fatima. The history of the Prophet's daughter teaches moral and religious values by showing the attitudes of good Muslims which are worth following.

The next poem, *Utenzi wa Mwana Kupona*,[3] written in 1858 by Mwana Kupona binti Mshamu, also belongs to the Muslim tradition in Swahili literature. The poem is a letter of teachings and advice written by Mwana Kupona for her daughter, Mwana Hashima binti Mataka. Although it is not a poem narrating the life of the Prophet and his family, the poem can be perceived as religious, as its main message contains the teachings of Islam and norms relating to customs cherished by the Muslim Swahili society.

Utenzi wa Mwana Kupona is no doubt the most known and often discussed classical Swahili poem written by a woman. It has also aroused controversy due to the way in which it presents the position of Swahili women within marriage (see Mulokozi 1999: 109; Njozi 1990). I would claim that these controversies result from the non-recognition of the historical and social contexts in which the poem was created. First of all, the author herself is an important factor, as Mwana Kupona binti Mashamu derives from the noble house of Nabhany and was the wife of Bwana Muhammadi Is-Haq bin Mbarak, the ruler of Siu (Mulokozi 1999: 104). Thus, the identity of the author, as well as the way she perceived and presented the reality around her, were determined by her descent and her religion. Mwana Kupona teaches her daughter not to forget her duties as a Muslim, to

[3] The fragments and their translations are quoted from the collection compiled by Allen (1971).

always worship Allah and the Prophet Muhammad, and to always follow Islamic dogma. Mwana Kupona mentions five persons, who decide about a woman's fate, and who should be shown honor and respect: Allah, Muhammad, her father, her mother and her husband. According to Mwana Kupona, on Judgment Day, a husband will decide whether his wife's soul will go to paradise or whether it will be condemned to hell:

Na awe radhi mumeo	Please your husband
siku zote mkaao	all the days that you live with him
siku mukhitariwao	and on the day that you receive your call,
awe radhi mekuwia.	his approval will be clear.
Na ufapo wewe mbee	If you die first,
radhi yake izengee	seek his blessing
wende uitukuzie	and go with it upon you
ndipo upatapo ndia.	so you will find a way.
Na siku ufufuwayo	When you rise again
nadhari nda mumeyo	the choice is your husband's
taulizwa atakayo	he will be asked his will
ndilo takalotendewa.	and that will be done.
Kipenda wende peponi	If he wishes you to go to paradise
utapekwa dalihini	at once you will go
kinena wende motoni	if he says to hell
huna budi utatiwa.	there must you be sent.

(Allen 1971: 60, 61; verses 24–27)

As Hamza Njozi states (1990: 62), the belief that a man has an impact on his wife's afterlife seems to be held by the Swahili people and Muslims from East Africa. However, it is not confirmed in the teachings of the Koran, according to which every person will be judged justly by Allah for his or her deeds.

Much of the advice contained in the poem applies to marriage, and more precisely to a wife's duties. The poetess cautions her daughter to always be obedient to her husband's will and to avoid any quarrels; only then will there be love and consent in the marriage and she will avert suffering and pain in her life and in her afterlife.

Keti naye kwa adabu	Live with him orderly
usimtie ghadhabu	anger him not
akinena simjibu	if he rebukes you do not argue,
itahidi kunyamaa.	try to be silent.

Enda naye kwa imani
atakalo simkhini
we naye sikindaneni
ukindani huumia.

Give him all your heart
do not refuse what he wants
listen to each other
for obstinacy is hurtful.

(Allen 1971: 60, 61; verses 28–29)

Mama sinoe ulimi
nioleza wako umi
naliowa nyaka kumi
tusitete siku moya.

Do not raise your voice
be like your mother
I saw ten years
without a quarrel

Naliowa na babako
kwa furaha na ziteko
tusondoleane mbeko
siku zote twalokaa.

In my marriage with your father
we had joy and laughter
and never in the time that we were together
did either give the other cause for shame

(Allen 1971: 64, 65; verses 51–52)

For Mwana Kupona, other important duties of a wife include keeping her husband happy, giving him pleasure, her time and attention, caring for him, and never making him angry (verses 28-36). A wife should also care for her surroundings and herself, as well as keep a clean household. The fragment below illustrates noble women's customs concerning garments and hygiene.

Na kowa na kuisinga
na nyee zako kufunga
na asimini kutunga
na firashani kutiya.

Wash and perfume yourself
plait your hair
string jasmine
and lay it on the counterpane.

Nawe ipambe libasi
ukae kama harusi
maguu tia kugesi
na mikononi makowa.

Then make your clothes pretty
always like a bride
and wear anklets on your legs
and bracelets on your arms.

Na kidani na kifungo
sitoe katika shingo
muwili siwate mwengo
ya marashi na daliya.

Always have a necklace
and clasp on your neck
never allow your body to be dirty
nor omit rosewater.

Pete sitoe zandani
hina sikome nyaani

Always have rings on your fingers
always henna on the palm of your hands

wanda siwate matoni	always kohl on your eyes
na nshini kuitiya.	and eyebrows.
Nyumba yako i nadhifu	Your house must be a nest
mumo umsharifu	and credit to your husband
wakutanapo sufufu	then when people meet there
msifu na kumtaya.	you will have a good reputation.

(Allen 1971: 62, 63; 38–42)

The poetess teaches her daughter the rules of noble behavior, good personality traits she should follow, such as modesty and amenity; and bad habits she should avoid, such as being snoopy or gossiping (verses 19, 46, 51). A wife cannot leave her house without permission from her husband, and she should not be away from home for too long. A Muslim woman should always remember to cover her face and lower her glance when visiting a public space (verses 44–47). She should always show respect toward an older person and to people from higher classes (verses 15–18).

Mwana Kupona teaches her daughter to avoid being in too close relationships with her own servants:

Sitangane na watuma	Do not consort with slaves
illa mwida wa khuduma	unless there is work to be done
watakuvutia tama	they will lead you astray
labuda nimekwambiya.	as I must have told you.

(Allen 1971: 60, 61; verse 20)

The above fragment shows the class hierarchy of the *Waswahili* in the 19th century. Contrary to the opinions of some researchers, Mwana Kupona does not encourage her daughter to show disrespect and contempt toward people from lower classes (Njozi 1990: 56-57). Other fragments of the poem confirm this when Mwana Kupona criticizes loftiness and pride and the behavior of some rich men who despise the poor. The poetess orders her daughter to show kindness and respect to everyone in need, regardless of his or her socioeconomic status (verses 62–64).

The poetess's words should be considered within the context of the concrete time and sociocultural space, in which this particular woman's identity was shaped. The morality presented in the verses written by Mwana Kupona is the morality of the noble class, living in 19th-century Muslim Swahili society. Mwana Kupona's religious devotion is visible in every part of the poem, in the repetition of God's name, and in the end prayer. The poetess's advice is drawn from the norms of the Islamic faith and from the customs of the *waungwana.* Certainly, the poem is not a revolutionary one, and it does not discuss the condition of Swahili women nor

their images within Islam. These are not Mwana Kupona's aims. At the beginning of the poem, she presents her intentions and the reasons for composing the poem:

Ntungulie utungo hunu	I have composed this poem
kwa zehemu na zitinu	in trouble and sorrow
kwa qadha yako Dayyanu	by Thy decree
na hukumuzo Jalia.	and Thy dispensation, Most High Judge.
Ntungulie nili saqimu	In have composed it in illness
moyo usina fahamu	and without great understanding
usomeni Islamu	but read it, Muslims
mukiogozana ndia.	when you help one another on the way.
Na sababu ya kutunga	My reason for composing it
si shairi si malenga	it is not that I am a poet or an expert
nina kijana muinga	but I have a silly daughter
napenda kumuusia.	whom I wish to instruct.
Napenda kumnabihi	I want to warn her
laala katanabahi	and perhaps she will heed the warning
kamfuata illahi	to follow God
pamwe na wake rijaa.	and her husband.
Somani nyute huramu	Read it all women
maana muyafahamu	and perhaps you will understand
musitukue laumu	and be blameless
mbee za Mola Jalia.	before Almighty God.
Somani mite ya nganu	Read it you who are growing up
mutii waume wenu	and be obedient to your husbands
musipatwe na zitunu	then you will not be afflicted
za akhera na dunia.	in this world nor in the next.

(Allen 1971: 68–71; verses 90–96)

Mwana Kupona wrote her poem while she was seriously ill and sensed her own death. Therefore, the poem is the poetess's last will, a chance to share her opinions with her daughter. Mwana Kupona directed her words also to all Muslims and women who want to live according to the norms and laws of Islam. Her aim is not art for art's sake, but rather to praise the name of Allah and to spread his teachings.

Utenzi wa Masahibu 'Poem about misfortunes' written by Mwana Bukhalasi (Allen 1971: 130–268) is another example of didactic poetry. As Mulokozi states

(1993: 111), the poem is from the 19th century; however, the exact date of the manuscript is unknown. *Utenzi wa Masahibu* is an adaptation of an oral text, as the poetess explains in the initial verses:

Kadhalika fahamuni	Understand further,
hadithi hini wendani	my friends, that I did not
sikusoma zitabuni	read this story in books
ni hadithi kupokea.	it is a story received.
Ni kigano kutolewa	It is a story handed down
makwetu tukaambiwa	we were told it in our home
huyuza yaliyokuwa	it describes events
miaka ya zamania.	of long ago.

(Allen 1971: 132, 133; verses 10–11)

Mwana Bukhalasi narrates the story of a wealthy man who lives in a kingdom ruled by a tyrant torturing his subjects and treating them badly. The main character of the tale is a man with a good heart, who respects people and helps the poor. Unfortunately, he is too concentrated on his own wealth and decides to find out if he is truly the wealthiest man in the world. He orders his servants to build one hundred and twenty ships loaded with goods, such as attar, ambergris, rose wood, and then he sends the merchants out in search of the wealthiest man who will buy all the goods. After a long journey, the merchants find one man who can afford to buy all the ships and all the cargo, and he sends one hundred and twenty golden ships as a gift to the wealthy man. When the ships return, the wealthy man sees that he is not the wealthiest man in the world. This event does not escape the eyes of the cruel sultan, who feels threatened by the wealthy man and decides to get rid of him. In the meantime, the main character notices that all his white doves have escaped from his gardens. He reads this as a bad omen, and decides to go and visit an old fortuneteller. The old woman confirms his fears and warns him that many misfortunes will befall him. She foretells his future, and the poverty, difficulties, suffering and calamities he will experience. She says that poverty is not a shameful thing but it is written into the life of every man. The fortuneteller does not offer any advice to the wealthy man, she only says *siyakinga masahibu/ alipendalo Wahhabu/ husibu kuelekea* 'you cannot prevent disaster when it pleases God to bring misfortunes upon you' (verse 504).

It happens as the old woman foretold. The sultan captures the wealthy man and banishes him from the kingdom. The protagonist embarks on a long journey. Hiding beneath ship decks, he travels from one harbor to another. In one of the cities, he is almost beaten to death by a furious crowd falsely accusing him of theft. When the protagonist regains consciousness, the people around ask him what the reason is behind his sufferings, where he comes from and where he is heading.

The once-wealthy man replies that only God knows. Finally, he reaches the town where the man who once bought all the ships from him lives. They meet when the main character is again falsely accused of some crime, and the local people are beating him. The wealthy merchant, who happens to be walking by, takes the poor man to his home. Once again, the protagonist is asked three questions: what the reason behind his sufferings is, where he comes from and where he is heading. He gives the same reply that only God knows. The wealthy merchant asks him to share his story. After listening to it, the wealthy merchant decides to help the poor man. Together, they organize an armed expedition against the cruel sultan, and win the battle. The story ends when the main protagonist becomes the new sultan and regains all his stolen wealth.

The poem *Utenzi wa Masahibu* raises the subject of social injustice and tyranny in the world and asks about the role of people in overcoming them. The main character of the story loses everything he owned and cared for in one moment, and from then on he is called *tajiri maskini* 'the poor wealthy man'. This poverty applies to his mental state rather than his physical one. The man lives in an illusion, blind to all the injustice and cruelty around him. He measures the value of a person by his or her wealth; therefore, he goes to a lot of trouble to find out if he is in fact the wealthiest man in the world. The oxymoron used to name the protagonist is the clue that brings us to the moral of the story. When the protagonist decides to fight with injustice, he stops being called *tajiri maskini* (Njozi 2003: 35–36). The other wealthy man is called *tajiri karimu* 'generous wealthy man' in opposition to *tajiri maskini*. He does not measure other people by their wealth. He buys all the luxury goods and all the ships not in order to compete, as he says to his wife, *Sitashindana kwa mali/ hatagamia dunia* 'I shall not compete for wealth and rely upon worldly things' (verse 313). *Tajiri karimu* does not judge people rashly. When a furious crowd punishes a random man, he is the one to ask questions and seek truth and justice. In addition, he tries to convince *tajiri maskini* that fighting against oppression and injustice is necessary.

The poem raises the question of whether a man can interfere in God's order of the universe. On the one hand, human life is controlled by God's will, as the fortuneteller says. Her words become true. In one moment, *tajiri maskini* loses everything he owned and from then on, his life becomes full of sorrows and misfortunes. The physical as well as mental journey he takes is a long and painful one, but at the end he becomes more conscious and assured that it is possible and necessary to fight against oppression and tyranny.

Utenzi wa Masahibu is a beautiful parabolic story combining both literary traditions: the oral and the written. The poem can be placed in the space between religious literature and secular poetry. The philosophy presented in the text can be equated with religious discourse in which God is the creator of all things and everything happen according to God's will. In the text, we find direct references

to God used by the poetess and by the characters. Nevertheless, the poem cannot be unequivocally categorized as religious. The moral of the story tells us it is necessary to fight against tyranny, oppression and social injustice, caused by man. The poetess Mwana Bukhalasi narrates the story:

[...] hufunda mtu	[…] to teach one
aghuriwao ni kitu	who is led astray by earthly things
na mtu myua utu	to know humanity
na izingavyo dunia.	and the way of the world.

(Allen 1971: 132, 133; verse 7)

The story carries the message that people should not rely on material things, as they are elusive and temporary.

[...] huenda kisa yakaya	[...] they come and they go
wala hayana mmoya	they remain with no one
ndivyo ilivyo dunia	this is how the world is.

(Allen 1971: 132, 133; verse 9)

Religious and didactic poetry represent only one side of women's literature as it shows Swahili women's identity from one perspective, setting her in a precise social and cultural space marked by religious morality and the customs of the noble class. The other end of the margin of women's creativity is represented by secular literary creativity, which remains little known. The poem "Saada's lament" or "The lament of a wife" is an example of such poetry. It was written in the 18th century by Saada Taji li Arifina and, until recently, she was believed to have been the first poetess writing in Swahili (Knappert 1979: 192). The text is a poetic letter in which Saada shares her sorrows with her friend, Binti Abu Bakari, and asks her for advice. Saada was married as a young girl to a man that pushed her away without any reason and demanded a divorce. She writes that she was an obedient wife and never quarreled with her husband. That did not protect her or her marriage. Her husband petitioned for a divorce, and when leaving he took all Saada's things, as well as the dowry she had brought with her. "Saada's lament" presents an extremely different image of the relationship between a woman and a man than the one captured in the teachings of Mwana Kupona. Saada's poetic letter talks of the injustice to which married women were exposed, all the more painful as it was legitimized by divorce law.

Summary

Women had a huge impact on the creation and development of Swahili literature and they continue to contribute to shaping it today. Nonetheless, it is not a creativity shaped by their sex, as has been shown by emphasizing the contextuality of the category of "woman", the plurality of identities and their manifestations in the literature created by women.

Overstepping the boundaries and limits of the category of "woman" and rejecting the concept of universal experience leads to a deeper understanding of the hybrid character of women's social and literary identity. In oral tradition, it is a dynamic identity reacting to society and its culture. This identity, shared by many others, was sung over and over again. At the same time, the female writer remains individual and improvising, an artist with many faces. In the stone towns, this identity remains heterogeneous, entangled in a net of interchanging agents: sex, descent, place of residence, class and religion. It can be called a Muslim identity. As a poetess, she was obedient to God's will. At the same time, she refused to say everything that was on her mind, and was denied the essential paper and ink.

Swahili women's creativity should by analyzed within historical, social, cultural and political contexts, and only then can we have a broader and more complete view of the richness they created. We should listen to their voices, read their texts and try to hear their stories. Women have many stories to tell.

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Izabela Will

To what extent do African studies refocus our understanding of gestures?

Abstract

The paper aims to provide an overview of the most important aspects and characteristic features of the gestures used in sub-Saharan Africa. Firstly, the article includes a discussion of the development of gesture studies and the methods of scrutinizing gestures. Later, several factors (social stratification, culture, orality and language) that influence the use of gestures in Africa are analyzed. It is claimed that these factors have an impact on some fundamental issues connected with gesture studies such as the definition or classification of gestures. The discussion leads to the conclusion that rather than the psychological or cognitive, it is the communicative aspect of gestures that seems to be crucial for research throughout sub-Saharan Africa.

Keywords: gestures, emblems, sub-Saharan Africa, nonverbal communication, ideophones, orality

Introduction

Since the beginning, African studies have been focused on the structure of languages. Collecting lists of words and writing grammars were the first activities undertaken by European travelers, missionaries, and scholars. These activities had practical dimensions: grammars and lexicons were helpful in learning local languages and this skill enabled communication with the authorities and translating the Bible or prayer books. More attentive studies into languages conducted later were shaped by the tradition of classical philology present in the Western world for centuries; to study language meant to study a text written in Greek or Latin. The same way of studying was applied to African languages. Since most of them had no written versions, an enormous amount of energy was invested in producing written texts. This included setting up orthographies of languages, collecting data, publishing fairy tales, poetry and stories in local languages. These "naked" texts, although valuable for structural studies, lacked certain pragmatic

features that are of great importance in sub-Saharan Africa: speakers, prosody, speech framing, social distance, directness, politeness. The interest in these meta-linguistic features present in utterances came quite late and, as noticed by Sommer and Vierke (2011: 11), African languages are still under-researched in this respect. Paying attention to gestures came along with interest in these meta-linguistic features. The idea that gestures can determine or completely change the understanding of a verbal message (Yakasai 2014) had a great impact on the study of speech acts.

The aim of this paper is not to summarize the thus far undertaken studies on gestures in Africa, the more so as such an overview already exists (Brookes, Nyst 2014). The paper focuses on pointing out those aspects of gesture studies that are not often taken into consideration by the leading researchers working on gestures. On the other hand, these very same aspects are often presented as crucial by those dealing with gestures in sub-Saharan Africa.

Gesture studies

Research concerning gestures is still a relatively new area of study. Although the first relevant papers on gestures in modern times were published more than a half a century ago (Efron 1941), the real boom in studying gestures began at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. It was then that the International Society on Gestural Studies was founded and many monographs on gestures were published (McNeill 2005; Kendon 2004).

One may ask the question why the interest in gestures developed so late. One important reason is definitely the ephemeral nature of the object of study, i.e. most gestures are produced during speech and in order to scrutinize them one needs recordings containing pieces of natural speech. The development of the digital world seems to have had a direct impact on the popularity of gesture studies. Since due to the appearance of appropriate equipment everyone can record a piece of speech, studying gestures has become more available. Access to digital facilities has also changed the nature of gesture studies. Earlier works (Morris et al. 1979; Efron 1941) were rather focused on conventional gestures that were widely used by a given society and could be easily elicited, photographed and described by the researcher. These kinds of gestures are similar to signs in having their own meanings and in being performed independently of speech production.

Another reason why the study of gestures has not attracted the scientific world for so long is the fact that it is not connected with any specific discipline. Research on gestures has been published by social psychologists, linguists, anthropologists or even zoologists, to mention only a few. As noticed by Załazińska (2006: 82), each of these disciplines has developed its own standards of doing research and the researchers of various disciplines have rarely consulted the results of such

studies in other fields, so each of them has worked in isolation. Later, the studies on gestures underwent an evolution. Researchers representing various disciplines started exchanging the results of their works giving rise to gesture studies; an area that is interdisciplinary in nature and takes into account the achievements of various scientific fields.

Methods of studying gestures

Anyone who wants to conduct research on gestures must choose a method of scrutinizing them. The simplest method seems to be direct observation, i.e. looking at a person who talks. Such a method allows us to observe spontaneous talk in various situational contexts, but it has its shortcomings. Even if we are able to notice certain gestures, we can never "rewind reality" to make sure whether a particular gesture was involved or whether an accidental movement of the hands, arms, head or lips took place. One more problem with direct observation is connected to imposing on one's privacy. As noted by Will (2015), many gestures that express emotions are used in conflict situations. In order to collect data, a researcher must not only be in a position to enter the private sphere of the home, but also watch very intimate moments, such as quarrels when emotions are aroused. The method of direct observation is, however, useful when it comes to conventionalized gestures that are often used by members of a given society and that they find easily recognizable.

Another much more popular method of scrutinizing gestures is making use of recorded materials. Generally speaking, researchers use two types of data[1]. The first type — experimental data — includes recording people in a laboratory. The individuals are either asked to discuss a particular topic or to tell a story, which are usually summaries of a short film or a cartoon that was shown to them before the experiment. For example, one of the experiments described by McNeill "consisted of presenting a videotaped narration of the cartoon story to a subject and having her retell the story to a listener. The subject did not see the cartoon itself and retold the story only from this videotaped narrative" (McNeill 1992: 134). The subjects were not conscious of the fact that the videotape contained mismatches between gesture and speech, and were asked to say whether they had noticed something peculiar about the narrative. The method developed by McNeill is used by several other researchers.[2] This laboratory method has its advantages. It enables obtaining empirical data as the same story is told by several speakers. Thus, one

[1] More about criticism on particular methods of collecting data see Antas 2013: 11.

[2] For example, Jaromłowicz-Nowikow (2008) describes an experiment in which a group of nine-year old children was asked to watch a cartoon about Sylvester and Tweety and retell the story. Not only does she rely on the method developed by McNeill, but she also makes use of the very same cartoon as stimuli.

can compare the gestures they use and if the gestures occurring with particular words are similar, one can associate some concepts or schemas expressed by the words with a given gesture. Although this way of collecting data enables focusing attention on the relation between gestures and cognitive processes or the relation between speech and gestures, it ignores situations where gestures appear as a result of social interaction, wherein they can be performed without the corresponding speech or the message expressed by a gesture may deny the message conveyed verbally (Will 2015). In addition, the subjects of such experiments are conscious of the fact that their gestures will be analyzed and this can subconsciously influence their reaction and provoke over-gesticulation. On the other hand, the laboratory setting (the presence of the researcher, the camera) may immobilize the hands of the speaker.

The second type of data used by gesture researchers can be called subsidiary because it refers to videos that were not recorded for the sole purpose of studying gestures. They include ethnographic recordings (natural conversations, gatherings, ceremonies), TV programs (interviews, talk shows), archives (public speeches), as well as feature films. Such recordings also have their limitations. Feature films cannot be used as a source of information on spontaneous gestures, but they are quite reasonable sources of tracking so-called cultural gestures — gestures found in a given linguistic community (Tabensky 2014: 1427). Contrary to other co-speech gestures, cultural gestures do not depend on one's character or temperament. As their usage is conventionalized, they occur in typical situations and the message they convey is quite explicit. Interviews and talk shows are quite reliable materials for gesture studies. The participants of such programs are journalists, politicians, actors and public persons, who are accustomed to the presence of the camera, so their behavior is quite natural and spontaneous, especially when they are emotionally engaged in the conversation. The ethnographic data recorded in the field are quite valuable, especially if the researcher accompanied the people for a substantial period. The longer the researcher remains with a given group of people, the more "transparent" they become. The main shortcomings of subsidiary data are the following: the hands of the speaker are often off screen, the camera does not always focus on the speaker, so one is not able to watch all the gestures produced during a single utterance, and finally sometimes it takes several hours of watching to find the gestures one is looking for.

When we compare the application of this two types of data, we can notice that the forerunners of modern studies on gestures, such as McNeill or Duncan, often based their research on experiments done in the laboratory (Antas 2013: 11), while Africanists working on gestures rely on subsidiary data. Perhaps this is the reason why they pay more attention to the communicative, pragmatic and social rather than psychological or cognitive aspects of gesture studies. More emphasis is also placed on conventionalized gestures that are specific to a given society and have a lexicalized meaning.

The social aspect of gestures

The social aspect of gesture is often emphasized in works concerning the usage of gestures in sub-Saharan Africa. For example, Brookes (2014) has studied gestures connected with informal slang used by urban black South Africans in Johannesburg. Her studies based on direct observations and video-recordings of spontaneous speech have shown that there are several gestural styles indexing local identities and divisions among social networks. On the one hand, gestural behavior marks two key social divisions within the township: the urban versus the rural. On the other hand, gesture style and differences in language use mark three different male youth identities: softies (those who do not hang out much on the streets), streetwise township males, and pantsulas ruffians, including thugs engaged in antisocial activities (Brooks 2014).

An important group of gestures — as far as Africa is concerned — are gestures used by some social groups in specific situations. Mu'azu (2011) mentions specific gestures used by drivers in Northern Nigeria. The gestural code has been developed by drivers because of the low standard of the cars and lack of traffic lights and signs. In such a situation, drivers are forced to use their hands to announce their intention to change the vehicle's lane as well as turning right or left.

Many publications deal with emblematic gestures used by hunters in Southern Africa. The hunters use them in the bush so they can communicate without making any noise that would scare the animals. Specific pointing gestures are used to indicate the location of the game. Iconic gestures (i.e. gestures that represent physical, concrete items) indicate the identity of the game by reproducing salient features, such as horns, tusks, ears, and tails (Hindley 2014: 149). The gestures (both iconic and non-iconic) encode actions performed either by animals or by hunters, i.e. killing, shooting, striking or running (Fehn 2011: 162f).

Will (2015) has described an elaborate system of gestures expressing emotions and opinions used by Hausa women. The use of these gestures is highly driven by social factors. In Hausa culture, in which self-discipline, patience, tactfulness and fortitude are highly valued, one has to refrain from raising one's voice or any loud behavior in public. What is more, the imperative of being socially cooperative makes people avoid direct verbal statements that indicate aversion or refusal. These constraints apply to all members of society, but especially those of a lower social status — women and children. From early childhood, Hausa women are taught humbleness, good manners, modesty, bashfulness, and a sense of propriety. As they have to refrain from direct forms of showing their opinions or emotions, they often use nonverbal signs, such as gestures and facial mimicry. All of these signs have conventional forms recognized and easily understood by the Hausas, but not necessarily by the representatives of other cultures. For example, placing the hands on the head[3] expresses despair and

[3] It is reminiscent of a well-known gesture in Western culture — putting one's hands behind one's head when relaxing.

usually follows some shocking news or a distressing event (Will 2010: 336). A gesture expressing anger, hate and contempt is referred to as *kallon sama da ƙasa* 'looking up and down' or *kallon hadarin kaji* 'looking at the storm by the hen'. The gesture consists of flicking the eyes up and down towards someone, i.e. one gazes first at another person's head and later lowers the gaze and looks at the toes and then, again, raises the eyes to glance at the head. The sequence is repeated several times in a very quick manner. It is used exclusively by woman but may be directed towards both women and men. In order to express her contempt and mockery, a young girl purses her lips and twists her closed mouth sideways (Will 2015: 238). One of the most spectacular gestures used by women is a seductive movement of the eyes in an attempt to draw the attention of a man. Women usually turn their eyeballs so that only the white part is visible (Newman 2007: 60). At the same time, they blink their eyes rapidly.

The gestures used by certain groups of people can be found also outside Africa. Specific gestures are used by football players, scuba divers or stock traders. But most of these gestures are used and understood exclusively within these closed groups, while in Africa the aforementioned gestures are recognized by other members of the community. Fehn (2011: 163) notices that old men from the Ts'ixa community in Namibia use "hunting" gestures as co-speech gestures usually when retelling stories about hunting. Hindley (2014: 167) indicates that women are exposed to such gestures during not only story-telling sessions, but also when they accompany their partners in the hunt (as some of them do). In Hausa culture, the aforementioned gestures used by women are well understood by men, which is not surprising if we take into account that many gestures are directed at them.

Cultural factors influencing the definition of gestures

From the beginning of modern studies on gestures, one of the main issues touched upon by many authors was the question of classifying gestures into various categories. In the initial stage, before any classification could be established, there was a need to answer the question of whether a gesture is a sign performed exclusively by the hands or by other body parts, such as the legs, eyes, and mouth. The issue continues to be discussed and there is still a long way to go before a final agreement is reached, if this is at all possible. It is not my intention to resolve the problem here, but let me indicate how African studies may help in handling the issue.

When it comes to the question of what body parts may be involved in gesture production, the "African point of view" opts for a broader definition of gesture rather than narrowing it to the movements performed by the hands and arms. One reason for such an approach is the tendency — quite widespread in Africa — to communicate certain things, which in other places in the world are shown

with the hands, by using the face. In Africa, there are two taboos connected to pointing: in many societies one has to refrain from pointing with the left hand, also pointing with the index finger is often considered impermissible. Because of these taboos, pointing with the lips or even with the tongue becomes an alternative. Therefore, a question arises why the same act of pointing should be considered a gesture when performed with the hands and not in the case when it is performed with the lips or tongue. Another issue, which I believe is quite important when we talk about body parts involved in gesture production, is the body posture of a speaker. As most gestures are produced during speech, the posture of a speaker influences his or her movements. If we look at the speaker from the Western point of view, we usually imagine a person sitting on a chair (often behind a table) or perhaps standing (also behind something). In such circumstances, the lower part of the body is immobilized and often invisible to the listeners. Thus, hands become the only means for producing gestures. In the African context, especially in traditional societies, the speaker most often sits on the floor. His/her legs are either stretched out or crossed in front of his/her body, visible for the speaker and play a more important role in performing gestures. Sorin-Barreteau (1996) describes several gestures performed with the legs, such as knocking on something with the leg, stamping, ploughing the soil or even a scratching movement, mimicking the behavior of an ox. The storyteller performs these gestures while sitting on the floor or on a very low chair. Will and Ahmad (2008) give the example of a gesture used in Hausa society referred to as *buga ƙafa*, which consists in stamping one's foot several times, usually accompanied by loud laughter. It expresses malicious enjoyment resulting from someone else's misfortune.

Classification of gestures

Although the classification of gesture is far from complete or fully established, there are certain categories of gestures that appear repeatedly within various classifications. These include beats (non-referential gestures associated with speech rhythm), deictic gestures (pointing gestures), iconic gestures (visual representations of referential meaning), and finally emblems. The last of these are also called quotable gestures or autonomous gestures. Emblems do not form a functional category of gestures, i.e. they perform various functions: deictic, iconic or performative. They exist in all societies and are similar to words in the sense that they differ across cultures and one has to learn their meaning in order to understand them correctly. An example of an emblem in Western culture would be thumbs up to express approval. They can occur independently of spoken language and form a part of gestural vocabulary.[4] Emblems are regarded as a separate gesture

[4] Such lists of Catalan, Polish and South African quotable gestures have been published respectively by Payrato 1993, Jarząbek 1994, and Brookes 2004.

code used in specific situations in which verbal communication is prevented by various circumstances (Antas 2013: 17).

One inseparable component of a definition of emblems that I would like to focus on here is the statement that they are conscious, intentional movements. The place and time to use emblems is usually chosen with some care, but in rare instances they are emitted without awareness (Ekman, Friesen 1984: 72). The contrast between spontaneous gestures and conventional signs (e.g. sign language) has been long discussed in the theory of gesture studies. McNeill (1992), among others, has indicated the division into sign language and emblems on the one hand, and spontaneous gesticulation on the other. In the African context, the division is no longer so obvious and it is difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between spontaneous and conventional signs. Whenever the use of gestures is extensive, children learn them from an early age and later use them quite spontaneously. What is more, the imperative of orality makes the role of gestures more important. In former times, griots and storytellers wove gestures into their speech, while in modern times — politicians or sheiks do the same. They use not only iconic or deictic gestures typically associated with the speech act but also emblems. An example of such an emblem used spontaneously during speech is provided by Will (2014). She analyzes the performance of a Nigerian sheikh delivering a sermon in Hausa. The sheikh tells the story of a person falsely accused of being immoral. When he finishes listing the accusations, he reflects on them by saying *Na ce: Kai!* 'I said [to myself]: *Kai!*'. The word *kai* is a particle expressing disapproval, doubt or surprise, which makes the utterance quite ambiguous. However, the gesture that co-occurs with the particle determines the meaning. The sheikh puts his right palm on his cheek, i.e. he makes an emblematic gesture (known in Hausa culture as *tagumi*), which expresses deep thought and worry. The movement of the hand does not look like it is conscious or intentional. Whenever the gesture is used consciously, the head rests on the palm for a long time; here, the hand touches the cheek for a short time as if stroking it.

Another part of the definition of emblems that seems to be problematic with respect to African gestures is the following: "emblems are those nonverbal acts which have a direct verbal translation, or a dictionary definition, usually consisting of a word or two, or perhaps a phrase" (Ekman, Friesen 1984: 71). Fehn (2011), who did her fieldwork among the Ts'ixa (Easter Ngamiland, Botswana), describes certain gestures that fit all the other characteristic features of emblems, except for one, which is the fact that they have no verbal translation. For example, a pointing gesture — the arm stretched out vertically at shoulder height and the open palm faces downward — refers to an item that is distal, visible and nonspecific. This particular gesture cannot be substituted by a corresponding demonstrative pronoun because such a pronoun does not exist in Ts'ixa. Fehn describes several subclasses belonging to this type of gestures, such as deictic gestures, gestures indicating the time of day, gestures denoting age and size, and gestures denoting action.

What is particularly interesting is the fact that temporal or special concepts can be expressed very precisely. For example, the deictic gestures encode the salient features of the reference point, such as the degree of proximity and visibility. Distinctive features are indicated by the position of the arm, hand shape and hand movement. Therefore, an arm stretched out above shoulder height indicates a distal and invisible point. Moreover, the shape of the hand indicates whether the point is specific (pointing with an index finger) or non-specific (pointing with an open hand, palm downward). The gestures indicating time almost specify the hour of the day by pointing at the sun's presumed position. They are intentional, they share decoded meaning, their meaning is understood among Tsi'xa speakers, but they have no verbal counterparts, i.e. it is not possible to state the time of day or the size of a human being verbally because such concepts are not lexicalized. The gestures stand as the only possible means of transmitting such information. At this point, the question arises of whether it is necessary to redefine emblems in order to include such gestures or should they be considered a separate category absent in existing classifications. Fehn opts for the second option and calls them obligatory gestures, "because they have no equivalents in the speech lexicon" (Fehn 2011: 157).

Gestural/speech units and words that tend to accompany gestures

The existence of co-speech gestures is obvious and widely discussed in the literature. What tends to be of special interest is the link between certain words or concepts and particular gestures. Antas (2013: 249f), among others, draws attention to the fact that speakers often illustrate conjunctions with specific gestures. For example, whenever the speakers of Polish use the conjunction *ale* 'but', they make a semicircular inward movement with the index finger (the finger ends its movement usually on or in front of the chest). However, to my knowledge, nowhere but in Africa, have such units been reported where a link between the word or phrase and gesture is compulsory.

In their review of gestures used in sub-Saharan Africa, Brookes and Nyst (2014) draw attention to the relationship between gestures and particular aspects of language. They point out that two issues were not commonly discussed in works related to non-African gestures, i.e. the relation between intonation, tone and gesture and the existence of gestural/speech units for which speech and gesture combine to create a specific meaning, whereas each of them separately would be meaningless. Such gestural/speech units were reported to be used in the Swahili-speaking community of Kenya. For example, in order to criticize porridge that is too watery and not well stirred, one moves the hand up and down in front as if holding a big wooden spoon. At the same time, it is obligatory to pronounce the onomatopoeic word *turuba*. The word has no other meaning in Swahili and

is used only with the gesture (Eastman, Omar 1985: 329). Eastman and Omar describe several other Swahili gestures that are closely connected with the verbal component. This verbal component (or strictly speaking a sound as opposed to a word) is often deprived of meaning and does not exist in the regular Swahili phonological inventory (for example, monosyllabic words or words with closed syllables). Some of these obligatory exclamations accompanying gestures are of Arabic origin, e.g. the word *wallahi* is uttered when someone moves the index finger of the right hand along the neck from one ear to the other. By doing so, the gesturer swears by God that he saw what he said he had (Eastman, Omar 1985: 330). Gestures accompanied by a word or phrase[5] are also used in Nigeria among the speakers of Hausa. What makes them similar to the aforementioned Swahili gestures is the fact that the exclamation accompanying the gesture is of Arabic origin. A good example is a gesture used by women expressing surprise and indignation. It is performed in the following way: First, both hands with the palms turned upwards are raised to belly height. Then, the right hand is moved upward, making an upside-down U movement and falls down onto the left hand to make a clapping sound. The same movement is repeated starting with the left hand. The whole sequence is performed several times and accompanied the phrase *la-illaha illallahu-Muhammad-ur-rasullah* 'there is no God but God and Muhammad is his prophet' or by a shorter version: *la-illaha ilallahu* 'there is no God but God' (Will 2010: 335).

The relation between some parts of speech such as interjections and gestures has been discussed in the literature. Goffman (1981: 108) argues that interjections are ritualized acts or conventionalized utterances more similar to gestures than to linguistic expressions. For example, Will (2015: 242) states that the Hausa gesture expressing shock and surprise (holding the chin with the index finger and thumb) can be emphasized by the word *ta6di* — an exclamation expressing great surprise.

In most African languages, there is a particular class of lexemes that often co-occurs with gestures, i.e. ideophones. This class of words consists of items that have a distinct form (sometimes onomatopoeic) from most other words in the language (Watters 2000: 196). What connects ideophones and gestures is their holistic depiction (Brookes, Nyst 2014: 1157). If these two co-occur in one utterance, the gesture emphasizes the concept described by the ideophone, introduces an additional meaning, and shows the quality and length of the action. In many cases, the gesture is essential to understand the ideophone's precise meaning. Gestures not only accompany ideophones but also may replace them completely, especially in a moment of great excitement (Kunene 2001: 183). Dingemanse (2011: 346-8), who studied every-day conversations of the Siwu (Ghana), notices

[5] However, in the case of Hausa gestures, the relationship between speech and gesture is not so strict; the phrase itself also expresses surprise and can be used as an exclamation without the gesture, but the gesture is hardly ever used without the accompanying phrase.

that ideophones often co-occur with depictive gestures (i.e. gestures depicting the scene described in the speech) and are common in a narrative context. To enable a better understanding of how this works, let me refer to an example in which "the speaker explains what is going to happen when he sets fire to two small amounts of drying gunpowder: it will ignite *shû*, *shû*.[6] The speaker depicts the ignition of the gunpowder with both hands moving symmetrically in a quick upward motion like flames flaring up" (Dingemanse 2011: 346).

The role of gestures in oral societies

It has been emphasized in African studies that orality has an enormous impact on several aspects of human life, such as language or literature.[7] There seems to be a strict link between orality and the use of gestures. In societies with no scripture, the use of gestures is much more important and pervasive than in literate communities. Nyst writes about a deaf community in Ghana in which most hearing villagers communicate quite easily with the deaf (Nyst 2009: 238). This may be connected with the fact that the people who can hear use quite a vast repertoire of gestures in their daily conversations. Some of these gestures are also used by the deaf, which makes mutual understanding possible. Fehn (2011: 147) notices that small-scale societies such as hunter-gatherers rely heavily on face-to-face communication in which gestures are expected to be conceptually richer and more commonly employed.

Sorin-Barreteau (1996) emphasizes important links between oral society and gesture use on the example of the small community of Mofu-Gudur living in Cameroon. Gestures are particularly important in the process of passing on knowledge, especially during the initiation of youths. "Every person who wants to have a place in a society has to learn how to reproduce the gestures which he will have to repeat in his life" (Sorin-Barreteau 1996: 32; the translation from French is mine). She claims that in a society without scripture, in which the possibility of preserving and reusing notes is impossible, the importance of watching and imitating gestures in order to learn technology cannot be denied (Sorin-Barreteau 1996: 31). Sorin-Barreteau gives an example that illustrates her claim. Despite the fact that among the Mofu-Gudur pottery is an activity engaged in by women and craftsmen, her male informant was able to reconstruct the entire pottery-making process in a gestural way.

Her study, based on recordings and direct observation of storytellers who use a rich repertoire of gestures, leads to the preparation of a long list of gestures common to all storytellers. Some of these gestures seem to be specific for a local

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[6] This is an ideophone that describes ignition or inflammation.

[7] For criticism of the conceptual category of orality, see Julien 1992.

community and reflect activities characteristic for the community, but some gestures are much more widely used, at least in Western Africa (e.g. a beckoning gesture in which the arm is extended, with the palm face down and four fingers waving downwards in a scratching motion). On one hand, the gestures used by storytellers are conventionalized and recognized at least in this community; on the other hand, he uses the gestures quite spontaneously while telling the story.

Thus, in oral societies gestures do not only play a communicative function. They form a part of the memorizing technique used in the process of learning and passing on knowledge. Gestures are also part of cultural heritage.

Summary

Trying to answer the question of the extent to which African studies refocus our understanding of gestures, I would risk the claim that they bring gestures back to their origin, i.e. to real communicative acts with their situational contexts and real participants, whose age, gender, social status and cultural background are important factors that must be taken into account. The pioneering work of Efron (1941) was based on observing and recording Jewish and Italian immigrants in America. Later, studies on gestures entered the laboratory where several experiments related to gestures were conducted and much more attention was given to the relation between gesture and speech. Several works on gesture within the field of African studies have shed much light on the contextual use of gestures, but also show that many things are yet to be done. One important factor underlined by many researchers working on gestures in Africa is the fact that in face-to-face communication the usage of gesture is not only a "spice" that gives flavor to the utterance, but it is an important ingredient of speech. In other words, gestures together with language form integral parts of the system of communication. An utterance without a gesture is not only incomplete but also often impossible. This communicative aspect of gestures seems to be the most important contribution of Africanists to the theory of gesture studies.

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The Question of Sources

Christine Chaillot

How to preserve the history of the oral traditional education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Ethiopia: *qəne* teachers in Wašära, Gonǧ, Sälalo and elsewhere in Goǧǧam[1]

Abstract

Ancient traditional religious education in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Ethiopia (EOTC) is oral. In practical terms, the number of students and teachers is still quite substantial, but the most outstanding teachers are passing away and Ethiopian youth is attracted to modern life and not to traditional church education, which requires many years of study and devotion. In addition, renowned traditional teachers pass away without leaving anything of their great knowledge of traditional education. These studies, especially of poetry (*qəne*), include learning the ancient Geez language in depth. In the long run, its future is under threat. Thus, it is urgent that action be taken in order to save what can be saved of this ancient oral tradition and teachings, including that of *qəne*. Some teamwork has to be organized. For example, I conducted interviews with some traditional teachers in renowned places in Ethiopia. The teachers were asked where they had studied, what subjects, with which teachers, how long for, etc. The purpose of the questionnaire was gathering information about their training, and the initial formation of a chronology of the activities of the most famous teachers, as well as creating a map of the major teaching centers. This article tries to show the importance of this educational system and the necessity for Ethiopian teachers and others to write articles and books on the topic, and for the continuation of conducting such interviews with records kept on tapes and videos. It is also necessary to make lists of the most important teachers and maps of the more important places for the EOTC's traditional education. Comparative studies of the Ethiopian traditional education system and the tradition of the African *griots*, who also transmit history and tradition orally, may serve as an example of such a wider perspective, exceptionally valuable for understanding African cultural heritage.

Keywords: Ethiopian Orthodox Church, poetry, traditional schools, traditional education, *qəne*

[1] For a map of the area see: http://www.maplandia.com/ethiopia/amhara/west-gojam/

The tradition of doing field studies in Africa dates back to ancient times, when the first Greek and Arab travelers made notes concerning important places, peoples and customs. Some of these notes have been preserved to this day and form a valuable source for scholars interested in history. The main purpose of making such notes was to describe the exotic world for those who could not see it themselves. These days, the purpose of doing field notes has changed. Due to modernization and globalization, traditional forms of life are disappearing, more and more local languages are endangered, and various systems of local traditional education, which have been rooted in different parts of the world for centuries, seem to be in decline. Such is the case of traditional religious education in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In practical terms, the number of students and teachers is still quite substantial, but the most outstanding teachers are passing away and Ethiopian youth is attracted to modern life, not to traditional church education, which requires many years of study and devotion. These studies include learning the ancient Geez language in depth, as Geez remains the medium of most religious texts and prayers, but it is not a spoken language. In such circumstances, in the long run, the future of traditional teaching in Ethiopia is under threat. In order to help save this unique tradition as much as possible, it is necessary to organize groups that would work together in order to preserve as much of the tradition as possible. For example, I conducted interviews with some traditional teachers in renowned places in Ethiopia. The teachers were asked where they had studied, what subjects, with which teachers, how long for, etc. The purpose of the questionnaire was gathering information about their training, and the initial formation of a chronology of the activities of the most famous teachers, and creating a map of the teaching centers.

The system of education in traditional schools in Ethiopia

Traditional teaching in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church includes the following subjects: traditional poetry (*qəne*) (cf. Habtemichael Kidane 2010a); church singing accompanied by drums and sistra (*ts'änats'əl*), combined with movements often referred to by some foreigners as "dance" (*aqwaqwam*); commentaries on the Bible (Old and New Testaments), and commentaries on the writings of the monks and the Early Church Fathers. The writings of the Church Fathers are gathered together in the Ethiopian book called *The Faith of the Fathers* (*Haymanotä abäw*) and in the *Qerəllos* with texts by St. Cyril of Alexandria. Monastic treatises concerning ascetic and monastic life are found in *The Book of the Monks* (*Mets'ahəfta mänäkosat*), made up of three works *The Filkəsyos* (including works by Philoxenus of Mabbug), *Mar Yəts'aq* (i.e. Isaac of Nineveh, a Syriac author of the 6th century) and *Arägawi mänfäsawi* by John of Saba, another Syriac author of the 6th century. For centuries, religious education was taught in the classical Ethiopian language (Geez), which is strictly associated with the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, while

today it is conducted in a language affiliated to Geez, i.e. Amharic, the official working language of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Nowadays, the places where traditional education is offered are to be found especially in northern Ethiopia, where indigenous Christian culture developed over the centuries, but also in Addis Ababa and elsewhere.

The teaching in this traditional Ethiopian system is given orally, thus in a very African manner. The method is mainly based on making the students repeat what the teacher says. However, within the system of teaching poetry (*qəne*), the students must create poems, using their knowledge of the Bible, the lives of saints and the history of the Ethiopian Church, as well as the history of Ethiopia. This educational system is the oldest Christian system in Sub-Saharan Black Africa. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church was officially founded in the 4th century, but mentioned already in the Acts of the Apostles (8: 26–40). Until 1959, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church had been officially subordinated to the Coptic Orthodox Church with its see in Alexandria (Egypt), the first African patriarchate founded by St. Mark, the writer of the Gospel and the first bishop of Alexandria/Egypt. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church developed the phenomenon of inculturation, i.e. adapting local culture to Christian expression, for example the use of drums and dance in the so-called *aqwaqwam*. The use of *sistra* was adopted from the Coptic tradition.

All the Church teaching is taught orally, often under an old large tree, like in other African traditions and countries. This traditional and very ancient education of Ethiopia remains unknown in the wider context of African cultures. This knowledge can in many ways enrich the general perspective of African studies especially on education and history in Africa. Comparative studies of the Ethiopian traditional education system and the tradition of the African *griots*, who also transmit history and tradition orally, may serve as an example of such a wider perspective, exceptionally valuable for understanding African cultural heritage.

It needs to be noted that one of the major problems arising while researching the topic is establishing a systematic methodology, which needs further discussion and research, preferably in an interdisciplinary team.

This article focuses on the oral teaching of poetry (*qəne*) in the famous historical places of Ethiopia. It is based on a set of interviews undertaken in February 2007 in Ethiopia. The interviewed teachers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwahədo Church taught the following subjects: *qəne*, *zema* (i.e. the study of the chant book — *dəgwa*, of the liturgy, of certain hymns, and of *aqwaqwam*), and some others. They were based in the following places, well-known as centres of traditional education in Ethiopia: Lalibäla, Qoma Fasilädäs, Mäkanä Iyäsus in Ǝste, Däbrä Tabor, Addet, Wašära, Gonǧ, Ts'älalo, Mot'a Giyorgis, Qäranyo, Märt'ulä Maryam, Dima Giyorgis and Däbrä Marqos. However, in this paper, I shall concentrate on the interviews conducted with *qəne* teachers in Wašära, Gonǧand Ts'älalo, as well as in Mot'a Giyorgis, Märt'ulä Maryam, Dima Giyorgis and Däbrä Marqos, all situated in the Goǧǧam region. All the sites discussed in the article are known as

famous *qəne* schools in Ethiopia. My aim is to record and describe the activities of as many teachers as possible in an attempt to make the first steps towards writing a history of traditional church education in Ethiopia[2].

The process of learning *Qəne*

First of all, let us provide an idea of what *qəne* is. It is poetry typical for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, composed in Geez. In the Church context, it is created orally and inspired mostly by the Bible and the lives of the saints. It is composed for Church feasts celebrating Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. *Qənes* can also be composed for other events, such as weddings and funerals, and also in honour of historical, national and secular events. In such situations, they are mostly in Amharic. It has two levels of meaning: the direct meaning, also called *säm* 'wax', and the hidden one, called *wärq* 'gold'. This refers to the goldsmith's technique of producing gold objects through the lost wax casting process. The composer has to find the proper words that have a double meaning, and in order to do so he should master the Geez language and have a very rich Geez vocabulary. Alemayyehu Moges (d. 1999)[3], a professor of Geez at Addis Ababa University, said that *qəne* is practiced for the educational purposes and that it makes people strong. Admasu Ǧämbäre (d. 1970), a Geez scholar, theologian, exegete and *qəne* teacher (cf. Tedros Abraha 2014), indicated that *qəne* develops the conscience and renews the spirit.

Alemayyehu Moges, a renowned specialist in Ethiopian literature and *qəne*, described *qəne* teaching and students' daily lives in length in his article *Language Teaching and Curricula in Traditional Education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*[4]. It can be summarized as follows.

Qəne students[5] usually graduate from the schools of liturgical music (*zema*). They study in the 'house of *qəne*' (*qəne bet*), situated in a fenced compound with

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[2] I presented a paper on this matter at the16th Conference in Trondheim; published as Chaillot 2009.

[3] Professor Alemayyehu Moges is the author of a number of articles on Geez and *qəne* poetry. Alemayyehu Moges's collection of *qəne* is the largest in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Ababa. The most important aspect in this context is the fact that he received a traditional education in *qəne* in various traditional schools in Goǧǧam and Wällo (Berhanu Gebeyehu 2003: 189). Let us remember that until the eve of the Italian occupation (1936–1941), and shortly afterwards, there were only a few state schools in Addis Ababa and the provincial capitals providing education based on the Western system. In earlier times, education was provided by the Orthodox Church.

[4] The article of his I read was machine-typed, in English, and dated to 1972, that is just before the 1974 revolution. It was made available to me at the Addis Ababa University Library (see Alemayyehu Moges 1972: 3–9,11, 14, 15, 17, 21, 24, 25, 26 and 27)

[5] At the time when Alemayyehu Moges wrote his article (Alemayyehu Moges 1972), students used to wear clothing (*däbälo*) made of sheep skins, a toga (*gabi*) and a pair of trousers.

numerous huts; each of which can house about five students[6]. The communal hall (*betä mahəbär*) is in the middle. There, a student is encouraged or sometimes forced to develop and express his poetic and aesthetic ideas. In previous schools, he was forced "to say every word intonation and stress blindly", as quoted by Alemayyehu Moges, that is to use his voice and memory as when learning church singing but without any creativity, just following/learning the church texts and tunes. In the school of *qəne*, the student starts to evaluate everything that he has learnt: he also learns to think creatively and to express himself freely and boldly.

The *qəne* school program is as follows. From 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. is the time of submitting *qəne* composition[7] and corrections. At about 4.30 p.m., students disperse to look for their food and go begging. Around 7.30 p.m., students are ready for their night classes (from 8 to 10 p.m.), where they learn the vocabulary[8], grammar and syntax which they put into practice during the day. There is only one common class for all students, both beginners and advanced. This schedule is set from Monday to Friday. On Saturdays and Sundays, the students learn grammar and syntax, attend church, study and analyze *qəne* compositions sung at the service. A similar schedule is followed on feast days.

If a student wishes to have a more advanced and deeper knowledge of *qəne*, he continues his education and reviews his knowledge under different masters to see its different types[9] and experience the approaches of various teachers. To study *qəne*, the students can choose any school in any place. When a student masters the technicality of one *qəne* type and presents about seven consecutive correct poems of this kind, he is promoted to the next level. It takes longer for a student to learn the *wazema* type of *qəne*, as this type is characteristic for its rhythms which are difficult to master. When the student reaches the stage of *zäyə'əze*, it means he is already very fluent in the Geez language and its vocabulary, and has mastered

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[6] In fact, the number of students depends on the size of the hut. For an article on "*qəne bet"*, see Habtemichael Kidane 2010a.

[7] At around the break of dawn, the master improvises pieces of *qəne* in all types of stanzas, that is from the first to the last type of *qəne* (*mulu bet*); see also note 10. He analyzes them discussing both their meaning and form. Beginners first learn the shortest *guba'e qəne* (two verses) by heart. After that, students search for a quiet place where they try to compose their own *qəne*. Every day, the legends, lives, and miracles of the saints and martyrs, as well as of the angels - patrons of that given day are told by the teacher to the students so the latter can use the stories in their compositions; the stories are also told in church during liturgies and services.

[8] Between forty-five to fifty verbs are given for conjugation during the night classes. Alternatively, between eighty and one hundred non-derived words are given per study period. In this way, the whole Geez dictionary is covered twice a year.

[9] There are about nine to eleven basic types of *qəne*, as different people give a different number of lines in each type. For example, *guba'e qana* with two lines; *zä'amlakəyä* with three lines; *mibäzhu* of three longer lines; *wazema* with five lines; *səllase* with six lines; *zäyə'əze* of either five or six lines; *mäwäddəs* with either eight or nine lines; *kəbr yə'əti* with four lines; *ət'anä mogär* with either seven or eleven lines, taught at the advanced level. Alemayyehu Moges (1972) provides different spellings of these names (cf. Chaillot 2002: 89).

many *qəne* rules, hence is able to use them in his daily practices. This is the stage when he first experiences the real dawn of comprehension. *Mäwäddəs* (another type of advanced *qəne*) has eight rhyming lines and twenty-one tagmemes[10] (and should be performed/sung to the Geez melody[11]). Next, when the student masters this form, the teacher orders him to compose two other types of *qəne*, *kəbr yə'əti* and *ət'anä mogär*, which is the last and highest stage of *qəne* composition. From this day, he is no longer called a student but a disciple (*däqqä mäzmur*). When the student is able to compose *mulu bet* ('full verses', the main basic *qəne* modes; cf Habtemichael Kidane 2010a: 284) in one hour, he may pursue his education by choosing one of the following topics: a) advanced *qəne*, where he is expected to learn at least two hundred and fifty to three hundred types of *qəne* (in comparison with about seventy at the elementary stage); b) advanced *zema* (liturgical music); c) schools of the Scriptures commentary, and d) astronomy.

If advanced *qəne* education is chosen, in the course of the training a *qəne* student should compile his own little dictionary of Geez words, as well as a copy of the grammar and syntax books of different school masters. Also, he teaches beginners.

The final exam of advanced *qəne* studies is held in front of invited guests, and other students are also present. The master gives the student a *qəne* topic and the rhyming syllable. First, the student kisses the floor and then he kisses the knee of the master, to show his respect. At the end, he must explain and analyze every detail of his composition. After the examination, if it is completed successfully, he receives the title of *zärafi*, which he uses until he graduates as a *qəne* master[12]. For the final graduation, he delivers many compositions. During this event, he is seated on his master's chair. It is worth noting that the description of the *qəne* school and teachings provided above, as presented by Alemayehu Moges (1972), corresponds to the present situation: the rules are the same, but the discipline and life challenges are somewhat different to those experienced four decades ago.

The *qəne* rules are quite complex and that is why it takes so many years to become a master. It requires studying with different teachers and in different places[13]. The three main *qəne* schools commonly recognized in Ethiopia are Wadla[14], Gonǧ and Wašära[15]. They differ somewhat in their approach and teaching methods.

In what follows, I shall present my visits to the *qəne* centres and interviews with *qəne* teachers in these three places and elsewhere in Goǧǧam.

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[10] Metrical units.

[11] Each type of *qəne* can be sung to three different melodies: *'əzəl*, *gə'əz* and *araray*.

[12] The *zärafi* is a senior student who is not yet a graduate but who has completed all levels of the *qəne* and can be an assistant teacher. He is expected to live with his master until graduation and learn the teaching methods, as well as very advanced *qəne* and Geez grammar.

[13] The *qəne* student can also study other subjects. He always begins with the Geez syllabary (*fidäl*) and continues to *ts'omä dəggwa*, usually in his home village. *Ts'omä dəggwa* is one of the five books of the Divine Office; see Habtemichael Kidane 2010c.

[14] *Qəne* is said to have been created in Wadla.

[15] Alemayyehu Moges (1972) presents them in the following order: Gonǧ, Wadla and Wašära.

Wašära

To reach Wašära, we[16] left from Addet (45 km south of Bahər Dar) and took a truck to the village of Gäragära (30 km). Next, we walked down a path situated on the west side of the road. It takes two hours quick walking to reach Wašära[17]. The *qəne* school stands at the entrance to the village.

The teacher, *Märigeta*[18] Tə'umä Ləssan, was very welcoming. He was born in Wašära in 1963 EC[19], where he began his traditional education in 1970 EC. It took him a year and a half to complete his chanting course (*ts'omä dəggwa*). Next, he studied *qəne* for two years in Lədäta, in Qwarit district, with *Märigeta* Haylä[20], a distinguished *qəne* teacher[21]. Afterwards, he continued studying *qəne* for one more year with *Märigeta* Ts'äggayä Asge[22] (d. 1977) in the Church of Mika'el in Gambäča. After that, he studied with *Märigeta* Gäbrä Wäld Bähaylu in Dima Giyorgis[23]. His next teacher was Täsfa Səllase Tägäññä[24] in Qäranyo Mädhane Aläm Church (south of Mot'a), where he studied *qəne* for one more year, after which he came back to Wašära. His next teacher was Dəngəlä Maryam[25], a famous teacher of Wašära *qəne*, with whom he studied for one year in the Dagəm Bərhan Church. Tə'umä Ləssan performed the task of vice teacher (*asnäggari*) there. Next, he went back to Qäranyo Mot'a (Mädhane Aläm Church), where he taught as an assistant teacher for four years. In 1979 EC (?), he graduated there under Täsfa Səllase Tägäññä and became a *qəne* teacher. It should be noted that he studied twice with the same teacher. In 1979 EC, he came back to Wašära to

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[16] I was accompanied by a young Ethiopian man, an English teacher who was also my interpreter.

[17] The path which leads to Wašära is first flat (not far from the villages). Then it goes down until it reaches the river. Finally, it goes up to Wašära. On the way up to the village, we saw a road in very bad condition.

[18] *Märigeta* (from Amharic *märi* 'leader' and *geta* 'master') is an office and a title within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, see: Sokolinskaia 2007.

[19] The dates are usually given according to the Ethiopian Calendar (EC), i.e. seven years and eight months behind the Gregorian or Western European calendar. The exception is the year 2007 (when the interviews were done) given in the Gregorian calendar.

[20] In my interviews, I asked the names of the teacher's teachers with the aim of reconstructing a genealogy of teachers (cf. Chaillot 2009 and http://www.svt.ntnu.no/ices2007/). However, some of them did not remember the names (for example, Tə'umä Ləssan could not remember *Märigeta* Haylä's father's name). Others could not remember special dates. In such cases, full names and dates are not given; and a question mark ('?') is used instead.

[21] In 2007, this teacher was still alive.

[22] Whose teacher was *Märigeta* Gäte from Addet Hanna.

[23] In 2007, this teacher was still alive.

[24] *Mämhər* Täsfa Tägäññe was born on 12 Hədar 1924 Ethiopian Calendar (22 November 1930). His father was *Ato* Tägäñ Chärəl and his mother – *Wäyzäro* Wubetä Asräs (later *Əmmahoy*). He died on 2 Pagumen 2002 EC (7 September 2010).

[25] In 2007, Dəngəlä Maryam lived in Fənotä Sälam. His teachers were Täsfa Səlasse and Liqä Bərhan (from Wašära). At the time of the interview (2007), both still taught in Qäranyo Mot'a and in Dəngəra Maryam (in Senete Sälam).

teach *qəne*. In 2007, he was the only *qəne* teacher in Wašära and had about one hundred students from the provinces of Goğğam (Addet, Qwarit, Mot'a), Gondär, Wällo (Wäldəya), and some other places.

Gonǧ

On the way back from Wašära we reached the main road and then we walked north to the crossroads in the direction of Gonǧ. The next morning, at about 7 a.m., we went to the *qəne* school[26].

The young *qəne* teacher was called Haymanot Admas. He was born in Ts'älalot in 1970 EC. He began his traditional education in Gonǧ with *Märigeta* Abäğğä. His next teacher of *ts'omä dəggwa* was *Märigeta* Qəddus Yohannəs[27] in Gonǧ. After that, Haymanot Admas studied *qəne* for one year with *Märigeta* Mola Wärqu[28] (d. 1988 EC) in the same place. His next teacher was *Märigeta* Solomon Dawit in Dima Giyorgis with whom he stayed for two years. Solomon Dawit's teacher was Yared Šəfärraw[29] from Ch'ägode. Subsequently, he studied with Ts'əge Yared[30] for six months in Qoyä *wäräda*[31], near Bəčäna and Däğän[32].

His next teacher was Wäldä Giyorgis Bäyyänä[33] (who taught Gonǧ *qəne*, that is the type of *qəne* taught in Gonǧ) in Bəčäna. Wäldä Giyorgis moved to different places and Haymanot Admas followed him for two years until he reached the town of Bahər Dar. Məsraq[34] from Däbrä Marqos (in the Däbrä Elyas Church) was his next teacher, with whom he stayed for one year. Məsraq taught Gonǧ *qəne*. Afterwards, he studied for one year with Ts'əge[35] (d. 2005, European calendar) in Bäläsa (*wäräda* Balay in Gondar province). His next teacher was again Wäldä

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[26] They were very surprised to see us so early but kindly agreed to answer our questions.

[27] Whose teacher was *Märigeta* Zälaläm.

[28] Whose teacher was his own father, Wärqu (d. ?).

[29] Numerous contemporary *qəne* teachers studied with Yared Šəfäraw (born in 1935 EC) in Ch'ägode (an eight hour walk from Addet), his home village, to which he returned to teach *qəne* and the New Testament *andəmta*. According to Dibäkullu of Märt'ulä Maryam (personal communication), there was no teacher in Ch'ägode before Yared Šəfäraw. Apparently, he is famous because of his good *qənes*. According to information given by some teachers (Alämayyahu Daññä from Dima Giyorgis, *Märigeta* Zälaläm Asamnäw from Ts'älalo and Dibäkullu from Märt'ulä Maryam), Yared Šəfäraw from Ch'ägode graduated in *qəne* under *Mämhər* Bəzuayyähu (d. 1975 EC) in Agbar Kidanä Məh(ər)ät next to Addet (Wadla *qəne*). He also studied *qəne* under *Mämhər* Ma'əbäl Fänte from Wašära, under *Mämhər* Dibäkullu from Agbar Kidanä and Məh(ər)ät from Fənotä Säam, *wäräda* Asit. He studied the Old and New Testaments under Wäldä Marqos in Dima Giyorgis.

[30] This teacher then moved to Tigray.

[31] *Wäräda* are districts or third-level administrative divisions in Ethiopia.

[32] They are situated on the main road from Bahər Dar to Addis Ababa.

[33] Wäldä Giyorgis's *qəne* teacher was Ǝts'ub born in Tigray.

[34] Məsraq's teacher was Seyyum in Addis Zämän, who also taught Gonǧ *qəne*.

[35] Whose teacher was Səyyum (see the footnote above).

Giyorgis, the travelling teacher. As he followed this teacher, he stayed for one year in Gonǧ, then for one year in Bəčäna, and finally one year in Bahər Dar, where he graduated in the Sälam ʻArgiw Maryam Church. Finally, he started to teach in Gonǧ in 1994 EC. In February 2007, he had about[36] eighty students.

Märigeta Haymanot Admas' predecessor in Gonǧ was *Märigeta* Mola Wärqu (d. 1988 EC), who took the post after his father, Wärqu Kasa, passed away. Again, Wärqu was given the post by his father *Märigeta* Kasa. *Märigeta* Haymanot Admas told me that it was Täwanäy who introduced *qəne* in Goǧǧam and that there were forty-nine teachers after him in Gonǧ[37].

Ts'älalo

After visiting the *qəne* teachers in Gonǧ, we walked to Ts'älalo (a one-hour walk) with the aim to visit the *qəne* teacher, *Märigeta* Zälaläm Asamnäw. There were many people on the way as it was the market day in Gonǧ. In February 2007, there were two hundred and twenty-five students in Ts'älalo[38].

Märigeta Zälaläm Asamnäw was born in Däbrä Bərhan Sälange Maryam (near Kore, two hours walk from Ts'älalo) in 1957 EC. He began his traditional education in Ǝnagade Mika'el (near Kore), a one-hour walk from his birth place. His next teacher (for *ts'omä dəggwa*) was *Märigeta* Bälay in Chat Hanna (Qwarit *wäräda*). His first *qəne* teacher was *Märigeta* A'əmro in Dämbächa Mika'el[39], with whom he studied for two months. Next, he stayed for eight months with *Märigeta* Laqäw[40] in Qwarit *wäräda* (in Läba Gädäl Qwarit Iyäsus Church). His next teacher was *Märigeta* Qäts'äla Fänte in Säqäla *wäräda* (in Gube Kidanä Məhərät Church), whose teacher was *Mämhər* Yared Šəfärraw from Ch'ägode. Afterwards, he went to *Märigeta* Yared[41] in Mech'a *wäräda* Maryam (near Märawi, not far from Bahər Dar). There he stayed for six months. Subsequently, he studied with Yared Šəfärraw from Ch'ägode[42]. His next teacher was *Liqä*

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[36] There is nothing like a term or a semester in traditional schools and the time of studying is quite flexible. Students may leave school for some time (for example, to help their parents at harvest time) and then come back to continue their studies.

[37] They told me that there is a manuscript on Gonǧ *qəne* (no title, just the name of the teacher, with some explanations of Gonǧ *qəne*). I was told that it is in Gonǧ's church. I have not seen it.

[38] The students live near a very old tall tree. There are many students, cheerful and in very good health. Their huts are in good condition. I made a video recording of them reciting *qəne*. I also made videos and pictures in all the other places that I visited.

[39] Whose teacher was Bəzuayyähu in Agbar Kidanä Məhərät.

[40] Whose teacher was *Aläqa* Gabrə'el Maryam (still alive in 2007).

[41] Whose teacher was *Märigeta* Haile in Qwarit *wäräda*, Wägni Lədäta Maryam (near Fənote Sälam). In 2007, this teacher was still alive.

[42] Yared published a book in 1997 EC (Yared 1997), and a few students in Ts'älalo were very proud to have this book, which also shows that they or their parents had had some money to buy it.

Bərhanat[43], a teacher of the New Testament in Mech'a *wäräda* Fälägä Bərhan, Nada Maryam Church (near Bahər Dar in Märawi), whose teacher was *Mämhər Aläqa* Marqos from Dima Giyorgis, also called Wäldä Marqos (d. 1985 EC). Next, he went to *Mämhər* Habtä Iyäsus[44] in Märt'ulä Maryam, where he studied the Book of Kings (*Mäts'əhafä nägäst*) and the Old Testament. After that, he went back to *Mämhər* Yared Šəfärraw and spent two years with him until his graduation. He taught in his birth place for ten years (from 1988 EC). Next, he came to Däbrä Ts'älalo in April 1998 EC to teach, upon the invitation of the people of Ts'älalo.

I asked *Märigeta* Zälaläm Asamnäw about *Ǝmmahoy* Gälanäš Haddis[45] (d. 1986 of the European calendar), a woman and a famous *qəne* teacher[46] in Ts'älalo. Zälaläm had heard her story and knew it, but because of his young age he had never met her. Her father was Haddis Kidan, who was a renowned *qəne* teacher and *Ǝmmahoy* Gälanäš's predecessor. After 2007, I heard that her grandson continued the *qəne* teaching in Ts'älalo, but I have no details about it. I was told that in Ts'älalo there had been eight generations of the same family teaching *qəne* before *Ǝmmahoy* Gälanäš.

Mot'a Giyorgis

In Mot'a Giyorgis, south of Gonǧ, I interviewed five teachers who studied *qəne*. The first four ones, however, do not teach church poetry.

Märigeta Ǝzra Taddägä is a blind master of *zema*. He was born in Ǝytəška in 1954 EC. *Märigeta* Habtä Iyäsus was his *qəne* teacher for three years in Märt'ulä Maryam[47].

Another teacher, *Märigeta* Näbiyyu Dawit, is a teacher of *aqwaqwam*. He had studied *qəne* in Nada Maryam for three years with Ǝts'ub, whose teacher was Gäbrä Mäskäl in Dima Giyorgis.

Mämhər Həruy Wäldä Mika'el is a famous teacher of the Old and New Testaments. He became a monk in Däbrä Libanos. He was born in 1922 EC in Däbrä Tabor, where he began his traditional education. His *qəne* teacher in Däbrä Tabor was *Mämhər* Getu. Həruy Wäldä Mika'el also studied *qəne* from Haylä Mäläkot in Lalibäla in Lasta region, Wällo province.

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[43] I could not understand his name on my tape. This teacher was still alive in 2007.

[44] The teacher was still alive in 2007. His teacher was *Mämhər* Isayəyyas Ǝǧǧəgu from Märt'ulä Maryam.

[45] In Ts'älalo I saw the Amanu'el Church near which she lived and taught. She is buried in the church courtyard. She was a blind woman, married, who later became a nun. She had taught in Ts'älalo for over fifty years before she died in 1986. She learned *qəne* from her father, Haddis Kidan (See Chaillot 2002: 90; Getie Gelaye 2005: 654–655).

[46] Her students published a book containing her best *qəne*.

[47] Ǝzra Taddägä could not remember who the teacher of Habtä Iyäsus (still alive in 2007) was.

Father Efräm Kase is a teacher of *dəggwa*, liturgy and *zema*. His teacher of *qəne* in Mot'a was *Märigeta* Gäbrä Səllase[48], whose teacher, according to Father Efräm Kase, was *Liqä Liqawənt* Mänkər Ayyälä from Gondar.

Märigeta Ts'əge Gäbrä Həywät, a teacher of *qəne*, was born in 1956 EC in Koräm (Tigray), where he completed his first education (from the Geez syllabary to *ts'omä dəggwa*) with his father, a teacher of music (*zema*). His teacher of *qəne* in Säqot'a was *Mämhər* Yətbaräk, with whom he stayed for three years. *Mämhər* Yətbaräk's teacher was Wäldä Sänbät from Raya Azäbo (in Wällo). Next, *Märigeta* Ts'əge studied for eight years in Qäranyo with *Märigeta* Täsfa Səllase Tägäññä,[49] whose teacher was Ma'əbäl Fänte (d. 25 Hamle 1955 EC) from Wašära**.** *Märigeta* Ts'əge Gäbrä Həywät graduated there and began to teach in Däräq Ts'əd Giyorgis (22 km from Mot'a, accessible on foot) for fourteen years. In 1996 EC, he came to Mot'a Giyorgis.

South of Mot'a, an hour and a half away on foot or about half an hour by bus, in Qäranyo, lives the renowned *qəne* teacher *Mälakä Ääla'əkt Mämhər* (which are very honorific titles) Täsfa Səllase Tägäññä**.** The *qəne* master was teaching in Wašära in 2007, and several other teachers who are mentioned in this article were his pupils. He was born in 1925 in Aräfa in Biwi *wäräda* (26 km from Mot'a). He began to study *qəne* in Gonǧ with *Märigeta* Mängəstu Wärqu, whose teacher was *Märigeta* Ǝts'ub from Wašära. After staying in Gonǧ for one year, he went to Wašära where he studied for twelve years (!) with the teacher *Mämhər* Ma'əbäl Fänte. Subsequently, he studied *qəne* for two years in Däbrä Marqos with Mängəstu Alämnäh[50], whose teacher was Gäbrä Maryam from Wašära. Then, he returned to Wašära, where after two years of studies he graduated under *Mämhər* Ma'əbäl Fänte in 1950 EC. He began to teach in his home village, Biwi Däbrä Maryam, where he stayed for eighteen years. While *Mämhər* Täsfa Səllase was in Biwi one of his students was Yared Šəfärraw of Ch'ägode. Upon the summons of the bishop and the people of Däbrä Marqos, he taught in Wašära for half a year, in 1966 EC. In 1968 EC, he went to Qäranyo to teach[51].

The church in Qäranyo is called Mädhane Aläm and *Mämhər* Täsfa Səllase (d. 2010) was the church leader. In 2007, there were about seventy students in the *qəne bet*. In comparison, in the past there were up to three hundred students. According to the teacher's explanation, his asthma resulted in his disability to speak loudly, thus the number of his pupils has decreased.

When Täsfa Səllase lived in Wašära, he used to visit *Əmmahoy* Gälanäš in Ts'älalo and he would continue to visit her until her death. He told me, "We

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[48] At the time of the interview (2007), he was teaching in Addis Ababa in the School of Saint Paul.

[49] This teacher was still alive in 2007.

[50] At that time, he was the administrator of Däbrä Marqos.

[51] After graduation in Wašära, he also passed the exam in *qəne* in Däbrä Marqos under Bishop Mäqarios and then went to Qäranyo. His predecessor in Qäranyo was *Märigeta* Käbbädä Märša, who was killed during the Derg regime in 1966 EC. Thus, Bishop Mäqarios ordered Täsfa Səllase to replace him.

were both teachers of *qəne* and we used to ask each other questions. We did not write down our conversations. She was not the first woman teaching *qəne*, but the only one in her time. There were eight female *qəne* teachers before her. Her father was a famous *qəne* teacher and because he had no son he taught her"[52]. When I asked Täsfa Səllase why *Əmmahoy* Gälanäš was so famous, he said that she had known *qəne* very well and her *qəne* had been profound and difficult. Not everybody could understand her poems (*qəne)*.

Märt'ulä Maryam

It takes about two hours by bus (64 km) to reach Märt'ulä Maryam from Mot'a[53]. In Märt'ulä Maryam monastery (*gädam*), in 2007, there were ten monk priests, fifty monks and nuns, and one hermit (*bahatawi*), Abba Gäbrä Ab. In the same year, there were about seven hundred students and thirteen teachers of the following church disciplines: four *zema* students, one *aqwaqwam* student, four *dəggwa* students, one student of the Old and New Testaments commentaries, one *qəddase* student, and about three hundred *qəne* students plus two teachers. In 2007, the leader of leaders (*rə'sä rə'asan*) was Haylä Iyäsus, a famous preacher and teacher of the Books (the Old and New Testaments, the Book of the Monks and the Book of the Early Church Fathers). He also studied *qəne* in Märt'ulä Maryam (for two years) under *Märigeta* Isayəyyas Ǝgğəgu (d. 1967 EC ?), whose teacher was from Wadla-Dälanta.

Another teacher, *Märigeta* Tä'amrä Ǝgğəgu, teacher of *Dəggwa* in Märt'ulä Maryam, also studied *qəne* for three years in Mot'a Giyorgis with *Mämhər* Mäzgäbu (d. 1950), whose teacher was from Wašära.

In Märt'ulä Maryam, I interviewed two *qəne* teachers. One of them, *Märigeta* Habtä Iyäsus Garrädäw was born in 1927 in Shäwa (in Märhabete, now Aläm Kätäma, in Kofana). He began his elementary education (stages from the Geez syllabary, *fidäl*, to *ts'oma dəggwa*) in Fəčče Mädhane Aläm Däbr (near the Fəčče Monastery). He came to Märt'ulä Maryam to study *qəne* with *Märigeta* Isayəyyas Ǝgğəgu (d. 1962 ?), whose teacher was *Aläqa* Dällälä from Gonğ. He later lived in Märt'ulä Maryam for eight years and then continued his *qəne* studies in Bəčäna for the next four years under *Aläqa* Färrädä, whose teacher was *Aläqa* Wəbəšät from Bəčäna. Next, he went to study *qəne* in Boro Mika'el' under Käbbädä Asfaw, whose teacher was Buruke from Däse. After one year of studies, *Märigeta* Habtä Iyäsus Garrädäw received the certificate. After that, for two years he studied the

[52] According to Täsfa Səllase, *Əmmahoy* Gälanäš became blind when she was seven. She had two children and her husband was a rich farmer. She became a nun after her husband's death. Her history is written in a book kept in the church in Ts'älalo.

[53] First, 34 km south from Mot'a to the intersection in Gundä Wäyn, and then, 30 km to Märt'ulä Maryam (about 45 minutes by bus).

Book of Kings (*Mäts'əhafä nägäst*) in Märt'ulä Maryam. His teacher was again *Märigeta* Isayəyyas Ǝgğəgu, under whom he finally graduated. In 1960 EC, he began to teach *qəne* in Märt'ulä Maryam.

The second *qəne* teacher in Märt'ulä Maryam was *Mämhər* Dibäkullu. Apart from traditional education, he has also received modern secular education (up to the 6th grade). He was born in 1965 EC in Däbrä Qəddusan Däğän Gäbäya Abbo near Märt'ulä Maryam. To study *qəne* he went to Ch'ägode, where he lived for five years. His teacher was *Märigeta* Yared Šəfärraw, under whom he graduated. To pursue his education in *qəne*, he went to Gundä Wäyn (near Märt'ulä Maryam), where he stayed a year and a half with *Märigeta* Henok Fänta, whose teacher was Isayəyyas Ǝgğəgu from Märt'ulä Maryam. Next, he spent six months in Märt'ulä Maryam with a *qəne* teacher, *Märigeta* Habtä Iyäsus, whose teacher was Isayəyyas Ǝgğəgu from Märt'ulä Maryam. He taught in his home village for two and a half years. Next, he studied the Old and New Testaments for one year in Dima Giyorgis with Gäbrä Mika'el[54] whose teacher was *Mämhər* Wäldä Marqos from Dima Giyorgis (d. 1987 EC). In 1991 EC, he came to Märt'ulä Maryam to teach *qəne*[55].

Dima Giyorgis

The monastery[56] in Dima Giyorgis[57] is famous for its school[58] of Books.

In Dima Giyoris I conducted interviews with three teachers. Mämhər Zämika'el Yohanni, a teacher of the New Testament, is a blind, married man[59]. Born in 1955 in Aba Ǝräbo, 5 km from Dima Giyorgis, he studied qəne for two years in Dima

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[54] In 2007, this teacher was still alive.

[55] In Märt'ulä Maryam. the *qəne* students looked strong and healthy, although village people did not give them enough food for which they begged, as tradition requires. This happens when people have little food for themselves. Thus, the students must bring food from their homes or buy it on the spot.

[56] In February 2007, there were about sixty monks, as well as twelve priests and forty nuns. There were two hermits (*bahatawi*s): Abba Haymanot (44 years old, it was impossible to see his house) and Gäbrä Yohannəs (30 years old, he did not meet people). The head of the monastery, the abbot (*abemenet*) was *Mämhər* Wäldä Iyäsus.

[57] To reach Dima Giyorgis traveling from the north, one should start with a one-hour bus trip from Gunda Wäyn to Däbrä Wärq (42 km). Next, one needs to follow the main road south until the intersection called T'äläma and turn left to Dima Giyorgis (8 km, more traffic on market days, on Thursday and Saturday). From the intersection continue south to Bəčäna (T'äläma to Bəčäna — 20 km; Däbrä Wärq to Bəčäna — 28 km). I was told the following estimations: from Dima Giyorgis to Märt'ulä Maryam: a 12-hour walk; from Dima Giyorgis to Däbrä Marqos: a 12-hour walk; from Dima Giyorgis to Däbrä Wärq: a 3-and-a-half-hour walk.

[58] In 2007, there were six traditional teachers: *qəddase* (two teachers and forty students), *aqwaqwam* (one teacher and sixty students), *mäs'əhaf* of the New Testament (one teacher and thirty students), *dəggwa* (one teacher and thirty students) and *qəne* (one teacher and about two hundred students).

[59] In 2007, he had thirty students, including one nun from Dima Giyorgis who was teaching *qəne* and the New Testament there, and with whom I met in her room but I did not conduct an interview with her.

Giyorgis with Läbawi Bäle[60]. His next qəne teacher in Dämbäch'a was Mämhər Bəzuayyähu, who died there in 1976 EC. Mämhər Bəzuayyähu's teacher was Ma'əbäl Fänte from Wašära. After leaving Dima Giyorgis, Mämhər Zämika'el Yohanni studied qəne in Galit Gäbri'el in Metch'a with Təbäbu[61]. His next teacher of qəne in Wifat near Addet was Mänkər (or Täräkäbä?) for a year and a half. Mämhər Zämika'el Yohanni finally graduated under the supervision of this teacher. Mänkər's teacher was Täsfa Səllase from Qäranyo.

Qese Gäbäz Gäbrä Mäskäl, a teacher of *dəggwa*, first came to Dima Giyorgis to study *qəne* for two years. Next, he went to Gondar Tänqäl (a six-hour walk from Gondar) to study *qəne* for one year with *Mämhər* Aklilu, whose teacher was Wəbəšät in Bəčäna.

The main teacher of *qəne* in Dima Giyorgis in 2007 was *Mämhər* Alämayyahu Daňňä. He was born in 1970 EC in Dima Giyorgis. He studied *qəne* for two years in Zäbäsəš near Bəčäna under *Märigeta* Yohannəs[62]. Next, he pursued his education for three years in Dima Giyorgis under *Märigeta* Solomon Dawit[63], whose teacher was *Liqä Liqawənt* Yared Šəfärraw of Ch'ägode. Afterwards, still in Dima Giyorgis, he studied the New Testament for six years with *Mämhər* Zämika'el,[64] and he graduated under his supervision. Next, he continued studying *qəne* for three years again under Yared Šəfärraw in Ch'ägode, and he graduated there. In 1996, *Mämhər* Alämayyahu Daňňä began to teach *qəne* in Dima Giyorgis.

Debre Marqos

Travelling in the south-west direction from Dima Giyorgis enables reaching Debre Marqos[65], the see of a diocese.

In 2007, Solomon Dawit (already mentioned) was a teacher of Books (mäts'əhaf) in Marqos Church in Däbrä Marqos. He had studied qəne in Ch'ägode under Yared Šəfärraw for eight years and had graduated there. He taught qəne in Dima Giyorgis. Next, he went for two or three years to revise the New Testament and teach qəne in Däbosa Qəddus Mika'el Church in Qoyä Däba Tälat (25 km from Bəčäna). During his time there, more than four hundred students studied in the church!

In 2007, Mämhər Mänkər was teaching Wašära qəne in Däbrä Marqos. He was born in 1928 EC in Mot'a Giyorgis. He became blind at the age of twenty-two. He studied zema under Tat'äq Ts'əge for three years in Mot'a. His qəne teachers

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[60] In 2007, this teacher lived in Bahər Dar. His teacher was *Mämhər* Mänkər in Läg, in Ačäfär (west Ethiopia).

[61] Whose teacher was *Mämhər* Ǝts'ub (in Däbrä Mika'el, Gondar diocese).

[62] In 2007, this teacher was still alive. His teacher was apparently from Gonǧ.

[63] In 2007, he was in Däbrä Marqos, in Marqos Church.

[64] In 2007, this teacher was still alive.

[65] Bəčäna is 96 km from Däbrä Marqos.

were: Əmmahoy Gälanäš for four years in Ts'älalo, Ma'əbäl Fänte for ten years in Wašära Maryam, T'ərunäh for three years in Märawi, Bəzuayyähu for five years near Addet. Mämhər Mänkər finally graduated in qəne under Bəzuayyähu. He also studied with Bäša Märawi (aqwaqwam) in Awi Zon near Dangəla and with Mänkər Märša (zəmmare and mäwasə't) for one year in Sarägäla Maryam near Dämbächa. He began to teach qəne in Däbrä Marqos in 1958 EC in Kidanä Məhərät Church and from 1962 EC in Marqos Church.

Conclusion

The collected interviews show the mobility of the qəne teachers during their lifetimes: from the time when they were students until they graduated. Over the period of their education, they visited different teachers in several places. The data also shows the importance of certain renowned teachers and their interactions with each other, such as some of those mentioned several times in this article: Gäbrä Səllase Aweqe of St. Paul College in Addis Ababa (d. 6 June 2010 GC, i.e. 29 Gənbot 2002 EC)[66], Täsfa Səllase in Qäranyo (d. 7 September 2010 GC/ 2 Pagumen 2002 EC), T'əbäbu Gäme in Gondar (d. 1984 EC) and Yared Šəfärraw in Ch'ägode (born in 1935 EC).

Hopefully, scholars interested in the subject will continue this work[67], conducting such interviews with the view to write a history of the traditional education in Ethiopia, not only that of *qəne*. The history of each teacher constitutes a part of the history of traditional education in Ethiopia. In the future, all the traditional teaching should be explained in detail, clearly and in written form. Research on traditional Ethiopian teaching is still in its very early stages. Some work has already been done. In 1997 EC, Yared Šəfärraw's son, Qəddus Yared, published a book entitled *Mäṣḥafä gəs wä-säwasəw märho mäts'aḥəft* ("The Book of Verbs and Grammar. The Key to Books") under his father's name, Yared Šəfärraw, a teacher of *qəne* and the exegesis of the New Testament[68]. On the back cover, it is written that the Geez language is fundamental for the Church and the light

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[66] For further studies, let us also name the *qəne* teachers of the famous "Four-eyed" teacher Gäbrä Səllase (called "Four-eyed" for mastering the traditional exegesis of the four groups of Church Books), who was living in 2007 in St. Paul's Theological College in Kolfe in Addis Ababa. Gäbrä Səllase himself taught *qəne* in Mot'a as a four-eyed. The teachers, some of whom were mentioned in this article, are as follows: *Mämhər* Gäbrä Səllase in Däbrä Elias, *Mämhər* Wəbəšät in Bəčäna, *Mämhər* Ma'əbäl Fänte in Wašära, *Mämhər* Gäte in Addet, Gäte Gämora in Gondar, *Əmmahoy* Gälanäš in Ts'älalo. In 2010, people said that he had passed away at the age of 102 years; in 2007 GC, when I met him for the last time in St Paul, he was sick and lying in bed, and I was then told that he was 94 years old.

[67] I wish to sincerely thank Magdalena Krzyżanowska and Father Daniel Seifemichael, who both helped me in different ways with this article.

[68] The book includes: an introduction with the history of *qəne*, a conjugation of Wadla and Ch'ägode Hanna verbs (p. 1–340), lists of words containing a certain character (p. 340–424), verbs according to

that illuminates the path to the Holy Books. It is a text book for studying Geez, up to a level which goes beyond studying words. The book is considered to be very useful for Ethiopian teachers. The introduction by Yared Šəfärraw explains the aim of writing the book:

"I managed to write the book called *The Key to Books and Mysteries* with the will and help of the Highest God for those who are far-sighted and for the benefit of the coming generations. I present this book so that it serves the children of the Church: teachers, priests and disciples as well as for all those who have a will to learn Geez" (Yared Šəferraw 1997 EC [2004/2005]).

A good example of a publication on *qəne* and the history of a *qəne* teacher and his teachers is the booklet *Yä'aläqa T'əbäbu Gäme yähəywät tarik* ("The History of *Aläqa* T'əbäbu Gäme") by *Nəburä 'Əddi* Mäkurya Abbəyä Hoy, *Mälə'akä Sälam* Täkästä Bərhan Wäldä Iyäsus and *Ato* Haddis Gäbrä Iyäsus (s.d.). It provides the names of all the places where he studied and taught, as well as the names of his teachers. In addition, a list of his best graduate students is included. This booklet can be cited as a model for other well-known traditional teachers in the preparation of a similar work with the help of their students and others. Such compilations would become valuable documents for recording the history of traditional teachers and traditional schools in Ethiopia, which is yet to be written. Writing such a history would help to retain an important but gradually disappearing part of Ethiopian heritage. It should be done urgently as renowned traditional teachers pass away without leaving anything of their great knowledge, and traditional education, including that of *qəne*, is in decline for various reasons, including its oral form[69]. For example, the *qəne* teacher in Ts'älalo mentioned above, who graduated under Yared Šəfärraw, is himself not a graduate of *qəne* from Ts'älalo. Thus, it seems that the Ts'älalo *qəne* traditional teaching is not taught any longer and is perhaps even extinct[70].

This article tries to shows the importance and necessity for Ethiopian teachers and others to write articles and books on the topic, and to continue to conduct interviews with records kept on tapes and videos in order to save what can be saved of the oral tradition of *qəne*, as well as of the traditional education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Ethiopia. It is also necessary that lists be made of the most important teachers, as well as maps of the most important places of the traditional education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwahədo Church.

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the eight types of conjugation, including a description of the phonetic nature of verbs (p. 425–433), descriptions of the types of *qəne* (p. 433–440), and examples of Yared's *qənes* (p. 441–488).

[69] For example, some of the Wadla *qəne* teachers I interviewed in November 2009 in Ethiopia about the Wadla *qəne* agreed that it is almost extinct. In his book, *The Ancient Ethiopian Education*, Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh says that the number of ways of expressing *qəne* is decreasing and the Geez vocabulary is shrinking (Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh 1971: 211).

[70] Alämayyähu (a *qəne* teacher from Dima Giyorgis) told me that he did not know any *qəne* teacher of the Ts'älalo tradition, which could mean that the many-generations-old teaching in Ts'älalo has disappeared!

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Aneta Pawłowska

South African museums. Representation and identity

> *The set of objects the museum displays is sustained only by the fiction that they somehow constitute a coherent representational universe (...). Should the fiction disappear, there is nothing left of the museum but "bric-a-brac", a heap of meaningless and valueless fragments of objects which are incapable of substituting themselves either metonymically for the original object or metaphorically for their representation.*
>
> [Eugenio Donato, "The Museum's Furnace": 223]

Abstract

The aim of the article is to present the relationship between museums and representations of national identity in South Africa. In South Africa, most art museums were established at the end of the 19th century with endowments of European art, and collecting continued in the same vein. The benefactors and curators were mainly of European origin and did not value art by local, indigenous populations. Indigenous art was displayed only by anthropological or ethnographic institutions. It should be noted that it was only in the 1960s that the first works by black artists entered the permanent collections of the Durban Art Gallery, the Johannesburg Art Gallery, and the SA National Gallery. In South Africa, museum displays have historically supported colonial and apartheid ideologies, but — with the transition to a post-apartheid society — museums have reassessed their divisive roles and repositioned themselves within South Africa's contemporary nation-building project, organized around building unity from diversity. The development of this new relationship between museums and democratic nation-building is broadly examined in the article. Nowadays, the museums and historic sites of South Africa are a highly significant and helpful source of evidence for investigating how the country's various communities have come to terms with their complex history and have chosen to display it publicly.

Keywords: museum, art, apartheid, Republic of South Africa, IZIKO, Johannesburg Art Gallery

Introduction

The Republic of South Africa is a culturally and socially diverse country with a long history of racial inequality, still visible today. Due to nearly fifty years of apartheid rule (1948–1994), the only people enjoying fully unrestricted civil rights and liberties were people with white skin[1]. It is important to emphasize that under colonial rule, South Africa was already a highly segregated and unequal society, but the racial separation of people was intensified after the election of the National Party in 1948. From the 1950s, the Nationalist government systematically entrenched racism in the legislation of a non-democratic society that promoted inequality and enforced separation. Residential apartheid was strictly administered and, under the Group Areas Act, the government also controlled segregation in places of entertainment, libraries, museums, and even churches in white areas. Access to buildings such as post offices and shops was established by separate entrances, while public transport, benches and beaches bore the signs "Europeans" and "Non-Europeans". There were separate health facilities and schools for different population groups and, after 1957, apartheid was extended to university education with the founding of four ethnic university colleges (Davenport and Saunders 2000: 399–406, Thomson 2001: 190–197). This total segregation of races was, according to one of the older generation of black South African artists, David Koloane, "one of the primary objectives of the Apartheid machinery, that of reducing communities to a level by controlling the social space" (Koloane 2004: 23).

For that very reason, the question arises about the origins of the collections accumulated by the museums and galleries of South Africa. One of the most urgent issues in contemporary culture is what these collections communicate and who is really speaking through them? Therefore, nowadays museums in South Africa have become a microcosm of a society in transition. While substantial segregation still remains in South Africa, museums have the challenge and privilege of making spaces more inclusionary and of taking an active role in shaping culture. This symbolic modification of culture has strong political implications through the choices made for the selection and presentation of art which can challenge or reinforce the status quo.

The most important South African collections in the historical perspective

When considering South African museums, one needs to remember that the beginnings of organized art presenting establishments took place in the third quarter of the 19th century, whereas the end of that century brought some fundamental

[1] For a comprehensive history of South Africa, see Davenport and Saunders (2000).

changes to the status of the artist and art itself. This was a time when art education and official art presentation began to take on its current shape. Modern venues designed solely for the purpose of housing art collections and displaying them, like museums and galleries, were established. However, since these were colonial times, these actions were utterly biased and completely exclusive of the indigenous art by the native people of this land (Arnold 1990; Pawłowska 2013: 97–103). The 19th century in South Africa was a time of British domination, with British settlers conquering this country militarily whilst bringing and distributing their own cultural achievements. Intellectual colonization was manifested through various channels like art museums and galleries. It is worth noting that this process occurred on two levels. The domestic level was premised on constructing a certain image of the colonies back in England. For example, the Benin bronzes put on display in the British Museum or the famous World Exhibitions in London. Another level was happening offshore, and relied on creating museums devoted to European culture with the emphasis placed on British accomplishments within the colonized regions, like India, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa (Bennett 1995; MacKenzie 2009). This was indeed the purpose of the colonial art collections of the Victorian era; and this agenda is clearly observable when looking at the origins of most art galleries in South Africa, for instance in Cape Town, Durban, Pietermaritzburg or even in Johannesburg to some extent. These venues stood for the essence of colonial art collections in the provinces, their content relying entirely on the proficiency and talent of the British subjects who supplied them (Brown 2007; Franzidis 2006; Crampton 2003; Carman 2006; Bell 2009).

The first Museum on South African soil was founded by Lord Charles Somerset in 1825 in Cape Town, as a general museum comprising natural history and material culture from local and other groups further afield, initially consisting of ethnographic and natural history collections. However, it was only in 1855 that a government proclamation established it as a scientific institution, and a new building to house the collection was opened in 1860. In 1897, the South African Museum (SAM) moved into its present building. The SAM's cultural history section was separated in 1966 when the South African Cultural History Museum opened in Cape Town. In 1897, the Museum moved to its present building in the historic Company's Garden. At that time, it developed greater systematic organization and classification similar to the evolutionary models that were prominent in European and American museums in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The focus on natural history encouraged the notion that very little divided the animal world from the human subjects who were documented. The South African Museum houses more than one and a half million specimens of scientific importance (Becker, Keene 2000: 211–213). The collections now range from fossils almost 700-million years old to insects and fish caught only a year or two ago. There are also stone tools made by people 120 000 years ago, traditional clothes from the 20th century,

and modern T-shirts (IZIKO 2015). Today SAM is a part of the IZIKO Museums Group of South Africa.

As more museums were established in South Africa, they tended to be general in nature, with collections encompassing the natural sciences, history and anthropology. This was the case with the National Cultural History Museum, which was formally constituted as the State Museum of the South African Republic in 1892. In 1913, the natural history section of the museum was separated from the cultural history section, largely because the collection had outgrown its premises in Boom Street, Pretoria, and it became known as the Transvaal Museum (Becker, Keene 2000: 81-85). In 1964, this physical split was formalized and the museum became known as the National Cultural History Museum (Becker, Keene 2000: 82).

Specialist museums and cultural history museums were developed much later, as is the case with many international counterparts. The South African National Gallery moved into its present building only in 1930, although the collection was started in the 1870s. The Durban Art Gallery collection was started in 1892 with the donation of a painting by Cathcart William Methven to the Town Council of Durban. As the collection grew, it was housed in the Post Office until the new City Hall was completed in 1911, when it was relocated to that building (Becker, Keene 2000: 121-131; Brown 2005: 42-43). The Tatham Art Gallery was established in 1903, and was housed in the City Hall of Pietermaritzburg until 1990 when the Old Supreme Court building was altered and renovated to accommodate the collection (Bell 2009: 7-8). The Johannesburg Art Gallery's collection started in 1908 and moved into its present building in 1915. The Michaelis Collection in Cape Town, donated to the country by Sir Max Michaelis in 1914, is housed in the city's second oldest existing building, the former City Hall of Cape Town which dates back to 1761 (Tietze 2001). Other art museums were subsequently opened: the William Humphreys Art Gallery in Kimberley in 1952, the Ann Bryant Art Gallery in East London in 1947, and the King George VI Art Gallery in Port Elizabeth in 1956. The last of these is very appealing; it was renamed in December 2002 in honor of Nelson Mandela and in line with the name of the Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Municipality of which Port Elizabeth is a part. The Pretoria Art Museum's building was opened in 1965; the collection had been built up by the City Council from the 1930s. The most recently established art museum is Oliewenhuis, which opened in 1989 as a satellite of the National Museum in Bloemfontein. Its collection is also relatively recent, having been started in the 1940s by the City Council of Bloemfontein (Becker, Keene 2000: 4–7). This, together with works from the National Museum's permanent collection, formed the nucleus of the museum.

In the regimes of collecting in South Africa before the mid-1980s, one can also trace a nostalgic approach to the acquisition of cultural objects by the white settlers from African communities. Though the object as part of an African culture was considered primitive and anti-modern, the settler collector felt nostalgic about the

imminent disappearance of "Native" culture due to emerging colonial modernity. These include collections housed in the Gertrude Posel Gallery of the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of South Africa (Unisa) Gallery in Pretoria or the University of Fort Hare Collection in Alice. Particularly interesting is the last institution, which is home to three major collections that have recently been declared a South African national cultural treasure, a tribute to their art and cultural historical importance. These are the Estelle Hamilton-Welsh Collection, the Malan Collection and the Contemporary South African Black Art Collection. The Estelle Hamilton-Welsh Collection (1880–1940) consists of indigenous artefacts created and used by the Xhosa, Mfengu, Thembu, Mpondo, Zulu and Ndebele people. These include traditional fabric and animal skin costumes, bags, natural and glass beads, carved pipes and sticks, weapons, leatherwork and diviners' paraphernalia. The Malan Collection reflects a wide diversity of cultures from the whole of southern Africa, the Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele, Pedi, Sotho, Batlokwa, Swazi and Shona. It was started in the mid-1930s. The collection mainly consists of traditional household equipment, such as stools, mats, clay pots, musical instruments, metalwork and leatherwork (Becker, Keene 2000: 22–25).

The Contemporary South African Black Art Collection started in 1964 was the brainchild of two Fort Hare anthropologists, Professor E. J. de Jager and the late Professor Vincent Gitywa. It covers a wide range of fine art media, such as prints, drawings, paintings and sculpture, representing more than 150 artists, including internationally recognized figures such as Gerard Sekoto, George Pemba, Sydney Khumalo, John Muafangejo, Lucas Sithole, John Koenakeefe Mohl, Cyprian Shilakoe and Ezrom Legae (Jager 1992; Becker, Keene 2000: 23).

A characteristic feature of early South African art collections was that they were focused on European art, mainly art of the French and British schools, but also Dutch and Flemish 17th-century art. As a result, fine collections of paintings, sculptures, drawings and prints were developed in some African museums. The museum holdings also included European and international prints, *objets d'art*, glassware, furniture, textiles, lace, fans and ceramics. South African art was not prominently featured in the early 20th century. As the skewed art history of this country was rewritten from the mid-1980s, museums sought to correct the imbalances in their collections, and a radical refocusing of collecting policies resulted in an emphasis on the collecting of "traditional", historical and contemporary southern African art.

It should be emphasized that in the apartheid period the Pretoria Art Museum was the only museum to focus its policy, from its inception, primarily on the collection of South African white artists. However, it should be stressed that this museum had already owned worthy art collections of European paintings, received from private donors, before the museum was officially opened in 1965. However, this buying policy cannot be seen outside of the nationalism of the time.

The strongest influence on early 20th-century white South African art was British, but Britain had embraced the visual dynamics of modernism much more carefully than continental Europe. Johannesburg Art Gallery can be treated as an example of an incredibly interesting relationship between the development of a modern art museum in Johannesburg and creating a pro-British vision of the state. Just as 1910 was the turning point in South African history, as on 31st May 1910 the Union of South Africa was formed under British dominion, so it was a pivotal year in Britain. The succession of George V signified a final break with Victorian values, and social change was evident in the enhanced tempo of life and activities of the suffragette and labor movements. Ironically, although modern art was of little interest in 1910 in South Africa, the Union of South Africa created an opportunity to raise the profile of the visual arts in the new nation (Carman 2006).

For art to become visible, it needed places of permanent display and Florence Phillips, wife of Randlord[2], Lionel Phillips, became the driving force behind the foundation of the Johannesburg Art Gallery. Her initiatives led to the acquisition of a core collection of modern, western art funded by the Randlords and assembled by a successful London art dealer and collector — Sir Hugh Lane[3]. Involvement in the arts offered Phillips, whose political instincts were strongly imperialistic, a philanthropic way of "civilizing" Johannesburg's citizens, supporting working-class and colonial improvement and, after 1910, promoting nation building. The decision to collect "modern art" for the new gallery was partly pragmatic; it was less expensive than a second-rate old master collection would have been. But Lane's choices of "modern art" also indicate how unclear this concept was in 1910. Compared to French modernism and the work with which Roger Fry scandalized London (paintings by Van Gogh and Cézanne drew particularly vitriolic, hostile comments), Lane's collection was bland, although it contained examples of advanced painting and works by four women artists. Florence Phillips's activities at the time of the Union raise issues around the implications of "modern art" and "national art" in South Africa and, indeed, the very meaning of "art" itself (Carman 2006; Carman, Lissoos 2011).

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[2] The Randlords were well-off entrepreneurs who controlled the diamond and gold-mining industries in South Africa in its pioneer phase from the 1870s up until World War I. They set up infrastructure of financing and industrial consolidation, which they then applied to exploit the discoveries of gold from 1886 in Transvaal at Witwatersrand — the "Rand". Once based in the Transvaal, many set up residence in the mansions of Parktown. Many of the Randlords received baronetcies from Queen Victoria in recognition of their contributions.

[3] Hugh Lane put together the foundation collection soon after he had founded a gallery of modern art in Dublin. He was credited with purchasing works by contemporary British artists for the collections he established in Dublin and Johannesburg.

Why do the South African museums turn into battlegrounds?

As has been clarified in many texts (Cameron 1972; Crimp 1993; Donato 1979; Popczyk 2005), museums are the primary way in which a society represents itself: to its own members, and to the larger world. Exhibitions solidify culture, science, history, identity, and worldviews. There is a great deal at stake here. Museums commonly present the real thing: art, objects, and artifacts that bear the aura of the authenticity. They endow the ideas within any exhibition with tangibility and weight. Nowadays museums all over the world have become more democratic. As a result, more people contest for museum space and they subject it to more careful oversight, and may even contest museum authority. It is increasingly clear that museums are politicized spaces, where all sorts of dramas can be played out. In Duncan F. Cameron's familiar formulation, museums have increasingly begun to be forums, and not temples (Cameron 1972). Thus, museums have to answer to a variety of stakeholders, and have become enmeshed in a web of funding sources, any of which can threaten to tighten the purse strings if they take offence at what is shown. Museums are thus potentially subject to a wide variety of conflicts of interest and constraints. But in the South African context all these problems are exaggerated. Moreover as Coombes (2003: 93) suggests, a useful term such as "collective memory" is inadequate, unless it engages in almost equal terms with both public memory (often institutionalized), produced at sites such as the museum, university, and diplomatic mission, and with the private, individualized memories of its variegated citizenry. The production of such a history, not to mention its representation beyond the historical text, is incredibly difficult if not an altogether impossible task.

Colonization of southern Africa by the Dutch, British, and Germans has had a lasting impact on South African art, both its production and its documented and written history. As such, it affects all practicing artists, present and future, most particularly those who interface with the more formal art institutions, such as schools of fine arts (e.g. Michaelis School of Fine Arts, Rhodes Fine Art Department and Wits School of Arts) and museums (the South African National Gallery in Cape Town, Tatham Art Gallery in Pietermaritzburg, Durban Art Gallery or Johannesburg Art Gallery). What this means in very real terms is that the art-historical record of South African art, both in written and in visual terms, has been and continues to be dominated by colonial art, its history and structure, and its aesthetic and validating influences. Provincial and national arts collections, where they exist, are dominated by European art or South African art inspired by European and American standards of style, content, and aesthetic values (Franzidis 2006; Crampton 2003; Bell 2009). Many museums, like the South African National Gallery, Pretoria Art Museum or Johannesburg Art Gallery, have been historically "white own affairs" institutions far longer than not, meaning European history and culture were privileged over those of indigenous Africans.

On the other hand, we can observe that all South African museums are simultaneously valuable case studies for the historians and art critics. And nowadays the majority of South African museum collections are available to researchers of all different levels through their galleries, archives, libraries and study rooms, as well as online. Exhibitions and displays in museums reflect both the curators' ideas, as well as attempting to imitate a society at large, although they have the power to shape social memory and public understanding as well. They are, however, subject to pressures outside of their scientific, cultural or historical sphere, such as governmental interference, the need to attract audiences — both local and from overseas, and their local community. Thus, the museums and historic sites of South Africa are a highly significant and revealing source of evidence for investigating how the country's various communities have come to terms with their complex history and have chosen to project it publicly. Many writers argue that museums and the material that they display transmit as well as validate ideologies (Berger 1977; Bennett 1995), and that those who control them determine both the way in which a society perceives itself and is perceived by others (Duncan 1991: 88–103). While this has been particularly true in the past, this article examines how different groups of South Africans have challenged dominant discourses for a variety of reasons, with museums providing the battleground. One of the most sensitive and emotional issues faced by museums in the post-apartheid years is that the indigenous people have customarily been shown in museums as naked full-body mannequins. Cardinal controversy surrounding the Eurocentric approach used in the South African Museum to depict the Khoisan people and the efforts museum staff made to update the exhibit. Their modifications only drew even more attention to the inherent colonial interpretation of indigenous culture and, after much public protest covered by the media, the exhibit was finally completely removed. This new presentation focused on acquisitions which were originally done during a period between 1907 and 1917. These acquisitions were made in order to establish racial typologies and often involved acts of looting the graves of recently deceased people (Legassick, Rassool 2000).

Subsequently, the leading South African Art Gallery, located in Cape Town, created in 1996 a landmark exhibition entitled "Miscast"[4] that critically examined the history of Eurocentric museum practices in South African museums (Finlay, Barnabas 2012: 80–83). Another important issue is the case of Saartjie "Sarah" Baartman (1789–1815), who was born in South Africa and sensationally exploited in England as the Hottentot Venus, with public curiosity focused on her body shape (Gilman 1985). After her death, her body was maintained in fluid preservatives in the collections of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. The repatriation and reburial of

[4] The exhibition "Miscast" was curated by Pippa Skotnes with Jos Thorne in the South African National Gallery (14 April–14 September 1996). For more, see Skotnes 1996.

her remains on 21 February 2002 in her homeland became a national symbol of the growing activism and achievements of the South African cultural heritage sector.

Arts and culture, and the institutions that protect and promote them, are vitally important to the internal formulations and external projections of a newly democratic South Africa. These are exciting yet difficult times for museums, economically, functionally, and ideologically. Museum staffs, after have been asked to re-examine the purpose, mission, audience, collection, education, and exhibition planning, are enacting changes that move their institutions from their colonial and apartheid past to a newly democratic South African present. All nationally recognized heritage institutions are expected to develop new policies and undertake initiatives that transform these organizations into democratic entities reflecting and representing a plurality of South Africa's cultures. The restructuring of South Africa's museums offers rich opportunities to consider the sociopolitical ramifications of cultural institutions and the complex relationships between theory and practice. An analysis of the choices being made provides insight into the process of constructing and contesting social memory. South African cultural narratives have reflected and privileged colonial values, and their revision requires advancing new narratives and shifting emphasis away from western epistemologies and interpretations.

In a 1997 report for the South African Museums Association, Rochelle Keene highlights the need for a "mind-set change" within all South African museums if the process of transforming the sector is to be successful. "It is important for museums to accept that cultural diversity is very positive and will enable them to achieve their organizational goals in serving the community (...). A museum corporate culture which values diversity must be encouraged and used in a positive way (…). An enabling environment has to be created as a first priority" (Keene 1997: 2–3). In that same year, the influential organization the Commonwealth Association of Museums (CAM) in the CAM Bulletin announced that Nelson Mandela (1918–2013), a symbol of political democracy, racial justice, truth and reconciliation, recognized "the conservation of all our legacies as a priority for nation building. Museums should reflect a message of tolerance and peace, of respect for all cultures and for the environment", commending CAM "on its initiatives to enrich the lives of people by educating them about their history and heritage through the development of museums, because I know that this will have a profound effect, particularly in the developing countries" (CAM Bulletin 2014). At this point, it should also be mentioned that according to the academic and art historian, Marion Arnold, "In South Africa 'culture' and 'tradition' are words fraught with particular instability and innuendo" (Arnold 2005: 8).

Having been perceived by the vast majority of the population as a mouthpiece for the apartheid government's interpretation of history and culture, South Africa's museums and galleries have faced a significant challenge to establishing and justifying their role in the democratic era. This is a useful time to reflect on the wide-ranging developments in these institutions over the last 20 years, both those

with lengthy histories who have adapted themselves to the post-apartheid era and those established later — since 1994. Staffing expertise, human and economic resources, and the collections themselves all play a role in the process. Some institutions began to redefine themselves in the early 1990s before legislative mandates, while others — even after legislative directives — find it difficult to begin. The South African National Gallery falls somewhere in between, its efforts now seemingly both furthered and hindered by its present status as one of the fifteen museums bundled together as South Africa's Southern Flagship Institution, or the IZIKO Museums of Cape Town. What does it mean for an institution of European and colonial heritage embedded in South Africa to transform and incorporate more fully non-Eurocentric cultures? What are the measures of success vis-à-vis transformation, and who acts as jury? What kind of evaluative processes should be implemented? Is success driven by national or international measures? Is there a point when transformation is concluded, the job is done, as it were? Or is it the nature of a public cultural institution to be constantly transforming?

Some aspects of "critical museology" in South Africa

In South Africa, most art museums were established at the end of the 19th century with endowments of European art, and collecting continued in the same vein. The benefactors and curators were mainly of European origin and did not value art by local, indigenous populations. Indigenous art was displayed only by anthropological or ethnographic institutions. It should be noted that it was only in the 1960s that the first works by black artists entered the permanent collections of the Durban Art Gallery, the Johannesburg Art Gallery, and the South African National Gallery in Cape Town (Cook 2009; Franzidis 2006; Crampton 2003; Brown 2007). The commercial and independently run galleries that mushroomed during the 1970s built their reputations on showing "international art," while black artists were ghettoized into townships, whose locality began to define their art. Many artists created what has come to be known as protest art, while others found the restrictions placed upon their creativity and the lack of venues in which to show their work stultifying, therefore making it completely absurd and unsuccessful.

With regard to the arts in South Africa, due to the colonial past of the country and the centuries old cultural dominance of white colonizers, it is necessary to apply broader mechanisms in the field of the research of the history of recent art and the prospects of post-colonial studies. Therefore, in order to create a representative collection of South African Art, it is necessary to refer to so-called "critical museology". The term "critical museology" has generated and continues to generate intense debates as scholars compete to refine its definitions and contours. For the purpose of this essay, I will retain some of the most consensual ones. Critical museology was introduced in the 1970s in the Netherlands. The subject is still

the theory and practice of museum work but emphatically approached from the viewpoint of the museum as a process and not as a static institution. Museums are moving away from the pre-eminent authorship of the curator towards more inclusive initiatives that offer communities a real say in the interpretation of their culture and history (Crimp 1993; Donato 1979; Bennett 1995; Vergo 1989). In establishing continuity between museum and media, popular culture and tourism, critical museology has taken a transdisciplinary approach, broadening discussions and utilizing a wider scope of methodology to explain the inevitable changes which occur. What the West understands as "modernism" — at best always a convoluted concept devoid of a definitive consensus about meaning — cannot be neatly transported to societies on the periphery of western influence and values. The ways in which modern ideas — political, cultural, technological and economic — were assimilated or rejected in South Africa depended on whether particular groups interpreted them as threatening or advantageous, and whether they substantially altered lifestyles for better or worse. Throughout most of the 20th century, the contest in South Africa was not necessarily between progressive and traditional ideas but, in many instances, between shades of conservatism entwined around concepts of identity espoused by different ethnic groups, each of which invoked "tradition" to validate its self-concept. As part of this process, those seeking to sustain or acquire political power and status often manipulated visual culture; invariably realism and symbolism were favoured to promote explicit (politicized) meaning, while stylization and metaphor might suggest progressive or oppositional ideologies. Museums are "salient sites of national cultural production," which along with memorials, ceremonies, heritage sites, and commemorative practices, are among the major institutions involved in "collective memory making" (Corsane 2004). Museums also offer a unique vantage point for understanding the construction of national narratives and representations of a shared past that are essential in the processes of nation building. South Africa today is a particularly interesting place to study these processes: with the demise of apartheid, creating a national identity for the "new" democratic South Africa that will incorporate the histories and cultures of all its diverse peoples is an important national priority. With the transition to democracy, South Africa faces the difficult challenge of building a new South African national identity that incorporates the negative aspects of its tumultuous history and, at the same time, leaves the way open for a positive and inclusive national future. South Africa has many sites of "social remembering", such as Constitution Hill in Johannesburg or Robben Island Museum[5] and District

[5] For nearly 400 years, Robben Island, 12 kilometres from Cape Town, was a place of banishment, exile, isolation and imprisonment. During the apartheid years, the prison on Robben Island became internationally known for its institutional brutality. The most famous political prisoners that spent time on Robben Island include former president Nelson Mandela, Tokyo Sexwale, Jacob Zuma, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki. Since 1997, Robben Island has been a museum. The museum on the Island is a dynamic institution, which acts as a focal point of South African heritage. The Robben Island Museum

Six Museum in Cape Town[6], which work to engage the public in their role as citizens in the new post-apartheid nation. Some of the oldest sites, like the Boer Memorial, representing the Boers as pioneers and deserving victors in the struggle for land, have been retained and are being reinterpreted (Corsane 2004; Crampton 2003; Galla 1999). Others are perceived as needing no reinterpretation. The post-apartheid era Jewish Museum in Cape Town represents South Africa as a nation of immigrants, with each group emphasizing its own contributions. The Jewish Museum includes exhibits not only related to the substantial cultural and economic contribution of Jews to South African life but also to their central role in the resistance to apartheid. Envisioning itself as the "rainbow nation", the new South African government has made a strong commitment to building an inclusive national identity. In doing so, the government has determined that it must not only acknowledge and confront the hateful past of apartheid but also transcend it. Their commitment to confront and transcend the past, rather than deny it or use it as a basis for further exclusion, has been most dramatically implemented through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission[7]. Institutions, like Robben Island Prison Museum, the District Six Museum, and the Kwa Muhle local history museum in Durban[8] (as well as other historical and cultural museums) play an important role in this process. While most nation-states attempt to draw authority and power from the creation of national narratives that emphasize a glorious past, museums and other cultural and educational institutions in the new South Africa must take a different path. Museums are recovering and reconstituting South African history by representing the histories and cultures suppressed under apartheid and exposing the history and processes of apartheid itself (Rankin 2013; McGee 2006).

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runs educational programmes for schools, youths and adults, facilitates tourism development, conducts ongoing research related to Robben Island and fulfils an archiving function. Today, Robben Island is both a South African National Heritage Site as well as a UNESCO World Heritage Site ("Robben Island Museum" online).

[6] District Six Museum is a museum founded in 1994 in the former inner-city residential area District Six in Cape Town, as a memorial to the forced movement of 60,000 inhabitants of various races in District Six during Apartheid.

[7] The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission was set up by the Government of National Unity to help deal with what happened under apartheid. The conflict during this period resulted in violence and human rights abuses from all sides. The TRC was set up according to the terms of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No. 34 of 1995, and was based in Cape Town. The hearings started in 1996 and ended in 2001. The TRC's emphasis on reconciliation is in sharp contrast to the approach taken by the Nuremberg Trials after World War II and other de-Nazification measures, because of the perceived success of the reconciliatory approach in dealing with human-rights violations after political change (Doxtader, Salazar 2007).

[8] All of these institutions present the history of the struggle against apartheid in various aspects and forms.

The post-apartheid museum

Since 1994, South African museum curators, artists, politicians, educators, and others have endorsed different means of "nation-building" — the catchphrase used to denote the construction of a "rainbow nation." Each approach advocates a distinctive stance toward the past and to what degree it should be eradicated or amalgamated. Their respective proponents have produced a wide range of responses to refashion this society, from obliteration through transformation to new construction. The flagships of these cultural sites are the country's national museums: South African Museum and Robben Island Museum in Cape Town; National Museum and Anglo-Boer War Museum in Bloemfontein, Ditsong National Museum of Cultural History in Pretoria and Ditsong National Museum of Military History in Johannesburg. In 2015, more than 300 museums all over the country reflect this heritage in a range of places — from elegant 18th century homes to caves in majestic mountain ranges, cultural villages in rural settings to state-of-the-art buildings in major cities. Visitors can find both conventional and eccentric exhibits on every conceivable topic — from beer to beadwork, from fashion to food. New additions include those reflecting the apartheid era, and commemorating those who fought and died for the cause of establishing a democratic country.

Conclusion

Hans-Martin Hinz, the President of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) said that museums were the cathedrals of the 21st century. Today we recognize a museum as a binder, which has the potential to create a community of individuals. In such cases, museums have become the modern "temples". Museums are places where a huge social deficit is satisfied. This deficit is formed at the interface between tabloidization and globalization. This is a major insufficiency of remembrance culture. It is because the past is just the same building block of humanity as the present. Many modern experiences which are not based on the past suffer from a lack of continuity and it makes the human existence empty and devoid of identity. Museums are therefore laboratories of "memory recovery", of things that were forgotten and sometimes deliberately manipulated and deformed. Museums not only recover, but they also "construct memory" by means of creating myths and new truths.

The same statements are true in the South African context. It can be assumed that museums can determine what culture is and what heritage really means just on the basis of what each museum chooses to include in its exhibits. In the past, museums only included art influenced by the Western World and art which was created by artists with European ancestry. It sent a clear message that only such culture or heritage was worthy of preserving and presenting to the world. Beyond

informing South Africans what they should hold culturally sacred, museums have the power to tell the international community what South African culture and heritage are really like. As South Africa moves into the era of the "rainbow nation", museums have the dual aim of "attract[ing] new audiences from among their own constituencies as well as providing unique experiences and impression of the region for visitors" (Crampton 2003: 222).

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Robert Piętek

European Institutions and Patterns in Kongo in the 16th and 17th centuries

Abstract

The article describes the introduction of European institutions and patterns to the Kingdom of Kongo in the 16th and 17th centuries and the roles they fulfilled in the state. Among the institutions, the Catholic Church played a major role and it was treated by Kongo's rulers as a part of the state administration. Religious confraternities that existed alongside traditional associations also functioned as such. With the introduction of Christianity, the legitimization of royal power was based on this ideology, which functioned alongside traditional African political culture. Another European pattern, i.e. elements of European education, was introduced, resulting in the spread of literacy and in the improvement of state administration.

Keywords: Kongo Kingdom, confraternities, Christianity, Catholic Church, Portugal, legitimization of power, state administration

Introduction

The relations between Europe and Africa are an important subject, which enable a better understanding of changes in African societies and political structures under external influences. It also allows a special perception of European history. The subject undertaken in this article constitutes part of both African and European history that goes far beyond the histories of just Kongo and Portugal, adding to the general framework of world history.

Establishing contacts with Europe toward the end of the 15th century had a significant impact on the history of the Kongo. It resulted in the adoption of Christianity by the political elites of the country, as well as in the introduction of a number of European institutions and patterns. Kongo began to be perceived in Europe as a Christian country. However, this reform did not lead to the disappearance of previous institutions, beliefs and customs. Nevertheless, gradually Christianity became an important element of the ideology of power in Kongo.

Early relations between Kongo and Portugal

According to Thornton, contacts between Kongo and Portugal could be characterized as relations between equal partners, which supposedly resulted from the fact that at that time the two countries had many features in common: their social and political organization and level of economic development. The only significant advantage held by Portugal was their fleet of ships. Due to these similarities, Portuguese cultural models, including writing and Christianity, were supposedly adopted with relative ease. Thornton emphasizes the high level of autonomy held by the Kongolese rulers, who had complete control over the Portuguese people staying in the country. In addition, the Portuguese considered the Kongolese to be Christians as they had adopted Christianity voluntarily and thus tolerated the local customs (Thornton 1981: 186; 1983: 63–65; 1984: 147–167; 1998: 28–29, 35). Another significant aspect of their approach resulted from the fact that the Portuguese did not have the appropriate means to introduce full control over Kongo, even after they established a colony in Angola in 1576.

As a result of the establishment of contacts between the two countries, Portuguese people came to Kongo, while representatives of the Kongolese political elites travelled to Portugal. The latter included young representatives of the Kongolese elites, who were the first to receive a European education, as well as the kings' emissaries in the role of envoys or factors. During the reign of Diogo I (1543–1561), his factor resided in Lisbon for many years, representing Kongolese interests at the Portuguese court (Thornton 1981: 191–192). They gathered knowledge about the situation in Europe and were a source of information about current events in Portugal. Thornton was of the opinion that as a result already Afonso I (1506–1543) knew quite a lot about the situation in Portugal (Thornton 1981: 191). The Kongolese who had completed their education in Portugal introduced European cultural models locally after returning to Kongo. Among them was Afonso I's son, Henry, who in 1518 was ordained as a bishop and following his return to Kongo became the most important Church dignitary in the country (Randles 1968: 151; Thornton 1981: 196)

The Portuguese in Kongo

The Portuguese people residing in Kongo were not very numerous. In the middle of the 16th century, there were about fifty of them, while toward the end of the century — a hundred at most. At the beginning of the 17th century, it was estimated that about a thousand Portuguese people resided in Kongo. The increase in the Portuguese population was connected to Portuguese settlement and the rising interest among merchants following the creation of the Portuguese colony in Luanda.

The Portuguese did not constitute a coherent group. Some of them were accused by the Kongolese rulers of undermining their authority or even of conspiring against them. According to Thornton, the information which appears in sources about the dislike felt for the Portuguese and even concerning ideas to expel them from Kongo during the reigns of Afonso I and Diogo I (1545–1561) applied to only part of the Portuguese population, i.e. those who were not directly connected to the court. This included both laymen (merchants, adventurers) and clergymen (Thornton 1981: 194–197; Heywood, Thornton 2007: 183). In theory, the Portuguese were subject to the jurisdiction of a Portuguese judge designated in Lisbon. However, in the middle of the 16th century, in 1553, Diogo I was granted the right to appoint the judge. In the 1580s, the judge was once again appointed by the Portuguese king. Later, this person was appointed by the governors of Luanda (Cuvelier, Jadin 1954: 137; Heywood, Thornton 2007: 71, 183). Nevertheless, the judge had to take into account the Kongolese monarchs, even in situations when the governor of Luanda was appointed for the function.

According to Thornton, the information which appears in the sources concerning the Portuguese plotting against the Kongolese monarchs did not signify that they undertook autonomous actions, but rather that they were taken advantage of by competing Kongolese fractions, especially during periods when changes concerning who sat on the throne were expected. For example, in 1540, an assassination attempt was made on Afonso I, in which a group of Portuguese people participated. During this period, since it was expected that the monarch would soon die, a power struggle ensued in which some of the Portuguese cooperated with Afonso I's relatives, interested in bringing about faster changes as to who occupied the throne. They participated in a similar manner in the plot against Diogo I, as well as in the power struggle following his death in 1561 (Dicorato, Jadin 1974: 218–219; Thornton 1981: 197).

The Church and its impact on the Kingdom of Kongo

The Portuguese, and later also the representatives of other European nations, had a significant impact on the shaping of European institutions in Kongo and on how they functioned. Primarily, along with the adoption of Christianity, Church structures began to be established throughout the country. The rulers considered the institution of the Church to be an important element strengthening the position of the monarchy. However, the majority of the clergymen originated from outside of Kongo. They were subordinated to the representatives of the Portuguese Crown, their Church superiors and the Kongolese monarchs. There were, however, some cases of Kongolese being ordained as priests (Cuvelier, Jadin 1954: 398–399, 507). In such cases, the ruler of Kongo had greater control over such clergymen.

Kongolese rulers attempted to maintain control over the clergymen functioning in the country. Already Afonso I introduced efforts to establish a separate diocese for Kongo, in order to wield more control over the clergymen. The Monarch attempted to ensure that he held the right to appoint people for church positions, ones who would be favourably disposed toward Kongo and dependent from the King. In all probability, he wanted to imitate European rulers who had such prerogatives. For a certain time, Afonso I had significant influence on the functioning of the church structures in the country as his son, Henry, was ordained an auxiliary bishop in 1518 and as such, on his return to Kongo in 1521, he was the most important church dignitary in the country. Unfortunately, he died in 1526, and Afonso I attempted to acquire a similar title for two of his nephews but to no avail (Randles 1968: 151; Thornton 1981: 196). Later, when the superiors of the clergy functioning in Kongo had their headquarters outside the borders of Kongo and were often not favourably inclined towards the Kongolese monarchs, those in power in São Salvador attempted to maintain at least some power over the clergymen stationed there. The bishop from the Island of São Tomé complained in his reports that the Kongolese ruler expelled any clergymen ill-disposed towards him, while the bishop did not have any means by which he could oppose such acts. Following the establishment of a diocese for Kongo, the rulers also forced any inconvenient clergymen to leave the country (Cuvelier, Jadin 1954: 232, 400). Aside from the Portuguese clergymen in Kongo, there were also a few Kongolese priests. As a rule, they were descended from the ruling dynasty (Cuvelier, Jadin 1954: 507). In all probability, this was the result of conscious political decisions made by the Kongolese rulers, who through such means attempted to maintain control over the clergymen through blood ties.

The institution of the Church was perceived as having huge significance in the country. Already in the 16th century, Kongolese rulers had at least some knowledge of Europe. They knew that in Europe Catholic kings maintained control over the clergymen. They wanted the same for Kongo. Such information must have been acquired not only from Kongolese people who had visited Europe but also from clergymen well-disposed toward the rulers of Kongo. The aspiration of ensuring more control over the Church in Kongo became a permanent element of the political decisions made by Kongolese monarchs. These clergymen were a source of information about Kongo for those residing in Lisbon and Rome. On this basis, opinions were developed regarding Kongo in Europe, which influenced the decisions taken by European countries. The information they conveyed did not always have to be connected to the execution of the monarchs' instructions. It cannot be excluded that the monarchs' emissaries, especially the clergymen, attempted to gain privileges for themselves in the Holy See.

After the diocese was created in São Salvador in 1596, when it turned out that the bishops did not let themselves be fully subordinated, Kongo's rulers attempted to gain the permission of the Holy See to exclude their chaplains

from under the jurisdiction of the bishop, by referring to the example of Catholic European monarchs (Cuvelier, Jadin 1954: 269–276). In this way, they were making an attempt at creating a Church organization independent of the bishop.

At the beginning of the 17th century, the Kongolese rulers introduced efforts for a Jesuit outpost and college to be established in Kongo. As a result, they would have had the opportunity of creating a Church structure that would have been parallel to the diocese and more favourably inclined towards them. In 1622, a Jesuit college was opened in the capital of Kongo. The presence of the Jesuits was an opportunity for the Kongolese rulers to increase their autonomy from the cathedral chapter in São Salvador. The arrival of the Jesuits elicited discontent among the members of the cathedral chapter (Jadin 1968: 353). For the same reasons, Garcia II (1641–1660) was very willing in 1645 to accept the presence of the Capuchins sent to Kongo by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide), who were subordinated to the bishop's jurisdiction. In the middle of the 17th century, a concept even appeared to establish an archbishopric in Kongo that would be autonomous from Luanda, but the idea obviously met with opposition from Lisbon (Piętek 2009: 71–73; Jadin 1975: 1002, 1081–1082, 1086).

Establishing schools in Kongo

The presence of clergymen in Kongo provided the opportunity for the establishment of schools in the country, in which it was possible to receive a European-style education. As a result, alongside the few Kongolese who had completed their education in Portugal, a group began to form in Kongo with a rudimentary European education. European sources emphasize the willingness among the Kongolese to learn to read and write. This applied primarily to the representatives of the political elites. They acquired these skills in the schools run by clergymen but also most probably by secular Kongolese, who had received an education at an earlier point in time (Randles 1968: 192).

Afonso I had intended to establish a school in which 1000 students were to be enrolled. As a result, an elite group would have developed capable of writing (Heywood, Thornton 2007: 62). It seems that Kongolese schools did not gather simultaneously such a large group of students. However, as a result of their existence, primarily the representatives of the political elites were able to receive an education based on the European model. As a rule, they functioned for very short periods, such as the Jesuit College established during Diogo I's times (Randles 1968: 105; Heywood, Thornton 2007: 64). According to a description of Kongo from the end of the 16th century, based on the accounts of the Discalced Carmelites who had a mission there in 1584, at that time schools existed in Kongo in which

reading and writing were taught (Cuvelier, Jadin 1954: 135). Unfortunately, it is unknown how many there were and how long they functioned. The Jesuits once again established a college in Kongo in 1625 (Heywood, Thornton 2007: 173). Later still, in the middle of the 17th century, the Capuchins had schools in the country primarily in the capital, but also in the capitals of the provinces where they had their outposts.

There had also been other schools outside of the capital in earlier times. According to the journal of the Dutch merchant, Pieter van den Broecke, who visited the coastal province of Soyo in 1608, there were supposed to have been 8–10 schools, similar to those in Portugal, in which everything was taught in Portuguese. According to the Dutch merchant, there was a Portuguese priest in Soyo who taught everything (La Fleur 2000: 59). In all probability, it was precisely this priest who did most of the teaching in the schools. However, it seems that in addition there were also some secular teachers. Soyo was an exceptional province in Kongo, often visited by Europeans. The schools in this province also functioned in the second half of the 17th century (Randles 1968: 192). In the case of other parts of the country, there were not so many schools and — in all probability — there were many interruptions to their functioning. Their activities to a large extent were dependent on whether or not there were clergymen in a given province and whether they showed any interest in teaching in the schools. In the second half of the 17th century, thanks to the activities of the Capuchins in areas outside of the capital and Soyo province, many schools began to function next to their hospices. However, due to the falling number of Capuchins, some of these schools had to be closed. Nevertheless, thanks to these monks and the clergymen conducting missionary activities in the country, a group of people became capable of conducting priestly duties in periods when there were no clergymen in the region. These people not only taught others prayers and conducted masses but also taught Portuguese as well as reading and writing. European clergymen conducting priestly activities in most cases had to use translators. These later became catechists, who during the absence of the clergymen took on the duties of educating the people and teaching them prayers.

Literacy – an advantage or a threat?

The educated Kongolese, both in the country and in Portugal, were taken advantage of by the state apparatus. Their knowledge of writing and of Portuguese enabled the rulers to maintain contacts with Europe. Already Afonso I had a Kongolese secretary, responsible for the correspondence with the Portuguese kings. The Monarch himself admitted that he no longer had much confidence in the Portuguese and for this reason he preferred to employ someone of Kongolese origins (Dicorato, Jadin 1974: 100–104). Similarly, later rulers as well as the

heads of provinces frequently had Kongolese secretaries, who were in charge of preparing their correspondence on their behalf. At times, the rulers themselves, such as Afonso I, knew Portuguese and could write.

The rulers also used writing to communicate with some other African rulers. Even before the formation of the Portuguese colony in Angola, the Kongolese kings corresponded with the Ndongo rulers, who had trusted Portuguese people or mulattos at their courts responsible for diplomatic correspondence (Heywood, Thornton 2007: 86–87). This indicates that it was not only Kongo which appreciated the significance of writing as a means of communication. Aside from the Portuguese influences, the example of Kongo was also of essential importance to spreading such practices.

According to Randles, writing was considered to be a means allowing for communication with Europeans and for spreading Christianity. However, it was not meant to be used for bureaucratic purposes as in Europe. In his opinion, those in power were afraid that an educated group might come into existence that would threaten their position (Randles 1968: 192–193). Contrary to this researcher's approach to the issue, in the times of Garcia II, the ability to write was taken advantage of and attempts were introduced to make use of this skill also in the management of the country. Randles refers to the fact that Garcia II would withdraw students from the schools as soon as they had acquired the ability to write. This was supposed to have resulted from the fear of educated elites forming which would have constituted a danger to his position. However, the reason behind such behaviour was probably quite different, i.e. people who knew how to write were in high demand as they could work within the state apparatus, and — as a result — they were taken from the school run by the Capuchins as soon as they had mastered the skill. This invoked discontent among the monks as the school they ran in São Salvador was supposed to prepare catechists and candidates for the order and not specialists for the state bureaucracy. In this case, the interests of the ruler and the monks were contradictory to each other.

The example of the Ndembu chiefdoms, located in areas lying between Kongo and the Portuguese lands which in the 17th century were the object of the competing interests of Luanda and São Salvador, shows that writing was an important means of communication not only between the chiefs and the governors of Luanda but also among the Ndembu chiefs themselves. Documents became not only a symbol of power but their significance was acknowledged, thus allowing for the development of the rudiments of a bureaucratic apparatus (Santos 2008: 173–181). In the case of Kongo, which had a more developed court and whose rulers controlled a vast territory, the significance of writing must have been appreciated to a higher extent as a tool improving management of the Kingdom. It should, however, be noted that in Kongo schools run by clergymen functioned, albeit with interruptions, and there attempts were made to adopt European norms and models.

Introducing Christianity and the perseverance of traditional religion

The adoption of Christianity was significantly influenced by the need to find an ideology of power which would refer to the supernatural world and which would be possible to introduce throughout the country. This role could not be fulfilled by indigenous belief systems, which had a decentralized nature and the rulers were unable to take advantage of them (Hilton 1985: 47–48). The adoption of the new faith did not solve the problem, as the rulers did not have complete control over the ideological sphere. However, it was possible to observe a tendency toward limiting the significance of local cult centers and non-Christian associations. The lack of in-depth changes resulted from both the small number of clergymen and from the indecisiveness of some rulers, as well as from the limited possibilities available to the monarchs to impose a new religion and eradicate local cult centers (Piętek 2009: 86). Nevertheless, Christianity provided the opportunity of creating a centralized structure which could be controlled by the monarch. The rulers strove to introduce representatives of the political elites into the Church hierarchy. In addition, a significant amount of the catechists and students of the schools run by the clergymen were from among this group of Kongolese people (Thornton 1983: 62–68).

As a result of establishing contacts with Europeans, lay Christian confraternities were introduced in Kongo. They limited the role of indigenous associations. Membership in such a confraternity provided a sense of community. Catechists (maestri) were recruited from among the members of the confraternities. These religious groups performed an important role during the funeral ceremonies of the Kongolese monarchs, i.e. members of one such group were part of the funeral procession escorting the body of the deceased monarch to the church. In Kongo, the Order of the Militia Christii was established, bringing together representatives of the political elites. Through such means, Kongolese monarchs attempted to introduce close ties between themselves and Kongolese dignitaries (Cuvelier, Jadin 1954: 392–395, 507–509; Bontinck 1964: 104–105, 127; Jadin 1968: 373–375). Christian elements became an important component of the ideology of power, of which a significant constituent was the reference to the victory of Afonso I over his pagan brother. Afonso I was supposed to have achieved this victory as a result of the divine intervention of St. Jacob. Later, after the victory, he often referred to this miracle and it was included as an element of his coat of arms and seal. Soon after the victory, he destroyed the "house of idols" (local shrine) situated in the capital and erected a church in its place. The Monarch also constructed a church dedicated to St. Michael, in the same place where the graves of "pagan" rulers had been previously situated. The church was called "mbwila", a term which was supposed to signify "a grave" and was used as a place of burial for members of the elites, as in previous times. Afonso I was also buried in this church. This temple became the center of the cult dedicated to the deceased monarch (Thornton

1981: 62–63). According to Thornton, the Kongolese monarch was in fact convinced that he had been victorious as a result of St. Jacob's divine intervention. Thornton reaches such a conclusion based on a fragment of the Portuguese chronicle written by Damião Gois, in which a statement made by Afonso to the most important Kongolese dignitaries is quoted. According to the same source, Afonso believed that otherwise he would have been beaten as he had only had 36 warriors with him in his battle against his brother's army (Dicorato, Jadin 1974: 60–64).

It is unknown whether such a speech was actually ever given or whether it was made up by the author of the chronicle or his informants. The chronicle was written for Portuguese readers. It cannot be excluded that Afonso I was convinced that he had been victorious as a result of the intervention of the saint, but it seems that Portuguese assistance had also played an important – or even a decisive – role. It can also not be excluded that the author of the chronicle or the informants lowered the number of Alonso's supporters on purpose, so as to explain the victory purely as being a result of the divine intervention of St. Jacob. However, it is highly probable that Afonso consciously emphasized the fact of this divine intervention, perhaps at the advice of the Portuguese, so as to legitimize his rise to power through such means. This event was also referred to by his descendants. St Jacob's day became a "national holiday" in commemoration of the victory. It was a day on which all the more important chiefs in the country would come to the capital to pay tribute to the rulers (Cuvelier, Jadin 1954: 395).

Afonso's victory was an important element of legitimization invoked by his descendants. In the middle of the 16th century, according to the accounts prepared by the Jesuits, one Kongolese monarch ordered that women gather in the church called Ambiro and participate in masses celebrated by the Jesuits and be taught the fundamental truths of the faith (Gray 1999: 140). In all probability, this was the church Afonso I ordered to build. He chose this church because it played an important role in royal ideology. It commemorated Afonso's success linked with the miracles of the Christian (European) saint. The practice of building churches by Kongolese monarchs in commemoration of victories or in order to ensure future success became customary (Cuvelier, Jadin 1954: 507–509; Bal 1963: 96; Bontinck 1964: 42, 107; Jadin 1975: 950–964). This particular victory and references to it functioned as an important element legitimizing the power of those Kongolese monarchs who were descendants of Afonso I. The ruling dynasty in Kongo was supposed to have had the support of supernatural (Christian) powers, closely linked to the Europeans.

The adoption of Christianity also influenced funerary customs which were an important part of the royal ideology of power. Kongolese rulers were buried in churches. Afonso I, as well as his predecessor — João I, ordered a church to be built in a location that had previously been a forest in which the rulers had been buried before the adoption of Christianity. The first Christian rulers had also been buried there. The new custom was adopted by many of the inhabitants of Kongo. Nevertheless, this did not signify that the former funerary customs were completely

abandoned, such as the isolation of relatives who remained in mourning, which meant that they did not participate in masses. This fact elicited dissatisfaction among part of the clergymen (Bontinck 1964: 122; Bontinck 1972: 112–115; Piętek 2009: 55–56, 59). Burying the deceased in churches or in their direct vicinity was not only practiced in the capital. At least some of the representatives of the political elites adopted this custom, which sometimes led to conflicts with the clergymen. In the middle of the 17th century in Nkusu province, complaints were raised against the Capuchins who ordered that the bodies of dignitaries be removed from a church, as in the opinion of the monks these people had not lived their lives in accordance with Christian moral values (Cavazzi 1965: IV, § 35: 371). The custom of situating the graves of dignitaries in a Christian temple strengthened the position of the local political elites. This was a form of intertwining aspects of the cult of the dead with Christian elements (Piętek 2009: 101).

Summary

The history of Kongo is known primarily thanks to European sources, which has a significant impact on the possibilities of recreating the image of this country and society. As Thornton (1981: 196) rightly noted, many of the authors of the sources from the 16th century focused primarily on the relations between Kongo and the Portuguese. It was not until the 17th century that more descriptions of the country were written. However, the majority of the sources continued to refer mostly to relations with Europeans. On the other hand, sources which would present the country and Kongolese society were concentrated primarily on the progress (or lack thereof) made in the Christianization of the country. Indigenous institutions and customs were mentioned primarily in the context of barriers to the development of Christianity. Kongo was in general represented as a Christian nation, whose rulers introduced various attempts to imitate European monarchs.

As a result, European sources may overestimate the significance of European institutions in Kongo, as well as focusing excessively on the importance of Christianity. Nevertheless, it seems that these institutions became an important element in the functioning of the country and the organisation of the society. Otherwise, those in power in Kongo would not have introduced such efforts to maintain contacts with Europe, which had a significant impact on Kongo both in the sphere of how the country was organized and in the ideological bases of the power structure. Christianity became important as a method of legitimizing royal power in Kongo, it influenced royal rituals, especially funerary and enthronisation customs. Several European institutions were introduced along with the new religion, especially lay confraternities which shaped the Kongo state. Elements of European education were introduced along with the knowledge of writing which improved state administration.

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Hanna Rubinkowska-Anioł

The interpretation of Ethiopian cultural texts — the coronation of Haile Sillasie as a text

Abstract

Haile Sillasie I was crowned Emperor of Ethiopia in 1930. During this ceremony, a very specific message of power was delivered to those who watched the spectacle. This article analyses the coronation as a cultural text and indicates the complexity and significance of some of the components of the event. It also asks a question about how constructing "modernity" in a time of great change at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries was reflected in the coronation ceremony.

Keywords: Ethiopia, Haile Sillasie I, coronation, cultural text, modernity, tradition, ritual

African studies have always constituted a challenge in terms of the methods applied. From the very beginnings, the most important issue for any researcher was the question of the "otherness" of Africa and its cultures. Aside from ethnographic research, which as a matter of course assumed the cultural otherness of the studied subject matter, this distance — in terms of cultures and experiences — caused difficulties in using the most recognized methods: they seemed not to apply to African cultures perceived as different. In the second half of the 20th century, history, anthropology and philology, together with a number of other disciplines, which had each developed their own methods of research, began to be used jointly for studies into African cultures, and the term "interdisciplinary research" came into wide use. To put the issue in simple terms, the assumption was made that in order to learn about and understand Africa's past and contemporary situation, one should take into account its cultural otherness researched by a combination of tools.

In 1930 in Ethiopia, Haile Sillasie I was crowned Emperor. During this ceremony, a very specific message of power was delivered to those who watched this spectacle. In this article, I would like to ask a number of questions related to reading cultural texts, taking as an example the 1930 coronation, and what it tells us about Ethiopian conditions of constructing "modernity" at a time of great

change at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The question of modernity was one of the most important for Ethiopian elites in the times of Haile Sillasie as it is now for the scholars researching the Ethiopian history of the period[1].

The aim of this article is indicating the complexity and significance of at least some of the elements of Haile Sillasie I's coronation ceremony. By doing this, I hope to show the difficulties involved in the interpretation of African cultural texts understood as every product of a culture which can be "read" (Geertz 1973), in this case — perceived by witnesses of the event.

The coronation was meant to stress the beginning of the new era — it was supposed to symbolically represent initiating the construction of a new country by the new emperor upon the solid fundament of the glorious Ethiopian past. However Haile Sillasie wanted this new era to be perceived, it was mirrored in this ceremony. Thus, the coronation served as a medium of sending a number of messages to the Emperor's subjects as well as to the outside world. In order to achieve this aim, i.e. to convey a complicated message regarding power and the expected future of the country, the ceremonial spectacle was very rich in meanings and it was multi-layered tapestry woven from a large variety of elements. This richness allows us to analyze the event from different perspectives.

There were a number of different elements which constituted the whole coronation spectacle. Some can be considered to be "traditional" elements, while others should be perceived as new additions. In this text, by "traditional" I understand those elements which were perceived by the witnesses as being part of Ethiopian tradition. I do not intend to enter into a discussion concerning which of the specific elements were ancient or if in fact they had been introduced not long before 1930. For the purposes of this article, tradition – even if "invented" in the understanding given to the term by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) — is tradition once it is perceived as such.

I assume that the opposition traditional/modern as used in the coronation spectacle reflects Haile Sillasie's will to be perceived as a modern ruler but based in Ethiopian tradition. Also the Emperor's will that the message be delivered to his Ethiopian subjects while at the same time reaching the guests from outside Ethiopia, represents Haile Sillasie's aspirations to strengthen his country's position in the world, and as such constitutes an important factor that needs to be analyzed.

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[1] There are many references to modernity and modernization in the literature on Ethiopia's history. Bahru Zewde discusses the subject from different angles, and his "Pioneers of Change" provide a fundamental contribution (Bahru Zewde 2002). Elisabeth Wolde Giorgis's Ph. D. thesis (2010), her contribution to "What is 'Zemenawinet'? — Perspectives on Ethiopian Modernity" (2012), a collection of articles on the topic, later edited in a slightly different version as a special issue of a journal (Northeast African Studies 2013), are among the latest publications devoted to this topic. However, it should be remembered that the discussion of modernity was initiated in Ethiopia decades ago. Gebre Hiywet Beykedegn is remembered as the writer who initiated the discussion almost a hundred years ago, while Mahteme Sillasie Welde Mesqel or Haddis Alemayehu are among those who participated in it during Haile Sillasie's reign (cp. Rubinkowska-Anioł, Wołk-Sore 2014 and 2015).

The coronation in Webber's "webs of meanings"

Geertz suggests that "what the ethnographer is in fact faced with […] is a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit, and which he must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render" (Geertz 1973: 10). During the 1930 coronation, there were a number of examples and levels where "otherness" (i.e. Ethiopian elements as perceived from the non-Ethiopian point of view) intermingled with what was borrowed from Western/European models, creating a picture that was often "strange, irregular, and inexplicit". This mixture, for obvious reasons, makes interpretation much more difficult. In the case of Ethiopia at the time (which was also the case half a century earlier and many years later), the Ethiopian elites' search for "modernity" was followed by the slow integration of Western models of life and the introduction of technical innovations. Such elements, as well as citations from European patterns, constituted a part of the imperial coronation. In this context, separating the "African/Ethiopian", "traditional", and as such "different" (from the European/Western) part of the text from that which was then newly introduced to serve as "modern" can be extremely difficult. However, I would like to choose some elements of the coronation ceremony and try to look at them in search of what was perceived as traditional and what could have been seen as a *novum*, understood as foreign and modern. I am in fact asking a question about the extent to which it is at all possible to make such distinctions. By doing so, I also intend to indicate how this opposition of "traditional" and "modern" was employed in transferring Haile Sillasie I's message of power and his political program.

Within historical research — though not only — the difficulty with analyzing and interpreting African cultural texts has often been connected with the attempt to reach a decision concerning where the (unstable) boundary runs between that which is "other" and that which is common for the researched culture and the culture of the researcher. It is even more important in the current era of very active cultural exchange worldwide, which was already the case in 1930. Taking Haile Sillasie's coronation as an example, the Europeans who came as guests wanted and expected to see a strange and distant — in cultural terms — spectacle, to such an extent that Haile Sillasie's efforts to present himself as a modern ruler were still perceived as something "barbaric" or "Byzantine". If we let ourselves make use of Max Weber's webs of meanings and accept the assumption that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance, then this difficulty in eliminating "culturally different" aspects from the Western understanding of certain elements to a large degree consists in locating the appearance of subsequent threads within the web within time. In other words, this is an issue of which threads were added to the web at which point, as obviously there is no point in time when "modernity" begins to oppose "tradition".

Thus, the question arises, in reference to 1930, which part of the ceremony we can still perceive as a *novum* and innovations to the ritual, while which elements were already well established. To give an example, can we see the fact of the coronation itself (placing the crown on one's head) as an innovation, as centuries earlier this had not been an element of Ethiopian tradition (a problem which will be discussed later in the article)? Or was it already perceived as an old and obvious tradition? It is necessary to add that regardless of the answers to the above question, Haile Sillasie intended to present the crowning as a central traditional element of the spectacle. Or what was the role of the triumphal arches built on the way to the church? Was it seen by Ethiopians as a continuation of tradition (similar structures were also erected thirteen years earlier during Zewditu's coronation) or as a sign of foreign influences? To continue this line of deduction, the difficulty of interpretation lies also in the consciousness (both for the researched and the researchers) of the existence of these threads in a web which represents diverse meanings. If we accept that the ritual (even though many changes were introduced) followed the pattern of Menelik II's coronation in 1889 and Zewditu's in 1917, was it then understood by the Ethiopians as a continuation of tradition, or had the pattern not been repeated enough to become incorporated into tradition?

In the case of researching the history of Ethiopia in the 19th and 20th centuries, the introduction of additional threads into the web is connected, among other things, to the introduction of European models, which might have been but did not have to be – considered new elements and external influences. The problem with reading the multitude of threads is also related to the meanings of symbols originating from various cultures and the change these meanings undergo within this process. In the web of significance, not only the symbols and their meanings need to be read and constitute separate threads, but also the means by which information is conveyed – for example, based on written or oral forms.

The message and the methods of conveying the message

Regardless of the richness of threads in the web, we cannot forget that the most important aspect was the general impression those who attended (be it members of the aristocracy, commoners or foreign visitors) were supposed to receive. It was power which was the final and the most important message to reach the witnesses. However, the coronation was a huge, well thought-through event, which made use of a multitude of elements in order to achieve this coherent message. For this reason, the problem in conducting a thorough interpretation involves the many meanings attached to particular elements of the event, as well as the multitude of particular suggestions. All of them when considered together formed up the final message.

A necessary and central point of the ceremony involved the rites which had to be fulfilled so that the Heir to the Throne, Teferi Mekonnin, would become anointed as the Emperor of Ethiopia. Therefore, the grandeur and splendor accompanying the necessary rites were the most important elements of the coronation. Having said this, we can go further to the next levels of interpretation.

Haile Sillasie as a new emperor had a specific message to deliver during his coronation. In simplified terms, we can assume that the message was meant to convey three basic pieces of information: (i) presenting the greatness and might of the Ethiopian Empire; (ii) emphasizing Haile Sillasie's right to hold imperial power over the Ethiopian Empire; (iii) showing Teferi Mekonnin's power as the one who was crowned Emperor Haile Sillasie I, and thus became Emperor and one of the symbols of the state. We can also point at a number of specific messages conveyed through the coronation ceremony and related to Haile Sillasie's political program. This program had already been partially introduced during the years of his regency and was thus known to the observers —both in Ethiopia and outside the country. The most important points of this program related to the issue of modernizing the state (thus many suggestions within the ceremony pointing at change and innovations), as well as the will to underscore the meaning of Ethiopian tradition. Sources prove that he was at least partially successful in such a presentation of his country. It is reflected in a report by the wife of the American Special Ambassador to the ceremony, Mrs. Catherine Murray Jacoby, who wrote "Tafari is a progressive and enlightened man and comes to the throne with an earnest intention to put his country in step with the modern world" (Jacoby 1933: 13), while in a different place she mentioned that the Ethiopian ruling family "with the exception perhaps of Japan […] is the oldest […] in the world" (Jacoby 1933: 12). The coronation itself was a medium of constructing modernity legitimized by ancient rites.

Over his long reign, Haile Sillasie took advantage of different means to convey a message of power, both to his subjects and to the outside world. The spectrum of methods employed was very wide. The most obvious included making use of rituals and his own imperial person as a symbol, while more sophisticated methods involved shaping historiography (Rubinkowska 2004), taking advantage of the arts (Rubinkowska-Anioł 2015), architecture; and also modern media, such as the press and editorial activity (Rubinkowska-Anioł 2014), to give just some examples. The spectacle of the coronation is a ritual, first of all. But examples of different means to carry the message are also to be found in the texts of coronation celebrations. They include temporary constructions built for the event, the decoration of the city, including the use of written texts with slogans, paintings and photography, accessories, etc. They also encompass the issue of finding the right set of symbols, which would be understood by certain groups of witnesses. Various groups constituting the addressees of the message create one of the difficulties connected to interpreting the particular elements of the event.

Maintaining contacts and good relations with other countries, primarily the Colonial Powers, was one of the priorities meant to serve the purpose of maintaining Ethiopia's independence. This is why the arrival of guests from different countries and continents constituted such an important part of the coronation. Haile Sillasie had to use two very different language codes, so that his message was well received by both his Ethiopian subjects and the foreign guests. This leads us to another level of complication.

The question arises as to the extent to which the message was shaped, designed and received fully consciously, and in what part it was accepted "incidentally" or as an expected (traditional?) part of the spectacle or an obvious part of life in Ethiopia in 1930. Another question can be raised about which novelty introduced into the spectacle or innovations in the setting of the coronation were consciously read as a message pointing at the introduction of modernity into the country. Or maybe it was not consciously read at all, instead the examples of the novelties just made an impression on those who watched the spectacle as something new and extraordinary and it was through this impression that a certain notion of power was transferred. This question of a conscious reading of the text by the watchers *vis a vis* receiving the message "incidentally" brings another reflection. If we accept that in order to find our way through the thick web of meanings, each thread must be analyzed, one must also consider how it ended up in the web and what its role is within the web. Then the question arises whether such an in-depth analysis does not take the reader farther away from the general message, i.e. the impression that the coronation was meant to make. When searching for a certain deciphered message, the danger appears that the meaning is contained in the way in which all these elements together affect the observer. Separating them leads us not towards understanding but instead creates nonsense. However, let us try to take a closer look at some of the elements of the spectacle of Haile Sillasie's coronation in 1930.

The interpretations of particular components of the event

There are a number of accounts describing Haile Sillasie's coronation, both Ethiopian and written by foreigners. The Ethiopian sources include reminiscences by Mahteme Sillasie Welde Mesqel (1949/50: 739–763) and a short account in Haile Sillasie's autobiography (Haile Sillasie 1973: 141–146; Eng. transl. Ullendorff 1976: 171–177). In foreign sources, probably the most comprehensive are the descriptions by Evelyn Waugh (2002) and Catherine Murray Jacoby (1933). Among the available press articles, there is one by W.R. Moore in "The National Geographic Magazine" (1931). For the purpose of this article and due to the need for introducing certain simplifications, I will follow the elements of the coronation as listed in the description by Tekle Ts'adik Mekuriya (1961/62) in the fourth volume of "History

of Ethiopia". The description included in Tekle Ts'adik's book is exceptionally short and omits many events which took place over the couple of days of the coronation ceremony, but as a result we can assume that it concentrates on those elements which the historian considered to be the most important. Therefore, it is appropriate material for the undertaken considerations.

Thus, following Tekle Ts'adik's description we can see the following points for discussion (in order of appearance in the source):

1. the exceptional, holiday-like decorations in the city of Addis Ababa, where the coronation took place
2. the guests who came to the ceremony: guests from abroad, the representatives of various countries, guests from different parts of the Empire
3. the Emperor's coronation ritual
4. the coronations of the Empress and the Heir to the Throne
5. the passage of the imperial couple and their entourage to the palace

Addis Ababa prepared for the coronation

The preparation of the city for the coronation is an exceptionally wide subject and well documented in the reports and in photographs. The reports also provide information on Haile Sillasie's intentions, how they were read and re-written by those who described the place of the coronation. An example of those excerpts which praised the imperial magnitude comes from Haile Sillasie's biography by Christine Sandford. The author writes, "Through the decorated streets and cheering crowds there drove the visionary who had dreamed his dreams indeed, but had used their inspiration to equip himself intellectually and practically for the great task to which he was called, and for which he stood ready" (Sandford 1955: 57). On the other hand, there are other descriptions of the city which concentrate much more on how Haile Sillasie failed to make an impression on the foreign guests for the coronation. The best example, and definitely the most vivid, is an excerpt from Evelyn Waugh's "Remote People" (Waugh 2002).

Limiting ourselves to Tekle Ts'adik's report from the coronation saves us from drowning in the rut of various points of view. The historian stresses the city's decorations as an important element of the celebration. He writes that "during the coronation, the city of Addis Ababa was decorated in diverse ways, so that the coronation of Their Highnesses would be celebrated with due ceremony and to the inclusion of all necessary elements for such a special day" (Tekle Ts'adik 1945: 125) and then: "The city of Addis Ababa was decorated with flags and photographs of Their Imperial Highnesses Emperor and Empress Menen. There were many lights and fresh flowers. And at night one could see the city shining with electric lights" (Tekle Ts'adik 1945: 129).

Haile Sillasie did what he could so that Addis Ababa would make a positive impression on those who arrived for the ceremony, both the Ethiopians and the

foreigners. He wanted this relatively young city — established about forty years earlier — to indicate the great potential of the ruler who was about to come to power. It also served as evidence of his aspirations towards modernity. The flags and the photographs which Tekle Ts'adik mentions are examples of a web of references which are difficult to interpret. Both the notion of a flag and the photographs constitute a relatively new introduction, they refer to European models and — in the case of photography — new technologies. Therefore, one may come to the conclusion that it is a symbol of the changes being introduced in Ethiopia, of drawing inspiration from foreign models and a hint at the intention to introduce technological progress into Ethiopia. This was clearly signified by the use of electrical lighting, mentioned by all who wrote about the coronation — whether Ethiopians or foreigners. However, it was not the first time that electricity had added splendor to the coronation spectacle in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian intellectual and author of historical records from the period previous to Haile Sillasie's reign, Mersie Hazen Welde Qirqos, wrote about his admiration and astonishment when confronted with electrical lighting introduced during Zewditu's coronation in 1917 (Merse Hazen Welde Qirqos 2006/2007: 186). However, in the case of flags and photographs, in the 1930s the Ethiopians had already become used to the symbolism of the flag, as well as to the existence of photographs. Photography since the beginning of the century had been increasingly used for various aims — for recording the surrounding reality, but also for propaganda purposes (Sohier 2012: 9f.). Analyzing the use of both the flags and the photographs from another perspective, we can claim that they served to convey traditional symbolism. The flags made use of three colours — red, yellow and green, which for the Ethiopians held symbolic significance connected to their culture (Węgrzyn 2012). However, another issue arises when attempting to establish the length of time that they had fulfilled the role of a symbol of the state, or even — of the nation. Photographs made use of the image of the ruler as a symbol of the Empire and as God's messiah. How the flags were arranged is very clearly seen on the photographs from "The National Geographic Magazine" (1931: e.g. X, XI), while the arrangement of the photographs can be observed in one of the pictures, which were eventually not included for the 1931 magazine's edition. This photograph can be found among the other pictures collected in the National Geographic Image Collection (www.nationalgeographicstock.com picture no. 822055).

Aside from Tekle Ts'adik's general statement that the preparation of Addis Ababa served the purpose of making sure "that the coronation of Their Highnesses would be celebrated with due ceremony" (Tekle Ts'adik 1945: 129), other levels of interpretation lead us not so much into a web as into a labyrinth of meanings, where frequently the same thing may be interpreted as self-contradicting, and each time on the basis of in-depth knowledge of Ethiopian culture and history.

The guests

Among other elements of the celebration, Tekle Ts'adik placed emphasis on the guests who came to the coronation. This draws attention to the issue of the audiences to whom the message conveyed by the ceremony was addressed. Without a doubt, on the one hand, it was addressed to all the Ethiopians who were to witness the power of the new emperor, Haile Sillasie I. They were to be reminded of the might of the Ethiopian Emperor, who functioned also as a symbol of the state itself. In relation to his subjects, Haile Sillasie also wanted to emphasize which of the Ethiopian provinces was in power at that time. In a continuation of the politics and achievements of Menelik II, it was to be Shewa and the dynasty of Shewan rulers represented by the Emperor and his family. There was also national unity which was manifested by Ethiopians coming from all corners of the country. But there was also another group of witnesses of the ceremony: the foreign guests. In relation to them, the message concerning internal struggles for power and positions was insignificant. The foreign guests were supposed to see a strong and modern state, whose might was constructed on the fundaments of an ancient civilization and the traditions this entailed. The same group of guests was to be presented with a country which made use of the civilizational achievements of the West. To what extent the foreign guests were important for the Emperor as a part of his design of the event can be judged from the excerpt from Mrs. Jacoby's report. She wrote, "I might state that the Emperor had imported large quantities of lovely furniture, rugs and European comforts for the use of his diplomatic guests and that we found everything comfortable and even elegant during our stay in the country" (Jacoby 1933: 32). However, it would not be the correct assumption to state that the traditional attributes of the coronation ceremony were designed to primarily speak to Ethiopians, while modern elements were supposed to impress the foreign guests. Both the traditional and modern aspects of the coronation were meant to convey a certain message to both groups of visitors.

In terms of the guests who arrived for the coronation. there is also a number of levels of interpretation, in other words the tangled web of significance also exists in this case. One level is the issue of the different languages Haile Sillasie was forced to use so that his message was understood. Apart from the metaphorical sense of using two language codes (i.e. the traditional and the modern), this problem can also be considered in terms of actual different languages, Amharic and French being the basic ones used for communication. In the photographs from the event, we can see some texts praising the Emperor written in French. For example, the text "Vive l'Empereur Haile Selassie I" (decorated with electric light bulbs!) was placed at the top of one of the arches on the way to the St. George Church were the coronation took place, and it is clearly observable in a photograph from the collection of the Anglo-Ethiopian Society (Anglo-Ethiopian Society Photo

Gallery 2006), as well as in the picture from the National Geographic collection mentioned above.

Another level of complication is formed by the question of who was supposed to read the message and if perhaps the people who were the target of the message were also a part of the message itself. The spectacle in which the Imperial family and their courtiers played the main roles was supposed to be read and interpreted by everyone. However, when we analyze different groups of witnesses, the answer to this question is more complicated. That is because the guests had not only arrived in order to receive the conveyed message. They themselves constituted an element of the message. In the case of Ethiopians, all of them — the aristocracy, those who held powerful positions, and the subjects of the realm — emphasized the importance of the event as a result of their presence. The guests from abroad fulfilled the same role. All of the groups were supposed to impress one another. Different sources point at the various goals achieved by the architects of the coronation. Ethiopians were impressed by the number of diplomatic representatives, journalists and other guests, including scholars interested in Ethiopia present at the ceremony (Tekle Ts'adik 1945: 125f.; Mahteme Sillasie Welde Mesqel 1949/50:739). Haile Sillasie in his autobiography also mentions the "kings and presidents" who attended (Ullendorff 1976: 173)[2].

The huge crowds of "natives" and "native chiefs" without a doubt impressed the foreign witnesses. Moore wrote about "a sea of flashing shields and spears" (Moore 1931: 745), while Mrs. Jacoby about "warriors, dressed in their full glory of lion's mane headdresses, velvet capes, silver and gold inlaid shields and spears" (Jacoby 1933: 85). Contrary to Mrs. Jacoby, who was overwhelmed by the appearance of the crowds and the city, Evelyn Waugh's description of his arrival at the Addis Ababa station and of the welcoming prepared for the guests coming for the coronation, shows another perspective on how Haile Sillasie's intentions to impress the guests worked in practice. Waugh, well aware of the dual role of witnesses and actors played by everyone present at the celebration, wrote the following about Haile Sillasie, "still maintaining his double ruff of trumping at home with prestige abroad, abroad with his prestige at home, Tafari had two main motives behind the display. He wished to impress on his European visitors that Ethiopia was no more an agglomeration of barbarous tribes open

[2] It can be of some interest that Haile Sillasie dedicated a paragraph to the invitation sent to the Polish Government. Haile Sillasie wrote that "(…) the Polish Government had initiated conversations to conclude a treaty of commerce and friendship with the Ethiopian Government, but by the time Our coronation day came, these negotiations were still not completed. The Poles then demonstrated their good will by declaring: 'Although the treaty is not yet signed, we shall send an envoy to the coronation, since we have mutually manifested our thoughts of friendship.' We therefore informed the President, M. Moscicki that it was Our intention to receive their envoy with great pleasure" (Ullendorff 1976: 173). This shows precisely the extent to which the Emperor wanted to stress his good relations with many different countries.

to foreign exploitation, but a powerful, organized, modern State. He wanted to impress on his own countrymen that he was no paramount chief of a dozen independent communities, but an absolute monarch recognized on equal terms by the monarchies and governments of the great world. And if, in the minds of any of his simpler subjects, courtesy and homage became at all confused, if the impression given was that these braided delegates (out for a holiday from their serious duties, an unusual pageant, and perhaps a few days' shooting) had come in their ruler's name to pay tribute to Ethiopian supremacy – so much the better" (Waugh 2002: 25f.).

The ritual

The Emperor's coronation ritual was without a doubt the most important part of the event, which to the highest extent was meant to refer to tradition. In an obvious way, the term "coronation" refers to a particular element of the royal insignia, i.e. the crown. In the case of Haile Sillasie's coronation, it is precisely the crown itself and its placement on the would-be emperor's head that is the most important element, making the Heir to the Throne the actual emperor of Ethiopia. In witnesses' eyes, "It was a dramatic moment when the Abuna [the Archbishop] Cyril (…) placed the triple crown of Ethiopia upon Haile Selassie's head — a moment also of triumph and fulfilment" (Sandford 1955: 57). However, if we search for threads added to tradition at different moments, we need to remember that the enthronement ritual in Ethiopia over the centuries seems not to have included this custom of placing the crown on the head of a new ruler. Up until at least the 15th century, the central element of the enthronement procedure was a customary haircut and other rituals referring to the transformation of a subject into a ruler. Only after the 15th century did the enthronement ritual include an actual coronation act, and only then did the crown become one of the most important symbols of power (Derat 2003: 255; Węgrzyn 2012). There is however no doubt that in the 20th century the imperial crown is treated as an obvious and traditional symbol of power.

Ethiopian sources provide a detailed description of the ritual, Mahteme Sillasie Welde Mesqel's being the most detailed (1949/50: 747–757). Foreign accounts provide information on how the rites were perceived by those who were faced with a "beautiful and impressive service, withal a little too long for European taste" (Jacoby 1933: 85). The religious part of the ceremony was rich and dense. It was conducted according to *sirate nigis*, the 'royal ritual', with the participation of clergy from different monasteries. The Abune, i.e. the head of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, crowned, anointed and provided the Emperor with other symbols of imperial power — the sceptre, sword, ring and the Bible. From the researcher's perspective, this part of the coronation can be treated as a text within a text.

The coronations of the Empress and the Heir to the Throne

The coronation ritual of the Empress and the coronation of the Heir to the Throne were new elements introduced during this particular ceremony. The Emperor himself emphasized this in his autobiography (Ullendorff 1976: 171–177). In attempting to answer the question of why such a change in the ritual was introduced, it should be noted that the change itself was highlighted. Thus, the aim was not to make observers believe that it was a continuation of tradition (in accordance with the idea of the invention of traditions), but rather particular stress was placed on the introduction of this change itself. I propose interpreting this as Haile Sillasie's attempt to create a dynasty in the European understanding of the term. It was combined with the traditional Ethiopian form of legitimizing imperial power by referring to the Ethiopian founding myth of the dynasty, i.e. the story of King Solomon, the Queen of Sheba, and their son Menelik I. Haile Sillasie on different occasions underscored his own descent and his family's from the mythical ancestor. In the Ethiopian Constitution granted by the Emperor to his nation a year after the coronation, article three states that "It is provided by law that the Imperial Rank shall remain perpetually in the line of His Majesty Haile Sillasie I, descendant of King Sahle Selassie, whose lineage continues unbroken from the dynasty of Menelik I, son of King Solomon of Jerusalem and the Queen of Ethiopia, sometimes called Queen of Sheba" (Steen 1936: 8). However, Haile Sillasie also aimed at constructing even stronger foundations for his own and his heirs' right to rule the Empire. The changes which he planned at the time (in accordance with the spirit of "modernisation") were supposed to make these plans possible. Haile Sillasie wanted to limit the amount of pretenders to the throne, in juxtaposition to Ethiopian tradition. Ethiopian succession was in accordance with the method used in most African monarchies, whereby the amount of pretenders was very high, based not only on patrilineal inheritance but also matrilineal, which led to constant struggles to gain and maintain power over the particular realm. The coronation of the Imperial Spouse during the same ceremony as the coronation of the Emperor, but primarily the coronation of their oldest son as Heir to the Throne, clearly emphasized what was to be included in the Ethiopian constitution a year later — the exclusive right held by Haile Sillasie's descendants to inherit imperial power over Ethiopia.

Just after the rituals of crowning the Emperor, his spouse and the Heir were completed, the significance of the moment was stressed by a spectacular addition, which no doubt was planned to create the impression of modernity integrated into an ancient ritual. This came in the form of three Ethiopian airplanes which made several circles around the imperial tent to mark the end of the most central part of the celebrations (Waugh 2002: 45). This mixture of new and old was also represented soon after when the newly-crowned Emperor and his wife left the tent together with the procession and Haile Sillasie read his speech. The words of the speech were printed (a modern innovation) and strewn from the airplanes flying

above (modern accessories). Next, traditional heralds announced the text orally, in accordance with the traditional rite. To do so, they used megaphones, which served as an obviously modern addition (Waugh 2002: 45). Such a multilayer entanglement shows the richness of the details and reveals the difficulty in separating different components and their role in the whole spectacle.

The procession

The passage of the imperial couple to the palace was one of the more significant parts of the spectacle and made it possible for the Emperor's subjects and other witnesses to experience how exceptional the event was. During the many days of the coronation celebration, there were a number of processions. The imperial couple prayed in St. George's Church every day over the week before the coronation, and a number of events followed during the next week. However, the particular reported and photographed procession took place just after the coronation rites had been completed and the Imperial couple was heading from the church to the palace. The night before the Emperor and Empress had gone to St. George's Church to pray before the coronation. The procession which took them there was less spectacular. It took place after dark, so the imperial couple was not watched and greeted by many of the guests. This is also the reason why all the films and photographs from the event show the procession from the church to the palace the day after, not the one which took Their Imperial Majesties to the place of coronation. It should be stressed, however, that while reading reports from the coronation we often find descriptions claiming to be about the procession to the church, which is misleading. This fact was even pointed out by Waugh in his detailed report of his visit to Addis Ababa for the occasion (Waugh 2002: 51).

In relation to the message of power, some elements which have already been discussed played an important role also in this part of the celebration. These include the role of the Ethiopians who attended — the rich and the poor — from different parts of the Empire, as well as the presence of the foreign guests, but also such elements as the special decorations, and other such details. However, among other elements there were some which attracted the special attention of the witnesses. These include a carriage which was used on this day to take Their Imperial Majesties to and from the various points of the ceremony. The coach was meant to symbolize splendor with a hint of the European. And here we come to the web of meanings again. It is difficult to speak about a coach in 1930 in terms of modernity. However, the idea of a coach has never functioned in Ethiopian tradition. This particular vehicle was not only a purely Western means of transport, it had also been acquired from Europe, as it "once did service at the coronation of the Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany", and was later brought to Ethiopia for the purposes of the coronation (Moore 1931: 743). As such, even though it was second-hand, it should be interpreted as a new addition to the coronation ceremony.

Conclusions

It needs to be stressed that the imperial coronation in Ethiopia in 1930 lasted many days and many more components then those mentioned in this article played important roles in the celebration. Many of them have been well described in the sources. It would not be possible, however, to discuss all or even the majority of them. Hence, I decided to limit the number of elements under analysis so as not to provide vast amounts of redundant details and interpretations.

Haile Sillasie I's coronation was an event not only of enormous significance to Ethiopians but it was also recorded and reported in distant countries. Even though it was treated as a curiosity, it brought fame to Haile Sillasie in different parts of the world. Haile Sillasie's ambition to change Ethiopia from a remote isolated country into a modern one and to inform the whole world about the change was reflected during the coronation spectacle. From a researcher's perspective, in consequence, we are confronted with material rich with a multitude of layers of meaning. This creates difficulties in the interpretation of the cultural text, for which I hoped to present some examples in this article. Even making the assumption that a researcher is familiar with the language of the source culture, that he or she has some knowledge about the region, and is aware of the various historical, social, political or economic conditions influencing the event, still the complexity of the cultural text remains so large that achieving an exhaustive and detailed answer to the question of what particular means were used so that a particular message was conveyed to its observers is difficult.

I also tried to confront my fears of losing sight of the general impression, which seems to be the most important aspect in the reception of such a text. As a consequence of this concentration on particular details, the danger emerges of inadequate understanding of the message. I believe that the complicated message was based on instinctual actions, apart from well thought-through and conscious ones, to a larger extent than we tend to think. Also the observers did not possess in-depth knowledge about what they experienced, instead they were impressed by the spectacle where all the components served to deliver a message of power.

Eventually, Haile Sillasie was successful — all the elements worked together to create a complicated text, in which each actor was a witness while also serving as a necessary element of the whole spectacle. This spectacle conveyed intended contents. Particular components served the particular aim when incorporated as a whole. However, when discussed separately, their meaning may become lost in the web of meanings and they may bring different and misleading notions.

The most important information was delivered to the Ethiopian and foreign guests as well as to many others who read the newspapers and listened, or even watched the news abroad. In November 1930, it turned into a fact that His Imperial Majesty Haile Sillasie I was crowned and the necessary rites were fulfilled.

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Central African (Sudanic) Arabic toponomastics — the special case of Chad

Abstract

The study of Arabic toponymy in Central Sudanic Africa, that fringe area of the Arab World, presents substantial challenges resulting from the general scarcity of existing documentation and little availability of direct sources that must be replaced by research into intermediary documents. The paper indicates several possible fields of research, through gathering the necessary information from various forms of cartography, unchecked local printing production and oral tradition, and underlines the necessity of coordinating linguistic research with that of the historical geography of the area.

Keywords: Chad, Central Sudan, Arabic language, toponomastics, historical geography

Toponomastics

Toponomastics as a science of place names (toponyms) is an aggregate of several sub-fields that necessarily interact with each other in the study of names of geographical entities (features). These fields include linguistics, history and geography. Linguistics provides clues which enable understanding the inner development of geographical names, history elucidates the conditions in which the toponyms were formed and changed over time, and geography explains their spatial distribution as well as the interrelationships between the names and the features to which the names are applied (Kadmon 2000; Czerny 2011). Geographical names are a part of the cultural heritage of the countries and of the identity of the peoples who inhabit them (Jordan *et al*. 2009; Choo 2014). These aspects will be touched upon in the following article.

Chad — the country

Under the name Chad, we mean the territory of the land-locked Republic of Chad, an earlier French colony, located in Central Africa. The republic's territory in its present shape was formed by the French colonial administration and named after the indigenous (non-Arabic, see below) name of the great inland lake.

Pierre Olivier Lapie, the ex-Governor of Chad, wrote, "Les espaces de l'Afrique appartiennent à ceux qui les ont mérités. En 1900, une poignée d'hommes, la ténacité et l'audace, ont acquis le Tchad à la France… Il est extraordinaire de penser combien de races, de groups, de peuples, de peuplades, de tribus, ou de nations se mélent au Tchad… On ne sait rien des ancêtres… Ce sont donc les traits, les langues, les habitudes de vie que les ethnographes doivent classer et il en est venu peu d'accomplis dans ces regions. De plus, il s'est produit un tel mélange de races par marriage, concubinage, razzias, viols, esclaves, immigration, émigration, occupations, retraites, transports de populations, invasions, etc…. que rarement un specimen pur apparaît. Les langues demeurent — elles sont des dialects innombrables de langages déjà nombreux, — un bas arabe est la langue véhiculaire dans tout le territoire" (Lapie 1945: 9, 26f).

However, the country was not *res nullius* as one could understand from the colonial discourse. It includes areas occupied in pre-colonial times by several political entities, locally powerful, such as Kanem-Bornou (Kānim-Burnū كانم برنو, 8th–19th centuries), Baguirmi (Bāġirmī باغرمي, Bāġīrmī باغيرمي or Baġirmī بغرمي, 16th–19th centuries) and Ouadai (Wādāy واداي, Wadāy وداي or Waddāy وڈّاي, 17th–20th centuries) (Lebeuf 1959; Chapelle 1980; Zeltner 1980; Khayar 1984; Lange 1984; Brenner and Cohen 1987; [Aṭlas] 2013; [Ta'rīh̲] 2013)[1]. These polities only vaguely correspond to the present-day shape of the state. Nevertheless, in common ideology and internal politics the concept of continuing these historical entities is strongly attached to the idea of the contemporary state. The mutual identification over the span of the ages is formally supported with educational means and this state-building ideology is deliberately imbedded in the citizens' minds ([Ta'rīh̲] 2013; Zagórski 2013). In any case, for the sake of toponomastic research, it should not be forgotten that the territory of Chad is an integral part of a wider cultural expanse extending also over vast areas of neighboring countries. These large swaths of historically interconnected lands cannot be neglected in deliberations concerning Chad and its historical sources, and should always be taken into consideration (see ill. 1). That large area in its entirety is rightly called the Central Sudan (Cordell 1986; Hiskett 1987; Hunwick 1995).

Chad is a country with a multiethnic, multicultural and multireligious composition (Lebeuf 1959; Chapelle 1980; Lange and Barkindo 1988). The main linguistic and ethnic groups are the following (in numerically descending order):

[1] Exact dates in the history of Chad have been and still remain highly debatable, see Lavers 1993.

the Sudanic Arabs, the Sara-Bagirmi, the Tubu (or Teda, Tedaga), the Nzakambay (or Mbum), the Maba (including the Massalit), the Tama, the Mubi (including the Sokoro), the Kanuri, the Dago, the Hausa, the Masa (including the Musgu), the Kotoko, the Zaghawa, the Mandara, the Fur (or For), and other small communities (Baumann and Westermann 1957; Le Rouvreur 1962; [Atlas] 1964; Heine 1970; Doornbos and Bender 1983; Brauner 1985; Pawlak 2010). The country has at present two official languages: French, dating from its colonial inheritance (since 1900), and Arabic, officially introduced in 1978 (Jullien de Pommerol 1997).

The Arabic of Chad

Arabic, a Semitic language that is the most prominent and widespread of all Afro-Asiatic languages, from times immemorial has been split into numerous and diversified spoken dialects — *lahğa*^{t}, *dāriğa*^{t}, *ᶜāmmiyya*^{t} (idiome, parler, common speech, Vulgärarabisch), as opposed to the conventional literary, written language — *fuṣḥá* (langue littéraire, standard Arabic, Schriftsprache). It should be underlined that the main Arabic dialects are not subdivisions or deformations of the literary language, and neither do they result from local linguistic innovations. They have their own histories of development and continuity in time, they date back far in time, and they took root in the earliest locations in the Arabian Peninsula (Harder 1910; Blachère and Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1975; Šagal' 1987; Danecki 1994; de Saussure 2004). Individual Arabic dialects are subdivisions of the greater Arabic linguistic space of spoken Arabic (*substratum* in this case), on which the literary language is in fact a sort of very special superimposed *adstratum*. The expansion of Arabic beyond the Arabian Peninsula started in the 7th century, comparatively quickly reaching Central Africa, and it is here where its dynamic evolution (including its imposition on other languages and their replacement) may be observed. The situation is further complicated by the fact of the existence of spoken mixed variants of both dialects and the *fuṣḥá*, called *luġa*^{t} *ṯāliṯa*^{t} (third language) or *fuṣḥá mutawāsiṭa*^{t} (middle literary). These mixed variants appear in most cases spontaneously, while their quality depends on the circumstances, the level of communication, as well as the linguistic competences of their users.

As a local vernacular, the Arabic of Chad likewise appears in versions diversified in space and social environment, which are all but attached to the Sudanese-Arabic bundle of dialects, and these extend from the Red Sea far into the territory of Nigeria (Harder 1910; Roth-Laly 1969–1972; Šagal' 1987; Roth 1987–1989; Kaye 1976; 1982; 1986). The Arabic dialect of Chad, for many ages (it is difficult to provide precise dates) ensured, as one of the local *linguae francae* (but the most powerful), effective communication between multitribal societies (Heine 1970; Brauner 1985; Jullien de Pommerol 1997). It was observed that "cette dernière langue parlée au Ouadai depuis plus de 500 ans peut-être, a dû et doit encore

son expansion principalement aux Arabes nomades qui, grâce à leur mobilité ont pu parcourir toutes les régions du pays, nouer des relations amicales avec les sédentaires et leur apprendre leur langue en même temps qi'ils s'initiaient à la leur" (Trenga 1947, cited after Heine 1970, see ill. 2). Due to migrations and long-lasting acculturation processes, vernacular Arabic nowadays constitutes the mother tongue for *circa* 35% of the local population. The self-identity of these peoples, who are in fact of a very heterogenous anthropological character, is mainly related to the Šuwa^{t} شوة or Baqqāra^{t} بقّارة Arab tribes, originally immigrants from the core Arabic-speaking lands in the East, who as early as the latter half of the 14th century appeared to nomadize in the Chad Lake region (Zeltner 1970; 2002). In addition, in recent times — as in the past — Arabic has been apparently gaining more and more ground among the urban dwellers of diversified origins. Gradually it has begun to replace other local languages, particularly within linguistically mixed families and other social groups in contact — first as a widespread vehicular language, subsequently as a self-imposed vernacular (Jullien de Pommerol 1997). Paradoxically enough, the process gained its conspicuous momentum under colonial rule. "La paix française, ramenant le calme dans ces régions troublées, encourageant les noirs à descendre dans les plaines, favorisant maintenant les échanges de toute nature, tend peu à peu à effacer ces différences entre les diverses peuplades; un patois arabe, s'introduisant dans tous les milieux comme langue véhiculaire, désagrège de jour en jour toutes les autres langues; certaines d'entre elles, comme il m'a été donné de le constater en 1934, sont en voie de disparition totale" (Rendinger 1949, cited after Heine 1970). To sum up, the socio-cultural position of the Arabic language in Chad on two levels, that of a vernacular as well as that of a vehicular means of intertribal communication, and in permanent shift from the first position to the latter one, entitles us to consider the country as an integral part of the Arab world, even though that attribution is not widely understood or accepted on the geopolitical level (Zagórski 2004; 2008; 2014).[2]

Attempts at creating a standard form of the local Chadian Arabic vernacular, like in any other Arab country, are met with suspicion and contempt on the grounds that this could undermine the high prestigious position of the Arabic literary language, a conventional formation serving religious (Islamic), cultural and international purposes, and its unifying factor (Jullien de Pommerol 1997). In fact, the continuity of all-Arabic culture and identity is strictly interrelated with that of the language (Bocheński 1978; Danecki 1994; de Saussure 2004). Development of Arabic literacy in Chad is formally supported by the local government, as well as, occasionally, by some foreign countries, like Saudi Arabia (Arabic King Fayṣal University in the capital city of N'djamena) or France (preparing educational

[2] It should be remembered that the proportion of speakers of Arabic as a mother tongue in Chad is substantially higher than in such member countries of the League of tArab States as Djibouti, Somalia and the Comoro Islands, and the number of native Arabic speakers is higher than in Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar or the United Arab Emirates.

publications for Chad in Arabic) (Zagórski 2013), to mention just two examples. The importance of Arabic in Chad is dynamically growing before our eyes, and it is essential that we make note of this socio-linguistic fact.

Arabic place names in Chad

Little is known about the genuine mental corpus of Arabic vernacular place names, as conceived, developed and used by local inhabitants in areas where Arabic is spoken as the mother tongue. Another difficulty lies in the fact that the majority of local Arabic-speaking tribes led a nomadic lifestyle until quite recently. Many of them continue to practice seasonal transhumances, moving over territories inhabited by different local sedentary peoples with their own languages and their own local place names. The local toponomastic layers are different from Arabic and have seldom (if ever) been recorded in writing by the local users themselves. The field of investigation into the oral Arabic tradition in this respect remains wide open for prospective research. It is important to note that research into the non-Arabic toponomastics of the country is no better advanced.

The Arabic toponymy of Chad formulated in the categories of a literary language, functions parallel to French colonial renderings and they both continue to find practical use in formal and informal social communication to this day. Both the Arabic and French toponomastic layers, naturally, consist mainly of phonetic adaptations of local names of various origins, registered and noted down more or less fortuitously. They are mutually overlapping, covering the territory that originally belonged to another naming tradition.

We can risk the statement that alongside the Arabic vehicular and vernacular language of widespread communication, the Arabic toponymic layer also develops, changes, becomes stabilized and gains larger and larger territories.

If the general Arabic vernacular and vehicular vocabulary of Chad and neighboring countries has been the subject of several glossaries and dictionaries (Roth-Laly 1969-1972; Qāsim 1985 (1972); Kaye 1982; 1986; Jullien de Pommerol 1999), the problem of toponymy — a much greater challenge — has largely been neglected both in theoretical research (its history, etymology,[3] structure, phonetics, the interrelation of variables, etc.), and in applied studies (standardization above all) (Zagórski 2004; 2011).

Polish experience in the field of historical lexicography could indicate the proper methodological approach to take. Modern dictionaries of historical lexicographical heritage are split into three categories: those dealing with general vocabulary, those focused on anthroponymy, and — finally — historical-geographical dictionaries. This division, resulting from a different methodological approach in each category, could well be applied to the treatment of the Central Sudanic linguistic heritage.

[3] For some notes on etymology, see below.

It should also be mentioned in this context that many geographical names (denominators) mentioned in historical sources have simply lost their material counterparts (designates) on the land. The designated geographical features, such as human settlements, perished in turbulent circumstances and due to the delicate nature of the habitable structures — dried earth and wood — have not even left the slightest recognizable remains on the ground (except, occasionally, in the memories of local inhabitants). A noticeable example is that of Ndjimi/N.jīmī نجيمي, the capital city of the Kanuri state of Kānim (later Kānim-Burnū), the precise location of which is still to be determined. This important political and commercial center has not left any visible material remains and is tentatively searched for either to the north of Lake Chad, or to the west, and even to the east.

In any case, toponomastic research cannot be separated from the study of detailed maps, which attach a specific place in space to named geographical features.

Arabic toponomastics in cartography

The question arises of whether this is something new in the treatment of geographical names. The analysis of modern Arabic geographical atlases in school use in various Arabic countries demonstrates how difficult it is to arrive at consistent renderings of geographical names when the publications are produced in the Arab East (as is the most frequent situation) and the maps included in them represent Western Arabic (Maghrebian) countries. Eastern editors usually have no access to original local maps in Arabic from the West. In such atlases, Maghrebian students find names that have never existed in their own country. This results from uncritical re-transliterations of geographical names into Arabic from available maps in European languages (Zagórski 2008; 2011). Similarly, mistakes make their way into Arabic geographical atlases as regards the current geopolitical situation (Zagórski 2014). This problem is also connected with the lack of modern comprehensive dictionaries of Arabic geographical names, easily available for educational and editorial purposes. Existing geographical dictionaries from the Middle Ages, like those by Al-Bakrī (11th century), Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (13th century) or Al-Ḥimyarī (15th century), that the Arabs are rightfully proud of, are precious historical sources but offer little practical help to users with modern needs and requirements. This is especially true when we speak about such fringe areas of the Arab World as the Central Sudan.

Names in modern Arabic publications usually stem from European languages, either through direct complete translation of source texts or the extraction of toponomastic content subsequently rendered into Arabic and integrated into the new context. They are of practical importance and our full attention is due, as even though such renderings might be divergent and various versions of one and

the same toponym may be encountered within one publication, they are likely to exert a far-reaching impact on other Arabic publications and create a new factual linguistic reality. This impact on the perception of people speaking Arabic as their second language may eventually lead to the establishment of a permanent toponymic layer, possibly different from that in use by original Arabic speakers. Furthermore, the toponymic chaos resulting from divergences between various written forms, as well as between written and oral forms, may create different usages among various social groups and also various governmental institutions and services.[4]

The daily practice of translation/interpretation in a multilingual society is well known in various parts of the world.[5]

In Chad, famous for its multiplicity of linguistic divisions (like most African countries), these interlingual transmission lines run on the surface of oral tradition rather than written. These situations and phenomena add up and together they constitute a most complicated setting of the all-national cultural heritage. French renderings of geographical names on maps do not take into account these subtleties and display approximate spellings established by surveyors and cartographers, who rarely could communicate in local languages (Libar 1996).[6]

Arabic sources of information

We lack information and documents pertaining to any local attempts to collect and standardize the Arabic toponymy of Chad, be it even on a non-official level. Internal sources and local written historical documents in Arabic are extremely

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[4] A similar situation occurred in Poland after World War II in the former German Regained Territories (*Ziemie Odzyskane*). At the beginning, German geographical names (many of them, indeed, of Slavic origin) were hastily Polonized, often in a random manner. Chaotic actions of this kind resulted in a plethora of variant names for one and the same geographical feature, used by different administrative offices. The situation ended with the publication of a huge official registry of approved Polish toponyms for the area, prepared by a governmental standardization commission (commonly called "Rospond's commission", after the name of its chairman, Prof. Stanisław Rospond), composed of experts in linguistics, history and geography.

[5] For example, interesting situations in this respect were observed (as can be judged from available texts) in the pre-modern city of Wilno (also Wilna, at present Vilnius in Lithuania) of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations (Polish and Lithuanian). In fact, despite its declarative bi-polarity, the state was multicultural, multireligious and multilingual. Seventeen different languages were freely used (spoken or written) in public life and intercommunal communication necessitating frequent translatory procedures. The written heritage documenting these situations and practices is abundant.

[6] In 1996, Joseph Libar summarized the situation in his country as follows, "Il n'existe pas d'organe chargé de le gestion et de la normalisation de la toponymie…; plusieurs localités portent le même nom…; une même localité porte plusieurs noms…; la transcription est parfois tellement mauvaise que la prononciation des noms par un non autochtone n'a qu'un lointain rapport avec la prononciation locale…; aucune convention phonétique n'est respecté…". After 20 years, this ascertainment remains valid, and the Arabic geographical names present in this context provide a particularly grim image.

rare (O'Fahey *et al.* 1994; Hunwick 1995). They usually contain scant amounts of geographical names with debatable identification, but their role in toponomastic investigations is significant.[7] Oral epic creations in Arabic might possibly contain additional toponymic evidence, as can be judged by an analogy with existing research on Hausa *ajami* manuscripts — this field of research remains open (Dobronravin 2014). Contemporary local production of written (and printed) Arabic texts in Chad has not been scrutinized from this perspective and, alongside local oral tradition, it is another possible field of investigation.

Arabic external sources from classical or pre-modern times (Cooley 1841; Lewicki 1974; Cuoq 1975; Kubbel' *et al* 1960–2002; Levtzion and Hopkins 2000), despite lasting interest and continued research into these texts (Seignobos 2010), in general do not have really much to say about this area, which indeed may be classified as one of the most underprivileged as regards its coverage by written historical sources as well as linguistic research. Scarce data in the form of incoherent fragments of historical information in classical Arabic works, hard to use in building up a contiguous mosaic picture, were indeed only slightly richer in content than the historical facts available to European readers at that time (Masonen 2000; Piętek 2014).

Historical sources from the Middle Ages are available in the form we know at present, and we shall probably never be able to find additional information about how and why the names they use took on a particular structure. Shall we assume that they are works of some definite authority? This is rather doubtful in light of modern Arabic publications whose twisted methods of onomastic transmission can be easily observed on a daily basis (as mentioned above).

But, despite all odds, and however fragmentary they are, Arabic sources still merit our full attention and are subject to very detailed analyses and interpretations, which may lead to new historical and linguistic findings (Fisher 1985; Lange 1979a and 1979b; O'Fahey, Hunwick and Lange 1979; Zeltner 1979 and 1980).

European sources

There exists, however, a series of external sources found mainly in European publications, and this is what I would like to bring to light as evidence of the Arabic toponymic layer extending over Central Africa, with special reference to Chad. It should be remembered that early European travelers in their daring expeditions relied mainly on Arabic as their means of gathering information (Tymowski 2002). Some of them could speak it fluently, while African interpreters helped others. In any case, Arabic stood in-between the explorers and the locals, it constituted a sort

[7] Cf. for example two model editions of such historical texts, Lange 1977; 1987.

of communication bridge. Those travelers who left behind diaries and journals often present local Saharan and Sahelian toponymy filtered through Arabic and strongly influenced by an outer Arabic imprint. Cognitive horizons and mental maps created by these observers and investigators from outside the local cultural context were necessarily imbibed with the Arabic style of thinking and formulating. Local toponyms extracted from their works, however they could have been additionally altered due to possible linguistic imprecision, testify to Arabic influence and are therefore an important additional source of information on the local Arabic-speaking environment in general. They deserve incorporation into comparative research, even though their interpretation might be challenging.

Before we come to any generalizations and conclusions, I would like to present a short description and analysis of some of these extant sources, which in the final stage of research should yield the toponomastic material to be gathered together, with the aim of creating a unified historical and geographical dictionary of the area of interest, and a catalogue of toponyms available from various Arabic (or para-Arabic) sources. This idea of "para-Arabic" or "Arabic sources of European origin" may seem a bit paradoxical. If we, however, remember what was stated above about the role of Arabic as a means of communication at different social levels and review the nature and history of extant texts, matters will take on a new perspective. This is particularly due to the informative value of European sources (or at least some of them), which were highly influenced by African-to-Arabic-to-European transmission procedures.

European sources that were subsequently (re-)translated into Arabic, thus creating a new world of toponyms, deserve all our attention. In each individual case, they should be treated most cautiously because their social impact may have been significant.

Arabic re-translations, such as, for example, of the work on Wadāy by At-Tūnisī, supply a certain number of Arabic place names, which thus come into natural circulation. Their accuracy cannot be tested immediately. First of all, we should identify the exact localization and modern counterparts of all geographical features marked by these names. This may be facilitated by putting the names into one system of a historical-geographical dictionary (as mentioned above), citing directions, distances and other material contexts. These should be confronted with toponyms from texts prepared by Nachtigal and other explorers, both the originals and those translated into Arabic. We shall most probably discover different schools of Arabic renderings of such toponyms. Next, we should include the essay on the geography of Chad from the Saudi encyclopedia – also based mainly on European sources ([Aṣam] 1999). Two recent Parisian publications in Arabic ([Aṭlas] 2013; [Ta'rīẖ] 2013), which are apparent translations from French, of low onomastic quality, and which from the educational point of view may present a challenge. However, since they are quite widespread throughout the schooling system, their real impact on the formation of the Arabic toponymic layer

in Chad may be preponderant. Particularly when they are used by unspecialized non-native speakers of Arabic who cannot easily judge their (in)correctness and (dis)informative value (Zagórski 2013). All the collected toponyms should then be coordinated with the existing topographical maps, which are practically all in French.[8]

Solicited maps

This is a very special category of documents that have survived in the travel accounts from intertropical Africa (Basset 1998). The first originals were of immediate use and perished on the ground – in the literal sense of the expression. Travelers who contacted local people asked about the geography of the countries they did not know — about the directions and distances in the areas of their interest — and solicited data in a graphic form. Informants would draw ephemeral sketches on the ground in the presence of an explorer and supply oral explanations ("oral maps"), basing on the mental maps common in their cultural group. These were put together (transcribed) onto paper by the Europeans, also using any additional information available about the lands they were planning to explore. Thus, the place names contained in the maps of the Africans were transcribed — in Arabic, usually with parallel renderings in Latin letters — onto European drafts, and then transmitted into books and maps for wider use.

Some of the maps brought to Europe were originally drawn by local informants, as is testified by the travelers themselves (the Sultan Bello's map, see ill. 3) (Bovill 1966, IV: 699; Virga 2007: 101f; Lefebvre and Surun 2008; Lefebvre 2009), but they have not received adequate attention. There are maps of a mixed type. The map of Wadāy, for example, accompanying the French translation of At-Tūnisī's account (at-Tūnisī 1851), was drawn by the translator, Dr. Perron, according to oral information obtained from the author himself and from another *dignitaire ouadaïen* interrogated in Cairo. Its scale was given in days of marching.

These "solicited" maps would require further studies into the original documents buried in archives, because their bookish counterparts were extensively edited, elaborated and transformed. The study should also reply to questions about the geographical orientation of local peoples. It had nothing in common with the traditional Arabic cartography which was by that time in total decline (Zagórski 2012), and which earlier had probably never reached these distant borderlands of the Islamic World. We should rather seek cultural parallels in the spatial orientation of other neighboring peoples, as well as among the Western Arabs ([Aš-Šinqīṭī] 1953; Boughali 1974), alleged ancestors of local Arabs (even if it was just a myth,

[8] For the only known published list of arranged Chadian toponyms in Arabic and French, see Zagórski 2004.

their cultural influence is non-debatable). And still the main issue for us in such cartographic investigations would be the information on geographical names, their orthography, identification and localization.

Main authors and works

Leo Africanus (*circa* 1494–*circa* 1554)

Historically, we can refer to Leo Africanus (or rather Al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Fāsī الحسن ابن محمد الوزان الفاسي), who authored a valuable description of Africa, originally available only in the Italian version ([Leo Africanus] 1956). The author was a highly educated Arab traveler who fell into the hands of Christian pirates in the Mediterranean and was forced to live in Italy, at the Papal court. There, basing on his earlier experience of extensive journeys, including Central Sudan, he wrote his description of Africa, which opened new horizons to the Europe of the Renaissance. Many place names in this important book are quite debatable as regards their orthography, original forms, and identification with real geographical features. However, it provides a signal about how names travel from one language to another, although we do not always know which are the originals and which the intermediary transmission forms. There is a hypothesis that the author could have used some of his earlier notes in Arabic taken during his travels in Africa, which could have somehow been preserved during the dramatic events at sea and during his captivity, but there is no real material evidence to prove this.

His book was translated from French into Arabic ([Leo Africanus] 1983). The spellings of the toponyms in the new Arabic version were often adjusted to modern French versions, and not to the original Arabic names, known from history, thus leading to confusion. The translation provided an opportunity for a detailed review by a Saudi historian (Aṣ-Ṣaqqār 1981).

Muḥammad Ibn ʿUmar Ibn Sulaymān at-Tūnisī محمد ابن عمر ابن سليمان التونسي (1789–1857)

At-Tūnisī was a Tunisian by descent as is indicated by his name (لقب laqab) of geographical origin (نسبة *nisbat*), established in Egypt and working there as a respected editor and proofreader. Among others, he participated in the critical edition of the famous Arabic dictionary by Al-Fīrūzābādī الفيروزابادي. In his younger years, at the beginning of the 19th century, he undertook a business trip to Central Africa – Dārfūr دارفور and Wadāy وداي, where he spent many years. The French medical doctor and explorer, Nicolas Perron, residing in Cairo, asked him to compose a description of the areas in Central Africa to which At-Tūnisī had travelled and which were not accessible to Europeans at that time. As the

story goes, At-Tūnisī handed over two separate manuscript books in Arabic to Dr. Perron, one about Dārfūr, and another about Wadāy, which he wrote by his own hand.

The book about Dārfūr was printed as a lithographed edition in Paris in the original Arabic in 1850 (At-Tūnisī 1850), but earlier, in 1845, its French translation by Dr. Perron ([At-Tūnisī] 1845) appeared. In 1965, the Arabic text, based on the Parisian Arabic edition, was included in the famous Egyptian series "Turāṯu-nā" (تراثنا – Our Heritage), annotated with ample commentaries (At-Tūnisī 1965).

The book about Wadāy also appeared in Paris, exclusively in the French translation by Dr. Perron, in 1851 ([At-Tūnisī] 1851), and was recently reprinted ([At-Tūnisī] 2010) with the omission of all the plates and maps. The Arabic text of the book had not yet been published in 1851, and the original manuscript allegedly disappeared. The same happened with the manuscript book about Dārfūr, and the whereabouts of the two remain unknown. At present, they are considered to have gone missing.

An abbreviated English translation from French of the two books in one volume appeared in London soon afterwards ([At-Tūnisī] 1854).

The book about Wadāy contains an attached list of 333 toponyms and tribal names gathered from the text, on pp. 728–737, in the original Arabic and in French transcription by Dr. Perron. The Arabic names are vocalized, i.e. they have all the short vowels noted that are normally omitted in notation. The list, the only remnant of the original Arabic text of the book, together with its contexts, deserves closer investigation.

The Arabic text of the book about Wadāy made its second appearance in Sudan, edited (*taḥqīq* تحقيق) by a historian from Dārfūr, ᶜAbd al-Bāqī Muḥammad Aḥmad Kabīr عبد الباقي محمد أحمد كبير. The available edition does not provide the place or date of printing (presumably Khartoum, *circa* 2001), and the publishing house is indicated in different places in the book as either An-Nāšir Dār Mankūb الناشر دار منكوب or Šarikaᵗ Manākib li-n-Našr شركة مناكب للنشر ([at-Tūnisī] *circa* 2001). The editorial introduction signed by ᶜAbd al-Bāqī on p. 7 is rather vague as regards the origin of the text, stating, "I could get access to three manuscript copies of the book photographed from the original Arabic manuscript, in addition to the Arabic translation from the French original, and I numbered them as follows: copy A from the University of Ar-Riyāḍ, copy B from the King Fayṣal University in Njamena, Chad, and copy Ğ from the private library of Aš-Šayẖ Mūsá الشيخ موسى in Niyālā نيالا, in addition to the French original." The editor also says that after studying the copies, he came to the conclusion that they had all been photographed from one copy and represent one and the same version, and that he used the French version to complete the missing parts of the Arabic text for printing. It all looks imprecise and unconvincing, leaving the impression that it was in reality the French version which had been retranslated back into Arabic in its entirety, and that this new handwritten Arabic translation gave birth to several other copies preserved

at present in various places. We do not know, however, who the translator was or when and in what circumstances the work was done. Occasional omissions and mistakes in the Arabic translation must have prompted ᶜAbd al-Bāqī to verify and check the available text with the French version, serving now as the one nearest to the original. Careful comparison of the two diverging linguistic versions could perhaps help to solve the enigma of their origin.

Heinrich Barth (1821–1865)

Between 1850 and 1855, Heinrich Barth, a German explorer in the British service, completed a journey across the Sahara and over large expanses of Western Africa to the south of the desert, in areas that no European had previously visited. The account of his travels in five volumes appeared simultaneously in English and in German ([Barth (E)] 1857–1858; [Barth (G)] 1857-1858; Scurla 1967) and met with tremendous success. It was considered one of the finest works of the kind and of the times. After a few years, a slightly abbreviated French translation of his work was released ([Barth] (F) 1860–1861). Much later richly annotated selections from his work appeared, referring to Northern Nigeria ([Barth] 1962) and to the region of Aïr in present-day Niger ([Barth] 1972).

It remains a highly appreciated and cherished text as an unprecedented and important reference work for the history of African cultures. Proper names, including toponyms, are noted in the book with a very high degree of exactness, using numerous diacritics. In later editions, the orthography was simplified, depriving the notations of their full scientific value.

Even though Barth did not pass through any territory that would be part of present-day Chad, his information collected in its closest neighborhood is of utmost importance as comparative material, for cross-checking with details presented by another German traveller, Gustav Nachtigal.

It should be underlined that Barth was the first to bring to Europe and publish information about Arabic texts of the rare and precious chronicles, entitled *Dīwān salāṭīn Burnū* ديوان سلاطين برنو and *Kitāb ġazawāt Burnū* كتاب غزوات برنو, two pillars of internal historical source documentation for the area (Lange 1977; 1987).

Gustav Nachtigal (1834–1885)

The account by Gustav Nachtigal, a German explorer, from his African travels undertaken in the years 1869–1874, was first published in German in three volumes, internally divided into eight books (Nachtigal 1879–1889; see also Fisher 1985).

The territory of the present-day Republic of Chad was described in vol. 1 (book 2: *Tibesti or Tu*), vol. 2 (book 4: *Journey to Kanem and Borku*, 5: *The Chad Basin*, 6: *Journey to Bagirmi*) and vol. 3 (book 7: *Journey from Bornu to Wadai*).

The German edition was translated in full into English, published between 1971 and 1987; the last volume was published the earliest. Books 2 and 4–7 covering Chad are in this edition dispersed respectively over vols. 1–4 (Nachtigal 1974; 1980; 1987; 1971).

The meticulous notations of the names from the German edition were significantly simplified in the English translation, to the detriment of their informative value. Research into these names should be focused on the original version.

The English translation served in its turn as the basis for the subsequent Arabic translation. However, it included only books 7 and 8 from vol. 4, i.e. Nachtigal's account of his journey and his sojourn in Wadāy and then in Dārfūr. The translation was executed by a Sudanese barrister-in-law, Sayyid ᶜAlī Muḥammad Daydān سيد علي محمد ديدان. The first edition appeared anonymously (without any indication of the publishing house, place or date of printing), while the second in 2011. The third printing was produced in 2013 ([Nachtigal] 2013). In this last one, the part devoted to Wadāy comprises pp. 15–183. The three editions indicate that the book has gained extensive notoriety and popularity among the Sudanese and Chadian reading audience. It would be of interest to compare the toponymies of the various linguistic versions of the same book. There is no index of the names.

The Geographical Encyclopaedia of the Islamic World (1999)

The extensive geographical monograph of Chad in Arabic by Al-Aṣam الاصم ([Al-Aṣam] 1999) is part of a monumental encyclopaedia in nineteen volumes, prepared and published in Saudi Arabia by an international team of authors and editors. It supplies a long series of Chadian geographical names, both within the text and in the accompanying maps and diagrams. The bibliography attached to this work indicates works on the geography and economy of the country mostly in European languages, English and French, while those in Arabic are usually of a historical, socio-political and cultural character. It may therefore be assumed that the main sources of Chadian toponymy were of foreign (i.e. non-Arabic) origin and the names were translated (or re-translated) into Arabic. Their extraction and analysis would be very enlightening concerning the role the Arabic language plays in the current formation of Chadian geographical names. The text lacks an index.

Atlas of Chad and *History of Chad* (both 2013)

These two publications ([Aṭlas] 2013; [Ta'rīḫ] 2013) are in Arabic, but were translated from French and published in Paris. They contain a significant amount of Chadian geographical names. Their graphic forms, resulting from a French-to-Arabic translation, differ in many details from those used in the Saudi encyclopaedia published fourteen years earlier and to which neither of the two discussed books refer. The toponymy also seems much less accurate and leaves a lot to be desired.

A critical evaluation of the Chadian (and foreign) toponyms was given in a review article by this author (Zagórski 2013). Toponyms from these two educational tools should also be extracted, arranged and compared with the names found in the Saudi work. Indexes of the names have been included in the two publications but they are selective.

Chad and N'Djamena — notes on their orthography and etymology

Both the name of the country — Chad, and that of its capital city — N'djamena, offer high variability and many complications as regards their spelling and attempted etymology. Naturally, these two aspects are not necessarily interconnected. The presented analysis of the two names will be an example of how difficult it is to deal with toponyms in a country like Chad.

Chad as a name

Johann Jakob Egli (1880: 582; 1893: 939f), basing on a report by Heinrich Barth ([Barth (G)] 1857–1858, III: 266), informed that the lake's name Tsad, originally Tsādhe or Tsade, means 'water'. Other cited spellings of the same name were Ssāre or Ssāghe (which could possibly be restored as *saaġ or *šaaġ), allegedly stemming from the Kotoko or Makari dialects. In another place, Barth compares (Egli 1880: 65, 1893: 101, after [Barth (G)] 1857–1858, II: 556) this name with the slightly unclear name Tschadda or Tsadda that would [rather questionably? BRZ] refer to the lower part of the Benue River.

André Cherpillod (1986: 452) informs us that the country's name originated from that of Lake Chad, in Arabic تشاد *tŝād*, from a local word meaning a 'vast water expanse'— but he does not indicate which language this term originates from.

Alan S. Kaye (1986: 20) simply cites *čād*, meaning the Chad Lake, as a Nigerian Arabic version.

Chadian expatriates whom I met in 2007 at Agadez, Niger, supplied yet another variant اتشاد Itšād (Zagórski 2013). The prosthetic alif apparently neutralizes the mechanically transliterated French cluster t+š at the beginning of the word (an important indicator – therefore, it cannot be a true Arabic word). For the lake alone, they also provided another simple name, البحر Al-Baḥr, which in colloquial Arabic often refers to any great expanse of water – a river (like the Nile), a lake or a sea (Egli 1893: 72; Roth-Laly 1969–1972: 42; Qāsim 1985 (1972): 80; Cherpillod 1986: 49; Kaye 1986: 16; Wehr and Cowan 1994: 54).

Adrian Room (2008: 49) says, "Chad… The country takes its name from the lake that lies almost entirely within its border. Its own name represents a local [which one? BRZ] word meaning 'a large expanse of water,' in other words 'lake.' The Arabic form of the name is *tshād*."

Aṭlas T.šād اطلس تشاد, in Arabic ([Aṭlas] 2013: 7), normally uses the name T.šād, but on the general map of Africa we also unexpectedly find a version with the definite article *al-*: At-T.šād التشاد.

To sum up, the name is undoubtedly of non-Arabic origin, but its origin and etymology need further verification within the vocabularies of the local languages. The alternate Arabic name for Lake Chad, Al-Baḥr, is a very common form, practically just a generic term with a definite article. It would be of interest to question the local Arabic-speaking population about any other possible names for the lake.

N'Djamena[9] as a name

The city was earlier called Fort-Lamy by the French who had founded it in 1900, and was renamed N'Djamena in 1973.

Alan S. Kaye (1982: X) transmits the following information: "Fort-Lamy (now called N'Djamena, meaning in Chadian Arabic, incidentally, 'We are at rest' or 'Leave us alone')". André Cherpillod (1986: 325) says that the name means 'a town of rest', *sans doute à cause de la grande chaleur*. Chadian interlocutors in Agadez, Niger (Zagórski 2013), supplied the version Inǧāmīna^{t} انجامينة, without its etymology.

The Saudi Encyclopedia provides the form Anǧamīnā انجمينا ([Al-Aṣam] 1999).

The two educational publications for Chad, *Aṭlas* and *Ta'rīḥ* ([Aṭlas] 2013; [Ta'rīḥ] 2013; Zagórski 2013), offer a variety of written versions:

N.ǧāmīnā نجامينا, with the possibility of adding the short vowels *a* or *i* in the first syllable, with the resulting forms Naǧāmīnā and Niǧāmīnā;

Nīǧāmīnā نيجاميمنا ([Aṭlas] 2013; 55, 59) with the long vowel ī in the first syllable;

Inǧāmīnā انجامينا ([Aṭlas] 2013: throughout) with an added alif and a short i-;

Dr. Mousa El Basha موسى الباشا, a Sudanese scholar teaching in Mexico, with family affinities with the Chadian Baggara (Baqqāra^{t}) tribes,[10] cited a popular local explanation of the name: 'we have gathered together'.

Prof. Nina Pawlak[11] cited information that "N'djamena allegedly is an Arabic name of a Chadian village, which received in the Arabic version the form Niǧāmīnā meaning 'a place of rest' (this is a relatively recent story)". Adrian Room (2008: 135) endorses this version but rather cautiously, saying "N'Djamena… The capital city is said (by whom? BRZ) to derive its name from a local (which one? BRZ) word meaning 'place of rest.'"

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[9] This name appears in various publications in several graphic forms: N'Djamena, N'djamena, Ndjamena; occasionally the letter *j* replaces the French consonantal cluster *dj*.

[10] Oral communication from autumn, 2013.

[11] E-mail communication of August 19, 2015.

The variety of spellings and diverging etymologies can be arranged into the following categories:

a. written forms with (allegedly) the verbal ending -ā,
b. a written form which apparently underwent a process of substantivization, replacing the ending -ā with a formal noun ending *tā' marbūṭa*^{t} ة.

a.1. etymologies referring to verbal expressions, like "We are at rest" or "Leave us alone", and "We have gathered together". The first two expressions are difficult to explain on the grounds of Arabic grammar. The third, also doubtful, is slightly more likely from the purely formal point of view, on the condition that the name was built from a trilateral verbal root (made up of three consonants), *ǧ m* ^{c} جمع, the last of which became dissimilated, and according to the 7th verbal form infa^{c}al^{a} انفعل, thus making *inǧama^{c}nā انجمعنا → *inǧamaynā انجمينا → *inǧamīnā انجمينا. However, there are three counterarguments to this hypothesis: 1. the 7th verbal form has a passive reflexive signification (Wright 1974: 40f; Blachère and Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1975: 63f; Danecki 1994: 119), and the meaning, if at all, would rather be 'we have been gathered together'; 2. Chadian (or more generally, Sudanese) Arabic do not give examples of such a weird consonantal dissimilation like ^{c} ع → y ي; 3. available vocabularies do not contain examples of Chadian Arabic words built with the said trilateral root and the 7th verbal form. Names referring to geographical features, built as verbal formations, are as such known from archaic Arabic (Yanbu^{c} ينبع in Saudi Arabia, Ǧabal Yu^{c}alliq جبل يعلق in the Egyptian Sinai), but do not find analogies in Chado-Sudanese toponymy. To sum up, such an explanation should be considered a typical popular etymology.

a.2. etymologies referring to substantives (nouns): "a town of rest" and "a place of rest". These etymologies cannot be explained basing on known grammatical rules and, in analogy to a.1. above, seem to be fancy popular fabrications of the local people.

b. the version with a tā› marbūṭa^{t} does not enable discerning the etymology of the name any easier as it is obviously just a formal Arabicization of a non-Arabic name. Such a formal superficial procedure appears frequently in various Arabic-speaking countries: Ṭanǧa^{t} طنجة and Tāza^{t} تازة in Morocco, Warqala^{t} ورقلة and Sukaykida^{t} سكيكدة in Algeria, Sīwa^{t} سيوة and Phylae/Fīla^{t} فيلة in Egypt, Šaqlāwa^{t} شقلاوة in Iraq, to name only a few.

Verification of the hypothesis about the Arabic origin of the two most important geographical names in Chad has revealed the contrary — there is no definite argument available for such an allegation. The true source and exact etymology of these names continue to require further investigation.

Which etymology?

The multilevel contacts of the different languages in the area of our interest, changing in time and space, require formulating the following possible schemes of toponomastic transmission lines and influences:

a. Local names (pre-Arabic), being an *underlying structure* or *substratum* → translated into Arabic and now forming a new *overlying structure*.[12] Old names may not necessarily be cast into oblivion and may function in a parallel linguistic context.

b. Local names only superficially Arabicized (e.g. noted down for purely practical administrative purposes), giving them no new specific meaning and easily identified as words strange to the Arabic language.

c. Local names Arabicized more profoundly, through adopting the Arabic word structure more consistently, and which occasionally receive typical endings of Arabic words like *tā' marbūṭat*; this procedure would not vest any new meaning on such names but would be easier to circulate in Arabic-speaking environments, especially at the level of written communication. As such, they could gain more popularity in educated circles.

d. Arabic names created anew, using Arabic lexical elements, for features that did not retain any earlier name. It may happen that a new Arabic name is coined for a feature that in reality had an old different name, but that name was not known to the new users of the land (such as pastoral nomadic tribes only temporarily staying in the area of their economic activities, and subsequently settling down). Old names might still be used in parallel by other ethnic segments of the local population.

e. New Arabic names formed for newly formed features (like a new settlement) that would easily be adopted by people speaking Arabic as well as non-Arabic languages in a multilingual society. These new Arabic names may also undergo the process of translation – or more frequently phonetic adaptation – by non-Arabic speakers.

From the practical point of view, all these varying formations, pertaining to the level of Arabic (dialect or literary) language, are considered *adstratum*.

It should not be overlooked that languages in contact and in development do not respect sharp dividing lines and the above scheme may only serve the purpose of general orientation, while individual elements have their own lives. Languages preserve their continuity and changeability within time — while their dialects

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[12] This way of analyzing toponyms of apparent appurtenance to a locally dominant language was masterfully displayed by Peter E. Raper (2013) as regards the Bushman (San) influence on Zulu place names in South Africa. The procedure, which I would like to call *deep etymology*, reaches deep into the local linguistic contexts in an attempt at finding grassroot (underlying) meanings that were adopted by a newer superstructure, either through translation or through superficial phonetic adaptation with a change in meaning.

(subdivisions) may develop in various ways. Consequently, their (as adstratum) interactions with the substratum (and especially substrata, if more than one, as the case might be) will necessarily take different paths (de Saussure 2004).

Etymological investigation based on the immediate recognition of obviously Arabic elements, appearing as a *superstructure* (*overlying structure*), may easily lead us into the trap of popular etymology, i.e. explaining strange sounding names of foreign origin with words from a language known to the user. This may, of course, also function in the reverse direction, with names travelling from Arabic into other local vernaculars. When we additionally take into account the frequent process of lexicalization, as well as common borrowings from Arabic into local vernaculars and vice versa, and their possible subsequent appearance in toponymy, it may appear difficult at first sight to classify a name as Arabic or not (Roth-Laly 1969-1972). It can be expected that in a region of dynamic diglossia, or even multiglossia with the steady advancement of Arabic gradually replacing other local languages of lower communicative abilities, we might observe the creation of mixed languages (Mischsprache), composed of elements and structures from various systems. They might appear temporarily and soon disappear under the pressure of more common Arabic speech. This hypothesis, based on recorded observations in other linguistic areas, requires verification. From the structural point of view, the Arabicness of the names might be of varying degrees. However, from the functional perspective, their Arabic quality will only depend on the extent to which they are integrated in the lexical system of the local and regional spoken and written Arabic language. The overall image of the linguistic situation in this area is that of a multilevel structure, in which various linguistic layers — including toponymy — coexist, mix, impose on and engulf each other.

Conclusion

The investigation of the Arabic toponomastic layer — a comprehensive and spatially contiguous one — in Central Africa (Central Sudan, especially in Chad), at least as a starter for building the first scheme (geographically arranged network) to raise further structures above it, can rely on many readily available printed materials. Their heterogeneous character will require a very careful procedure of picking toponyms from existing sources and confronting them with those originating from parallel sources of a different character. Difficulties may be expected in identifying the named features and the geographical localization of the toponyms, as well as in finding corresponding versions even though they might seem — at first sight — not quite matching with each other in terms of their spelling. The mutual influence and interrelationships of non-Arabic local languages and local Arabic dialects — manifest in oral rather than written forms — will certainly be reflected in imprecise notations. This will further aggravate analyses and hinder

the possibility of constructing the awaited historical-geographical dictionary of the country and the resulting corpus of a regional Arabic toponymy. What has been stated above concerns the *descriptive* approach. Yet another approach would be a *prescriptive* one, applying standardization procedures aimed at the establishment of an even coverage of the country with Arabic place names in unified or standardized form. All in all, this is a challenging and promising field of research to undertake.

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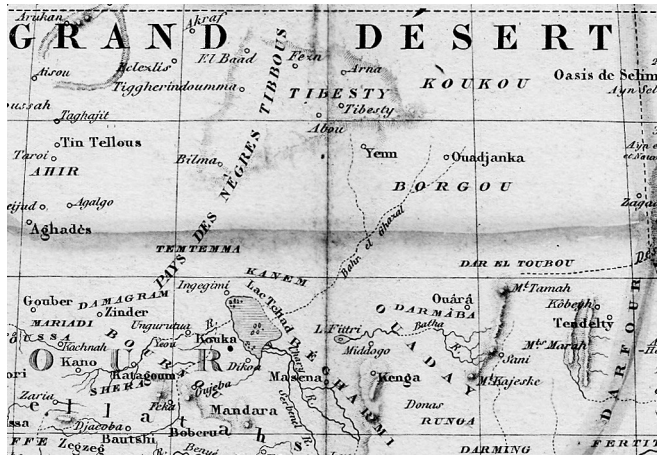
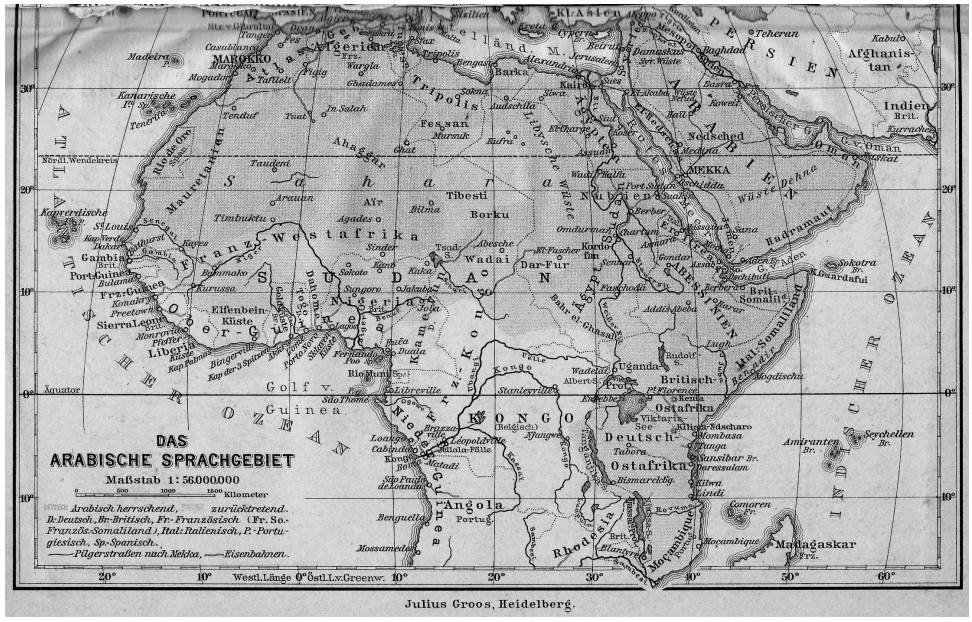
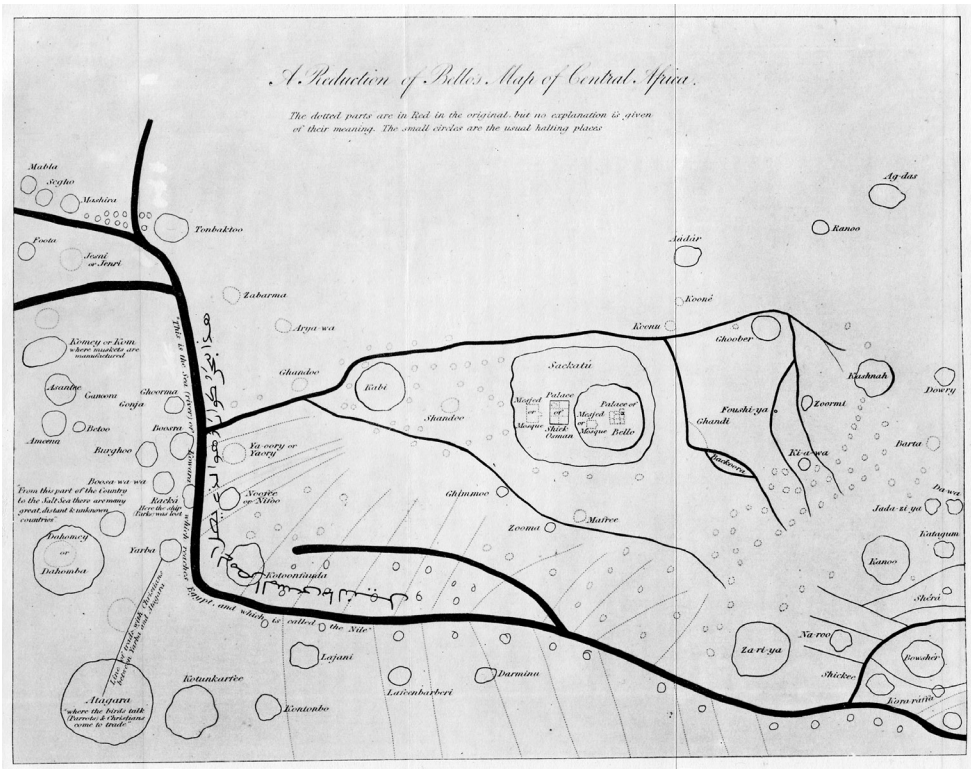


Il. 1. Central Sudan as portrayed on a French map of Africa from 1855 (Théphile Lavallée, *Atlas de géographie militaire*. Paris: Furne et C^ie^, Libraires-Éditeurs, MDCCCLV, carte 9).



Il. 2. Extent of the Arabic language in Africa at the brake of the 19th and 20th cc. (Harder 1910).



Il. 3. A solicited map by Mohammed Bello, the sultan of Sokoto, presented to a British explorer Hugh Clapperton (redrawn from the original manuscript, now apparently lost, and published in 1828; reprod. Bovill 1966, IV, 699 and Virgo 207, 102).

Jan Záhořík

Czech sources on the modern and contemporary history of Africa

Abstract

The Czech Republic (and the former Czechoslovakia) has a long history of relations with Africa and a long and rich history of African Studies, especially as compared to some other countries of the former Eastern Bloc. Numerous travelers and authors experienced and witnessed various events in Africa and documented local social, cultural, political, as well as economic changes and transformations of the 19th and 20th centuries. After the independence of Czechoslovakia (1918), official Czech-African contacts began to be established and intensified primarily after World War II. Czechoslovakia was (mainly in the period of 1955–1962) the crucial socialist partner of many African countries. Therefore, Czech archives are relatively rich in materials of any kind regarding Czech(oslovak)-African relations. Due to its intensive engagement in Africa, Czechoslovakia developed a wide school of researchers who examined and analyzed African history, cultures, languages, and politics. All these aspects of Czech interests in Africa will form a part of the proposed study/chapter. It will be based on a discussion of the usefulness and richness of the archives (National Archive, Central Military Archive, Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moravian Land Archive, etc.), travelers' accounts, as well as of the development of African Studies as an important discipline in the former Czechoslovakia and its problems in the contemporary Czech Republic.

Keywords: Czech Republic, Czech-African contacts, archival sources, non-colonial country, travelers

Introduction: Studying the history of Africa from a non-colonial country

The former Czechoslovakia, and now the Czech Republic, belongs among the group of countries with perhaps a surprisingly long and rich tradition of African Studies. Research on Africa, despite some institutional and financial difficulties, is still on-going, and the scope and number of sources are very high, including

archival materials, unpublished dissertations, travelers' accounts, memoirs, journals, etc. In this chapter, I am not going to examine African studies as a discipline in the Czech Republic as a part of the educational system and university curricula, but rather I will focus on sources (and to a lesser extent on literature) on the modern and contemporary history of Africa in the Czech language that still remain to a certain extent unexploited. By sources, I mean archival sources firstly, but also travelers' and missionary accounts from the period of early Czech-African contacts in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

Studying the history of Africa and the colonized world from a non-colonial country can have many advantages as well as obstacles. Researchers from colonial powers surely had better access to sources of various kinds, including historical materials, anthropological, or linguistic data, as well as access to the international scholarly community. However, scholars from non-colonial countries such as the former Czechoslovakia did not perceive African history through colonial lenses and the same can be said about an important source of that period, i.e. travelers' accounts. Dozens of such books were written about Africa during and after colonialism by travelers who were also skilled observers and writers. This chapter thus explores primarily sources on African history in modern and contemporary eras and due to a number of reasons does not take into account other sub-genres of African studies, such as anthropology, linguistics, literary studies, etc., which also have a rich history in the Czech Republic and former Czechoslovakia. Neither does it discuss the role of various personalities within African studies as an academic discipline. Due to limited space, this analysis of historical materials and sources on Africa cannot and does not have the ambition to be complete and exhaustive but rather serves to provide basic orientation in this vast area of research.

Imagining Africa: Czechs in Africa and travelers' accounts

Despite its landlocked character and lack of any colonial history, Czech missionaries, travelers and various advisors explored the interior of Africa and brought news and information from "exotic" faraway lands back home to their readers. Reading about Africa and other places was popular among Czechs during the second half of the 20th century. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that some of the accounts became widely read and known. The first major contribution of Czech origin to the understanding of Africa's social, cultural, and political history came from the Franciscan missionary, Václav Remedius Prutký, who spent two years (1751–1753) in Ethiopia and wrote down his Itinerary (Procházka 1937). Unfortunately, his accounts on his travels across Ethiopia remained almost unknown to the broader public due to the success of James Bruce's Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile published a couple of decades later and

which became a bestseller in its genre, inspiring other European travelers to explore the continent during the 19th century. Prutký's travels are of great value as they bring many ethnographic as well as geographical accounts on Ethiopia in the mid-18th century. Prutký's accounts on Ethiopia in the 18th century are also a valuable source due to the fact that Prutký gives a detailed account of Ethiopia's population, which the author distinguished into three categories, the ruling Amharas, the Oromo, and last category was formed by the pastoralist societies from the lowlands. Prutký's accounts were retold in Czech in the 1930s and in 1991 finally translated into English by Arrowsmith-Brown (1991). Among those who continued with the work started by Prutký was Dr. Antonín Stecker (born in 1855 in Josefův Důl), who from his early years was interested in natural sciences and geography and thus unsurprisingly continued exploring these subjects throughout his career (e.g. Dlouhý 1946). His travels to the Ethiopian Highlands were a part of Gerhard Rohlf's expedition to the Horn of Africa in 1878. One of the main contributions of this expedition and Stecker's heritage was the first detailed map of Lake Tana and its neighborhood, which served further geographical purposes. Stecker's articles and other sources related to him are located at the Archive of Náprstek Museum. He also has a permanent exhibition in the Museum of Kosmonosy.

The end of the 19th century was marked by the growing interest of Czechs in Africa. Probably the most prominent explorer and traveler in Africa of that time was Dr. Emil Holub. His travels to Southern Africa were noted and discussed by numerous foreign scholars, and Holub thus contributed to our knowledge and understanding of the Zambezi River and other parts of Southern Africa prior to intensive British colonization. Emil Holub has become a legendary traveler and a part of Czech culture, which has been documented at the Museum of Emil Holub in Holice.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, several scholarly as well as popular books were published showing Africa with its multifarious faces (e.g. Vlach 1897; Kořenský 1924). Shortly after the independence of Czechoslovakia, some activists called for the establishment of Czechoslovak colonies in Africa. The most famous attempt in this regard is Jan Havlasa's account entitled "Czech Overseas Colonies" (Havlasa 1919), where he states that the world, after World War I, was in a crisis and one of the solutions for this crisis would be to allow smaller European nations to gain smaller colonies with access to the sea. He justified this using the argument that smaller European nations were far from what he called "imperialist insanity" (Havlasa 1919: 10). The dream of having a colony in Africa was, obviously, never materialized but has remained in Czech memory until today, although it is remembered more as kind of a joke. The colony that according to Havlasa had to be given to Czechoslovakia was Togo (Havlasa 1919: 12), a former German colony, later divided between France and Great Britain. The reasons why Togo was chosen are not clear but the idea

itself did not appear officially at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and thus Czechoslovak "colonial" aspirations quickly disappeared.

After Czechoslovakia gained independence, travelling abroad was made easier and a number of journalists and professional travelers visited Africa. One of them was Viktor Mussik, an experienced journalist who spent several months in Ethiopia, bringing us an important account and testimony on a crucial period in Ethiopian history, i.e. the year 1930 and the coronation of His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie. He also mentions communities of Czech, Polish, Hungarian and German citizens gathering in Addis Ababa, giving a sense of a Central European collectivity and friendship. At this occasion, he mentions a certain Mr. Konvalinka who sent horses and oats to the Emperor's stable. Viktor Mussik also interviewed the Emperor Haile Selassie in his Imperial Palace (Mussik 1935).

In 1923, another Czech traveler, Vilém Němec, launched his "campaign" for establishing intensive business contacts in Ethiopia, which he claimed was a country of excellent business opportunities. At the beginning of 1924, more than thirty Czechoslovak citizens went to Ethiopia to settle there but shortly after they found out how difficult life was there. From the very beginning, Vilém Němec was the most significant propagator of Czech settlements in Ethiopia and through his numerous books, Czechoslovaks gained large amounts of information about Ethiopia. Vilém Němec wrote an adventure book Under the Burning Sun, subtitled "A Traveler's Account of an Expedition conducted in 1899-1900 through the Eastern Sudan, Abyssinia and the Italian Colony of Eritrea" (1920), which is the only account by Czech travelers from the time of Emperor Menelik's reign. Shortly after Czechoslovakia's independence in 1918, Vilém Němec offered his services to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, claiming he was willing to serve as a consul for Ethiopia, Eritrea and Hejaz.

Ethiopia was somewhat logically one of the most popular countries for travelers, mainly due to the fact that Ethiopia was not colonized and had an ancient culture and civilization that attracted foreign travelers. One of the most significant Czech travelers and advisors to Ethiopia is surely Adolf Parlesák (1908–1981), who already at an early age had visited a long list of countries and stayed in Ethiopia at the court of Haile Selassie. Afterwards, during the Italian-Ethiopian war, he actively participated in the resistance against the Italian invasion. In the 1930s, during his second stay in Ethiopia, Parlesák spent five months in Ethiopia at the court of Haile Selassie, even though he began as an adventurer traveling through the country. His famous memoirs — the Abyssinian Odyssey (Habešská odysea) — remains one of the most important accounts of the war. Its importance is evident as it was translated into Amharic in 2011 (Parlesák 1948, 1989).

At the time of the increased threat from Italian aggression near the Ethiopian borders, Dr. Alois Musil, better known as an Arabist and friend of the Arab world, wrote an important, though surprisingly little remembered book called The Lion of Judah (Musil 1934), where he expresses his anti-British feelings, as well as

giving advocacy to Lij Iyassu, at that time an enemy of the Western World and a young former emperor overthrown in 1916.

After 1948, all books including travelers' accounts were in one way or another influenced by communist ideology and its vocabulary. This was the case of the brilliant traveler and "explorer", Ladislav Mikeš Pařízek, whose books from his travels to Africa became bestsellers. Among thebooks he wrote that could be considered useful by historians, we may include, for instance, the "Belgian Congo and Its People" (1956), written in a significantly anti-colonial manner. However, the period of the 1960s witnessed several books that, despite their popular content, were written by knowledgeable scholars, such as Petr Zima (1966), or reporters like Miroslav Levý (1967). The latter's second important book, "From the source of the Nile", is an important, though forgotten, account on the modern history of Burundi, a country that witnessed bloody genocide and repeated conflicts between the Tutsi and the Hutu. Levý published his book already in Switzerland, to which he had been exiled after being fired from the Czech Press Agency for political reasons (Levý 1977).

Political history: Archival sources

Beginning with the independence of the former Czechoslovakia in 1918, Czech travelers, entrepreneurs, and advisors began to enter Africa, especially Ethiopia as one of the two independent African states. Full political and diplomatic relations of the former Czechoslovakia with Africa were developed after 1948, and more concretely and intensively after the decolonization process in Africa. Therefore, it is not surprising that the number of sources now available in archives tends to grow after 1948. The main Czechoslovak interests in Africa were, of course, countries of a socialist or Marxist orientation but also those states that were somehow economically interesting (e.g. Záhořík, Piknerová, Dvořáček 2014). Ethiopia, Congo-Brazzaville, Angola, Mozambique, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Egypt, Algeria were the states in which the Czechs and Slovaks were the most active and on which we can also find the largest number of archival sources.

For the diplomatic as well as cultural and economic contacts of former Czechoslovakia with Africa, three archives seem to be the most crucial. Firstly, this includes the National Archive in Prague, which offers numerous files related to Czechoslovakia's foreign policy, as well as journalistic accounts on Africa. Secondly, we have the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which covers all African countries in specific periods (1945–1959; 1960–1964, etc.), and offers detailed as well as secret information primarily from the Cold War era. Thirdly, the Archive of the Náprstek Museum in Prague, although rather underrated, provides many opportunities for the study of African societies from the Czech point of view. These include unpublished sources by travelers such as Antonín Stecker or Emil

Holub, which may be used by historians, as well as ethnographers, anthropologists, and other scholars. It was primarily Emil Holub who contributed to our knowledge and understanding of cultures and societies around the Zambezi River. Therefore, it is not surprising that the majority of materials from the archive are his records and letters from Africa.

According to the priority of each researcher, many other archives also deal with various aspects of Czech-African or African history. For those interested in military history, the Central Military Archive should be the point of departure. The same goes for the Moravian Land Archive in Brno that has sources on the export of military equipment of the Zbrojovka Brno. The military industry was particularly rich in the former Czechoslovakia and so was the export of weapons and other military equipment to Third World countries, primarily Africa.

Throughout the Czech Republic, many other smaller archives and museums cover some parts of the history of Czech-African contacts and/or African history and culture. Primarily, these are related to famous Czech travelers and personalities who left there traces in Africa. In Zlín, there is the Archive of Hanzelka and Zikmund, travelers who visited all the continents, including Africa, and still remain the most respected, or in a certain sense legendary, travelers of the 20th century. Another archive and museum worth visiting is the Emil Holub Museum in Holice, which is dedicated to Dr. Emil Holub and his travels and discoveries of Southern Africa, along the Zambezi River.

For those dealing with the political history of Africa and Czech(oslovak)-African relations, one book should be considered the perfect starting point. Petr Zídek and Karel Sieber analyzed the relations of the former Czechoslovakia with all the African states in the period from 1948 to 1989, based primarily on the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Their account, though not exhaustive, is still the only Czech monograph dealing with this period and with the diplomatic history of these regions of the world (Zídek and Sieber 2007).

Czech historians on Africa

Despite at least the seeming marginalization of African studies in the Czech Republic in the last two decades, there are numerous important books and other traces left by Czech historians as regards Africa. Primarily, the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the Faculty of Philosophy at the Charles University in Prague were the two most prominent institutions in which several scholars focused on research of the African past.

In 1966, two volumes of the monumental History of Africa were published as the first major attempt to cover the history of the continent from the earliest times until the era of decolonization (Hrbek et al. 1966). Despite its uniqueness and monumentality, its anti-colonial, anti-Western, and Marxist perspective were evident.

In the 1970s and 1980s, in the era of the so-called normalization following Soviet occupation (August 1968), many scholars left the country and others were forced to follow the path prescribed by the Marxist leadership of scientific institutions. In such an environment, an attempt to cover the modern and contemporary history of Africa was made by the Oriental institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences under the guidance of Karel Lacina (1984). Although the volume pays attention to all the important political and social events in Africa, including the North, its strong Marxist background makes it less useful for scholarly purposes.

After 1989, African studies witnessed a serious decline, which resulted in 2008 in the closure of the program at the Charles University in Prague. However, at several institutions, there are scholars still actively contributing to examining the African past. Luboš Kropáček, who is known more as a specialist on Islam, is still cited for his works on Darfur (Kropáček 1971). Otakar Hulec, formerly working at the Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences specializes in South African history, culture, and literature (Hulec and Olša 2008; Hulec 2010). Jan Klíma from the University of Hradec Králové is a specialist on Lusophone Africa covering the history of all Portuguese-speaking countries (Klíma 2008; 2010).

Conclusion: The future of African studies in the Czech Republic

As has already been stated, African studies in the Czech Republic have been experiencing a certain period of weakness over the last few years. However, its strong tradition in the Czech Lands and the existence of various departments or scholars dealing with Africa in one way or another suggests that there is potential for growth in the near future. African history in particular is well covered by Czech authors and Czech archives, due to the long history of contacts with Africa, offering almost endless opportunities for research. What is still not yet developed to a sufficient level is international networking, which arises from the fact that most of the texts are written in the Czech language, with a few exceptions (e.g. Záhořík, Piknerová, Dvořáček 2014). There are, however, some attempts being made to revitalize African studies and African history in the Czech Republic, either via international conferences, international exchange programs or preparations of African studies programs.

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