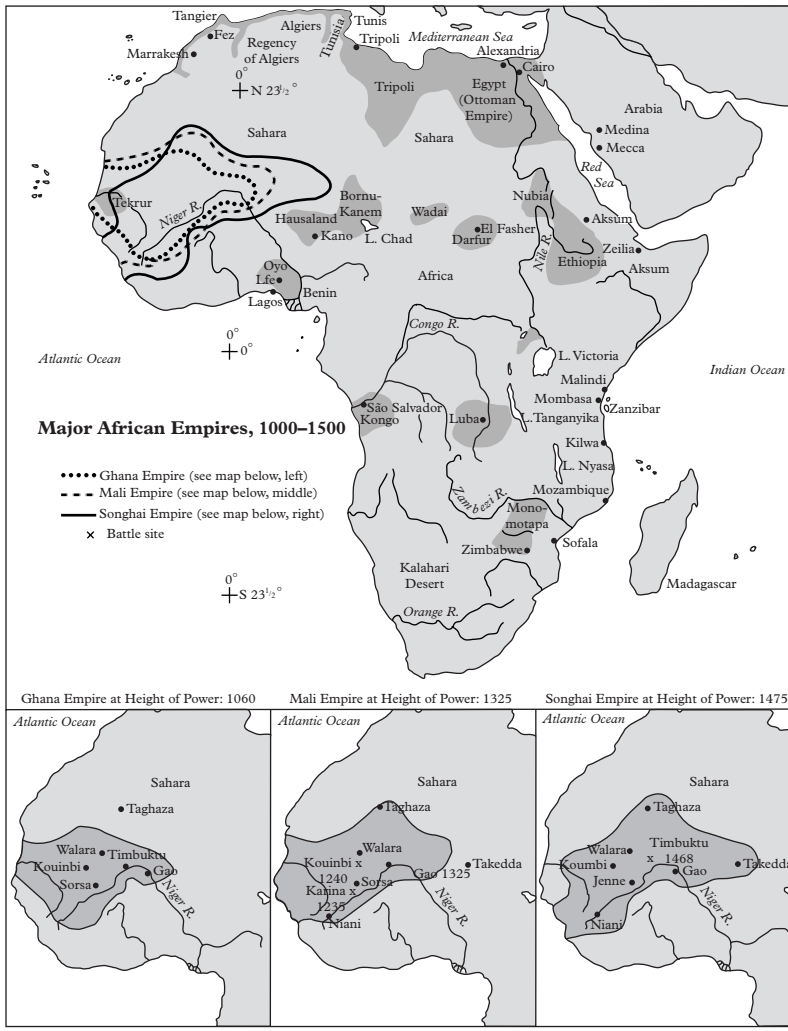
CHAPTER 3

Africans and the Islamic World

We tend to know more about Africans in the Americas than elsewhere in the Diaspora. However, as this chapter makes clear, millions of Africans entered Islamic lands, where they made important contributions to extraordinary civilizations, from the heartlands of the faith to Muslim Spain. An extended discussion of this major component of the African Diaspora is warranted, as the juxtaposition of the similarities and differences between this experience and that of Africans in the Americas yields far greater insight into the condition of displacement than does a lone hemispheric focus.

We begin with a brief consideration of Muḥammad, born circa 570 CE in the city of Mecca, an oasis important as both marketplace and site of religious shrines. Muḥammad was sensitive to the disparities between rich and poor, and his meditations resulted in a series of revelations that began when he was forty years of age; three years later, he began heralding a message centering on the oneness of God, his own role as God's messenger, the Last Day, and the need for a response of submission, gratitude, worship, and social responsibility. Encountering resistance and harassment, Muḥammad and his companions found asylum in Medina, and in 630 they accepted Mecca's peaceful surrender. By the time of his death in 632, the whole of the Arabian peninsula was united under Muḥammad's control. By 656, Islam had expanded into Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and North Africa, and by 711, Muslim armies had conquered parts of the Iberian peninsula as well.



MAP 2. Major African empires, 1000–1500.

Islam's move into Egypt (or *Misr*) and North Africa (or *al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā*, "the far West") was accompanied by the gradual Arabization of the population (the spread of Arabs and their language and culture). As part of a larger Muslim world that was quickly becoming a mighty empire, Egypt and North Africa once more became destinations for other Africans, while simultaneously serving as sources of emigration to such places as Portugal and Spain.

Golden Lands

Where Muslim armies spearheaded Islam's expansion into North Africa and Egypt, Muslim traders and clerics led the religion's spread into regions south of the Sahara. Regularized trade between North and subsaharan Africa became possible with the first-century CE introduction of the camel from the Nile valley to the Sahara's southern fringes near Lake Chad, after which they spread further west. By the fourth century, camel caravan patterns crisscrossed the desert.

West Africa became associated with gold early in the history of Islam; indeed, one of the earliest West African states, Ghana, became known as "the land of the gold" through the Arabic writing of geographers between the eighth and eleventh centuries. Ghana, home to the Serakole (northern Mande-speakers), was located in the *sāḥil* ("shore") between the Sahara and the savannah (flat grasslands) further south, as were Gao (on the eastern Niger buckle) and Kanem (along the northeastern side of Lake Chad); together they were introduced to the ninth-century Islamic world as *Bilād as-Sūdān*, or "land of the blacks." A brief review of developments within this region and East Africa is important, for as these lands were in direct contact with the Muslim world, they constitute the beginning of this component of the African Diaspora.

West African gold was exchanged primarily for salt (from desert mines and evaporating ponds at the mouth of the Senegal River and elsewhere). The gold was transported to North Africa, then east to Egypt and as far as India, where it served as payment for spices and silks; it was transported across the Mediterranean to pay for European goods and currency. Trade from the West African hinterland to the sahel was organized and controlled by West Africans, who over the centuries developed an extensive network operated by the *ɟuula* (Mande for "merchant") and Hausa traders. Once in the sahel, gold and other commodities were transported north through the Sahara by the Tuareg, Berber-speaking desert-dwellers, along with Arab merchants. The arrangement was to the immediate advantage of West Africans, who maintained secrecy of the gold's sources, but ultimately it was to their detriment, as they did not control the trade through the desert. A pattern developed early in West Africa, whereby external powers acquired long distance, multiregional trade experience. Those with such expertise eventually took command

of the trade and dictated its terms, notwithstanding West Africa's appreciable influence.

Ghana, though still in existence in the twelfth century, was eclipsed in the thirteenth by Mali, populated by southern Mande-speakers fashioned into an empire by the emperor Sunjaata around 1230. As was true of Ghana, Mali was also associated with gold in the Muslim world, but unlike Ghana, Mali slowly became a part of that world through the early conversion of its rulers. The fourteenth-century travels and eyewitness accounts of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 1368) reinforced the image of Mali as a land of wealth, as did the pilgrimage to Mecca of *Mansa* Mūsā (reigned 1312–1337). Although a diminished Mali would continue through the seventeenth century, its stature in the western Sudan (from the Atlantic Ocean to the Niger buckle) was eclipsed in the fifteenth century by imperial Songhay, whose origins go back to the seventh century and Gao. By the fifteenth century, Islam had become the religion of the court and the merchant community; commercial towns such as Timbuktu and Jenne were transformed into centers of Islamic education and intellectual activity, a development begun under *Mansa* Mūsā of Mali. As was true of Ghana and Mali, Songhay was known as a major source of gold, and the disruption of the gold trade under *Sunni* 'Alī (1464–1492) was a principal factor in *Askia* Muḥammad Ture's 1492 seizure of power.

Viewed as a wealthy land, the western Sudan was increasingly incorporated into the Islamic world. North Africa, Egypt, and the western Sudan exchanged emissaries and written communication (in Arabic). Houses of wealthy merchants were often allied to leading clerical and political families through marriage. All of this resulted in the rise of an elite in the western Sudan, connected through religion, marriage, and commercial interests and accorded prestige by coreligionists in North Africa and Egypt. Muslim West Africa would therefore be differentiated from non-Muslim West Africa, for whom the Islamic world held contempt. Stated differently, the Muslim world entertained no single image of subsaharan Africa, distinguishing its various populations on the basis of Islam and related notions of civilization. The status of the land as opposed to the individual was critical; a Muslim was one who practiced the religion, but a Muslim land was one over which Muslim rule had been established. Songhay, with a majority non-Muslim population, was a Muslim land.

Part of the central Sudan (from the Niger buckle to the Lake Chad area) had a decidedly different trade relationship with North Africa.

The independent city-states of Hausaland were apparently slower to embrace Islam than their western Sudanic counterparts, but by the second half of the fifteenth century such cities as Kano and Katsina were under Muslim control and were integrated into long-distance trade. In contrast to Hausaland, the states of Kanem and Bornu near Lake Chad had an Islamic pedigree with considerable historicity. Kanem, for example, was under Muslim rulers by the tenth century, who performed the *ḥājj* (pilgrimage) as early as the eleventh, while establishing Islamic offices in Kanem's government. They eventually fled anti-Islamic forces to the southwestern edge of Lake Chad and established Bornu.

Unlike their western Sudanic counterparts, Kanem and Bornu's exports were primarily captives (captives were also exported by Mali and Songhay but were of secondary importance), which were exchanged for cloth, firearms, and other commodities. A major trade route linked Lake Chad to Tripoli by way of the Fezzan. The route was a notorious highway for captives well into the nineteenth century. Captives were supposedly non-Muslims, but there is evidence that many Muslims were taken as well. *Mai* Idrīs Alooma (reigned 1570–1602), "the learned, just, courageous and pious Commander of the Faithful," developed quite the reputation as a slave raider.

The question of African captives arises again in conjunction with the history of East Africa, specifically the Swahili coast. To be sure, maritime trade in the Indian Ocean is of significant antiquity. By the second century BCE or earlier, regular traffic linked East Africa to Arabia, India, and southwest Asia by way of prevailing monsoon winds. The *dhow*, far more efficient than the camel, sailed the Indian Ocean in one-third the time of a Saharan caravan crossing, carrying the equivalent of 1,000 camel loads. Seafaring was dominated more by Arabs and Indians than Africans, while Africans along the coast controlled access to the East African interior, analogous to the western Sudan's relations with Tuareg and Arab merchants, with sea and sand as barrier and bridge. In the case of the Swahili coast, however, the bridge is the more appropriate metaphor, as the East African littoral was more fully integrated into the trade of the Indian Ocean and Red Sea, a commercial complex both massive and lucrative. In exchange for such imports as Chinese porcelain, cowry shells, glass beads, and large quantities of cotton cloth from India and China, East Africa exported ivory, gold, mangrove poles (for housing in the Persian Gulf), and human beings.

To speak of East Africa is to discuss Swahili culture and language, which incorporates Arabic and (to a lesser extent) Malagasy words and concepts. Arabs (and apparently Persians) settling along the coast often intermarried with the local population, resulting in a fusion of genes and lifestyles. The apogee of the Swahili coastal towns lasted from the ninth through the fifteenth centuries CE; this was an age of royal courts, stone palaces, beautiful mosques, and internal plumbing in the best houses. Trade and urban growth corresponded to changes in the Islamic world, as the Muslim political center shifted from Damascus and the Umayyad caliphate (661–750) to Baghdad and the Abbasids (750–1258), thereby elevating the Persian Gulf's importance. This period in East African history came to an abrupt halt with the arrival of Vasco da Gama and the Portuguese in 1498. Seven years later, Portuguese men-of-war returned to destroy Kilwa and inaugurate a new era in the Indian Ocean.

Pilgrims and Scholars

Many subsaharan Africans entered the Islamic world as fellow believers, usually by traveling to the Middle East and North Africa to make the pilgrimage, to study, or to teach. A number of individuals from subsaharan Africa were regarded as learned and pious. Examples include the eminent scholar Aḥmad Bābā, taken captive from Timbuktu to Marrakesh in 1594 following the Moroccan conquest of Songhay, where he was imprisoned for two years and taught classes for large numbers until his return to Timbuktu in 1608. A second example is Ṣāliḥ al-Fulānī, an obscure West African scholar from Futa Jallon (in contemporary Guinea), who headed for Cairo and finally Medina, where he studied and eventually taught from 1791 to his death in 1803–1804.

A tradition of royal pilgrimage dates back to the eleventh century in West Africa and includes the rulers of Kanem, Mali, and Songhay. However, the quintessential hajj was that of Mali's *Mansa* Mūsā in 1324. With a retinue of thousands of soldiers, slaves, and high officials, he brought such large quantities of gold to Egypt that its value temporarily depreciated. Less significant for the Muslim chroniclers of the trip, but more stunning in its implications and symbolism for our purposes, was the manner in which *Mansa* Mūsā entered Egypt. In what must have been a sight for the ages, Mūsā and his thousands

encamped around the pyramids prior to entering Cairo. For three days, the glory of imperial Mali and the wonder of ancient Egypt, two of the most powerful icons of the African Diaspora, became one.

The Enslaved

In contrast to those making the pilgrimage, other subsaharan Africans entered the Islamic world as slaves. Muslim societies made use of slaves from all over the reachable world. Europeans were just as eligible as Africans, and Slavic and Caucasian populations were the largest source of slaves for the Islamic world well into the eighteenth century, especially in the Ottoman empire. Race was therefore not a factor – at least not until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when European expansion forced a closer association between blackness and slavery.

When the discussion is restricted to Africa, tentative estimates for the transsaharan, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean slave trades are in the range of 12 million individuals from 650 CE to the end of the sixteenth century, and another 4 million from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. In other words, as many or more captive Africans may have been exported through these trades as were shipped across the Atlantic, although the latter took place within a much more compressed period (fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries). To be sure, these estimates are imprecise and possibly misleading. It is difficult to separate, for example, the Red Sea and Indian Ocean trades, and not all who were transported through the Indian Ocean landed in Islamic lands. Even so, the number of enslaved Africans in the Islamic world was clearly significant.

Slavery in Arabia was already an accepted practice by the time Muḥammad was born; the Qur'ān assumes as much and, far from simply condoning it, attempts to improve the servile condition while promoting manumission at the same time. Islam held that freedom was the natural condition of human beings, and only certain circumstances allowed for slavery. According to a strict interpretation of Islamic law, or *sharīʿa*, only those non-Muslims who were without a protective pact (*ʿahd*) with Muslims, who rejected the offer to convert to Islam and were then captured in a war (*jihād*), could be enslaved. However, after the first century of Islam, reality diverged from theory, and most were in fact captured through raids and kidnaping and then sold to merchants. Stated another way, slavery in the Islamic world was a business.

Keeping in mind the theory–reality divide, Muslims slaveholders were to treat the enslaved with dignity and kindness. Slaves could marry with the slaveholder's consent, and they were not to be overworked or excessively punished; those seriously injured were to be freed. They were to be provided with material support and medical attention into old age. The enslaved were property, to be bought and sold like any other chattel, yet their undeniable humanity created tensions that Islamic law attempted to resolve. Above all, slaveholders were enjoined to facilitate the conversion of the enslaved; uncircumcised males were circumcised from the outset, and they were given Arabic names. In an interesting parallel with the Americas, these names comprised a "special" category of nomenclature, names of "distinction" for the enslaved. Such appellations included Kāfār ("camphor") and 'Anbar ("ambergris") for males; and Bakhīta ("fortunate"), Mabrūka ("blessed"), and Za'farān ("saffron") for females. The majority of the enslaved were therefore converted to Islam, and some became literate in Arabic and were taught to read the Qur'ān.

However, conversion to Islam did not obligate slaveholders to free their slaves; slaveholders were only encouraged by the Qur'ān to do so. The ideal was to enter into a manumission contract (*mukātaba*), whereby the enslaved person would be allowed to make and save enough money to pay an agreed upon amount to purchase her or his freedom. As would also be true in the Americas, the acquired freedom was qualified in that the freed person remained a client of the former slaveholder and always in his debt, a condition passed down through several generations.

One of the most arresting aspects of the transsaharan, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean slave trades is that they were primarily transactions in females and children. Young girls and women were used as domestics and concubines, and often both, as the male slaveholder enjoyed the right of sexual access. The concubine is referred to in the Qur'ān as "that which your right hands possess" (*mā malakat aymānukum*). Domestic work included cooking, cleaning, and wet-nursing (tasks that would become just as familiar to many African-descended women in the Americas), and there is evidence that some were (illegally) forced into prostitution. A slaveholder on occasion married an enslaved female, but in those instances she first had to be freed. As for concubines, the Muslim world had an order of preference, beginning with white females, many of whom were obtained from the Balkans and lands in the southwest of what was formerly the Soviet Union and referred

to as the *saqāliba* or Slavs (although the term would come to include non-Slavs). Next in order of preference were Ethiopian, Nubian, and other women from the Horn of Africa, called the *ḥabashiyyāt* (or simply Habash when men were included), often found in the service of middle-class slaveholders. They enjoyed greater status and privilege than did other African women, who were allegedly the least preferred. According to Islamic law, the concubine who bore the slaveholder's children (thereafter known as an *umm walad*) could never be sold away, and she was automatically freed upon his death. In contrast to what would develop in the Americas, the children of a slaveholder and a concubine followed the status of the father and became free. An example of how this could work is found in imperial Songhay, where every one of the *askias* following *Askia al-ḥājj* Muḥammad (d. 1529) was the son of a concubine. Yet another illustration concerns the ʿAlawid ruler Mūlāy Ismāʿīl (reigned 1672–1727) of Morocco, whose mother was a black concubine.

Some concubines and female domestics were kept in large harems, where sexual exploitation was erratic and unpredictable. Women in such circumstances inhabited a world of instability, as advancing age and the failure to bear children or secure slaveholder interest could result in their sale. Central to the organization of such large harems was the eunuch or *tawāshi*, also referred to as *khādim* ("servant"), *fatā* ("young man"), and *aghā* ("chief"). The primary responsibility of the eunuch was to maintain order; his emasculation "perfected" him for such purposes, as he remained physically strong but incapable (for the most part) of posing a sexual threat. As was true of concubines, those transformed into eunuchs came from Europe and Asia and Africa, but in this instance it was the African eunuch who appears to have been preferred (at least in the Ottoman capital of Istanbul). Because they were privy to the inner workings of the household, these individuals could amass significant influence in both the household and the society (assuming a prominent family). The authority of the *Kislar Aghā*, the Ottoman sultan's head eunuch, was legendary. In apparent violation of Islamic law, such eunuchs were allowed to own other eunuchs and concubines. According to one nineteenth-century account of the chief African eunuchs of Mecca, they were even married to enslaved Ethiopians, a most curious arrangement.

The procedures by which males became eunuchs rank among the most inhumane. Young boys were commonly forced to endure the operation, which involved removal of the testes or both testes and penis.

Because the operation was abhorrent to Muslims, it was performed by Christians (and perhaps Jews) in such places as Baghirmi near Lake Chad, in Ethiopia, and in other locations. Accounts of the process veer toward the macabre, as young males were gelded and placed in the sand up to their navels to heal. Those able to urinate after some days were herded off through the Sahara; those who could not were left to die. In addition to serving in the harems, some were chosen to serve in the mosque of the Kaʿba in Mecca and in Prophet Muḥammad's mosque in Medina. Many who began the desert trek did not complete it, expiring along the way. The number of eunuchs in the Muslim world is difficult to estimate, but the claim that the sultan Mūlāy Ismāʿīl personally owned over 2,000 suggests their numbers were significant. Indeed, so many more entered the mutilation process than exited; a credible estimate is that only 10 percent survived the operation, which meant that some 20,000 young males perished to achieve Mūlāy Ismāʿīl's 2,000.

Africans were also used as laborers in large agricultural ventures and mining operations. They supplied the backbreaking, bloodcurdling labor for the salt mines of Taghāza in the western Sahara and the copper mines of Tegidda in what is now Niger. The model of exploiting subsaharan labor may have been provided by the Tuareg and Arabo-Berbers of the Sahara, who had a long-standing tradition of using subsaharan African slaves to herd animals and collect wood and water.

Agricultural projects in the Islamic world generally did not approach the magnitude of the American plantation until the emergence of clove cultivation in such places as Zanzibar in the nineteenth century, but African enslaved labor was used in date production in Saharan oases and in tenth-century Arabia, near Bahrain. African slave labor was also used in the cultivation of sugar in the Ahwāz province of what is now western Iraq in the ninth century, together with the large-scale use of East African slave labor in nearby southern Iraq and Kuwait, in what was called the Sawād. There, captives from the interior of East Africa, the Zanj, were expended to drain vast marshlands. The conditions under which the Zanj labored were so stultifying, so deplorable, that they produced one of the most spectacular slave revolts in the history of both the African Diaspora and the world as a whole. Unifying under the charismatic leadership of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, son of an Iraqi father and a mother from Sind (the lower Indus valley), the Zanj waged insurrection for fifteen years, from 868 to 883, capturing the city of Basra and marching on Baghdad itself, center of the Muslim

world. With their defeat, the Zanj were ruthlessly exterminated, the experiment using their labor in southern Iraq abandoned. In fact, some scholars speculate that the Zanj left such a bitter taste in the mouths of the Abbasids that it influenced the brutish depiction of blacks in *The Thousand and One Nights*.

One of the more visible uses of enslaved African labor was in the military, one of the few institutions allowing for any degree of upward mobility for persons of African descent throughout the history of the entire Diaspora. Slave armies were in a number of places in the Islamic world by the ninth century. The concept was to create a military that, as a result of its very foreignness and alienation, owed its total allegiance to the ruler. Those destined for such armies were usually acquired through purchase rather than war, and they included Turks, Slavs, Berbers, and other Africans. In fact, most military slaves were non-African and were often organized into separate units based on ethnic origin and background. Specific terms were used to identify armies as both servile and ethnically distinct: the *Mamlūks*, a servile army that eventually seized power in Egypt and Syria from 1250 to 1517, were mostly from the Black Sea region; the Janissaries (or *kuls*), who took control of the Ottoman empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, hailed from the Slavic and Albanian populations of the Balkans. The term *ʿabīd*, however, was apparently used exclusively for subsaharan African slave armies.

The ʿabīd army was developed in Egypt under the Turkish governor Aḥmad Ṭūlūn (d. 884), who garrisoned them separately from the Mamlūk division. This particular ʿabīd army was probably Nubian. The immediate successors to the Ṭūlūnids also maintained servile black troops, as did the Fāṭimids, who began in North Africa (in 909) before moving their capital to Cairo in 969, maintaining large numbers of black servile soldiers in both places. In Egypt these soldiers grew powerful, and skirmishes between them and nonblack units increased in number and violence. A final conflict, the "Battle of the Blacks" or the "Battle of the Slaves," took place in 1169, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn led his nonblack forces against some 50,000 black soldiers and drove them out of Cairo into southern Egypt. All-black units would not be used again in Egypt until the nineteenth century under Muḥammad ʿAlī.

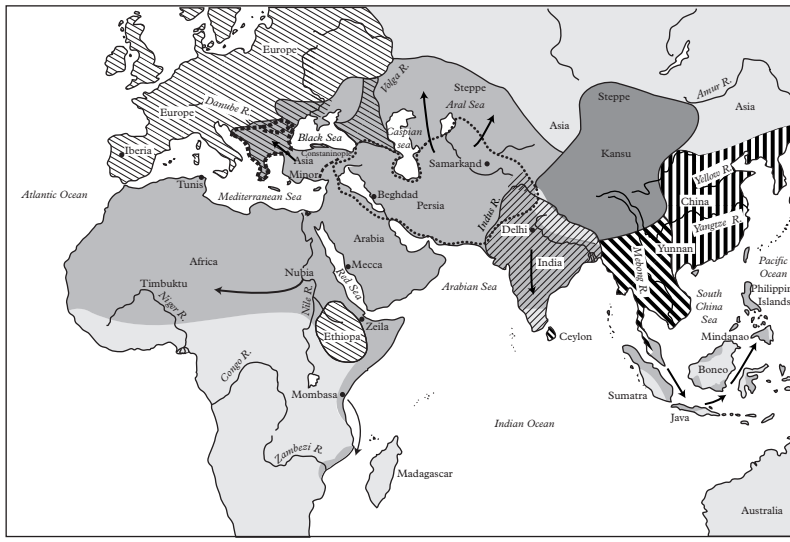
Black slave soldiers were also used in North Africa by the ninth-century Aghlabid dynasty and thereafter under successive regimes. Further west, in what is now Morocco, the Almoravid leader Yūsuf

b. Tāshīn (d. 1106) was surrounded by a bodyguard of 2,000 black soldiers, and the successors to the Almoravids, the Almohads, also used black soldiers. The ultimate in the use of servile black soldiers took place under Mūlāy Ismāʿīl (reigned 1672–1727), son of the black concubine, who along with his 2,000 black eunuchs was reported to have maintained 150,000 black troops, having ordered the seizure of all black males throughout the kingdom. The troops were provided black females and were forced to swear personal allegiance to Mūlāy Ismā'īl upon the *ḥadīth* (traditions of Muḥammad) collected by al-Bukhārī, and they were therefore known as *ʿabīd al-Bukhārī*. This ʿabīd army grew enormously powerful, determining the succession to the throne for thirty years after the death of Mūlāy Ismāʿīl, choosing from among his 500 sons. In 1737 the ʿabīd army was brought under control by Mūlāy Muḥammad III using an Arab force. Black soldiers continue to serve in the Moroccan army to the present day, only no longer as slaves.

Iberia

Mention of the Almoravids and Almohads redirects our attention to Iberia (Spain and Portugal), site of a remarkable Muslim civilization from 711 to 1492. When Muslim forces crossed Gilbraltar into Spain in 711, it was a combined army of Berbers, subsaharan Africans, and Arabs. The invading Muslim armies renamed the peninsula al-Andalus (an apparent corruption of the term *Vandal*, from the former occupiers). By 720, the Muslims laid claim to territory south of the Pyrenees and parts of southern France, and in 732 they encroached further into France, where they were engaged outside of Tours and defeated at the Battle of Poitiers by Charles Martel. Celebrated in Europe as a major victory over Islam, the event known as the "Highway of the Martyrs" (*Balāṭ al-Shuhadā'*) by the Muslims was, from their perspective, little more than an insignificant border raid. The "land of the Franks," as France and much of western Europe were known, was culturally unremarkable, economically unimportant, and of little interest to Muslims.

Those portions of Iberia under Muslim control answered to the Umayyads of Damascus until 750, when the Abbasid caliphate arose and shifted the center of the Muslim world to Baghdad. A member of the Umayyad family fled to Iberia where he restructured the Umayyad caliphate, rupturing the dream of a single Muslim empire. Muslims



MAP 3. Spread of Islam to 1500.

would conquer Sicily between 827 and 902 and move into parts of southern Italy, but the eleventh century saw the return of Sicily to Christian control, as well as the slow erosion of Muslim power elsewhere in Italy and Iberia.

Al-Andalus was a Muslim state controlled by Arabs in command of Berbers and subsaharan Africans. However, conflict between Berbers and Arabs stemmed from an almost uninterrupted history of invasion and occupation of North African territory, beginning with the Carthaginians and followed by the Romans, the Vandals, the Byzantines, and lastly the Arabs. Berbers resisted Arab domination militarily, but they also resisted by embracing an aberrant form of Islam, Kharijism, which advocated democratic and egalitarian principles. The strategy of adopting altered expressions of an oppressor's religion, thereby transforming it into a tool of liberation, would also be used in the New World. Berbers further resisted by creating politically autonomous space, establishing a number of Kharijite states in North Africa after 750; Kharijite communities remain in the mountains and remote areas of Algeria and Tunisia. In this way, they were not unlike the maroons of the Americas.

Yet another path of resistance was direct confrontation, a road leading back to ancient Ghana. The West African savannah was crucial to the rise of the Berber Almoravid movement in the eleventh century.

Berbers in southern Morocco noted Ghana's spectacular growth and trade, and they concluded that it was the key to both the transsaharan trade and al-Andalus. Like the leaders of Egypt's eighteenth dynasty, who secured their control over Nubian resources before launching campaigns into Palestine and Syria, the Almoravids began their activities by first focusing on West Africa. Their bid for power became part of a religious reform movement, and by the mid-eleventh century the Almoravids seized control of the southern and northern termini of the transsaharan trade. Financing their operation with West African gold, the Almoravids also used West African soldiers, slave and free. By century's end, the Almoravids succeeded in bringing not only all of Morocco and western Algeria under their control, but also al-Andalus as well, founding Marrakesh as their capital. For the first time in history, a single Berber power controlled much of North Africa and Iberia, and Africans would rule the "kingdom of the two shores" for nearly 300 years.

The Almoravids were succeeded by the Almohads (1146–1269), who also used West African soldiers. Like Mūlāy Ismāʿīl of the seventeenth century, al-Manṣūr (reigned 1184–1199) was a leader who was possibly of West African ancestry. Another was Abū al-Ḥasan (reigned 1331–1351) of the later Marinid dynasty. Earning a reputation for cruelty, Abū al-Ḥasan exchanged embassies with *Mansa* Mūsā prior to the latter's death, and he was a great patron of the arts. The examples of Abū al-Haṣan, al-Manṣūr, and Mūlāy Ismāʿīl demonstrate the difficulties in distinguishing between Berbers and subsaharan Africans, as extensive, centuries-long interaction between these regions necessarily meant a significant sharing of genes; an ostensibly Berber-looking individual may have in fact had considerable subsaharan ancestral ties. Europeans could and did distinguish between African groups, but their tendency to label all as Moors (literally, "blacks"), suggesting all Africans were part of a continuum of related characteristics, is not without warrant. Whatever the nature of their congenital relations, Africans of varying backgrounds in Iberia tended to participate in cultures knitted together by Islam. In this way, it may be better to read the designation *Moor* as a cultural rather than racial or ethnic qualifier.

Africans were present in al-Andalus throughout the 800-year period of Muslim domination, contributing to an intense period of intellectual and cultural production. It was during the Muslim domination of Iberia that the sciences and technology and the arts, including astronomy, medicine, alchemy, chemistry, physics, mathematics, literature,

and philosophy, received a tremendous boost. Indeed, the knowledge of the ancients, including Greek philosophy, had been lost to Europe for hundreds of years, as Latin and Greek had nearly disappeared. Muslim, Jewish, and Christian scholars uncovered and translated the mostly Greek texts into Arabic, by which Europe reconnected with its past. The works of Plato, Aristotle, Ptolemy, Euclid, and the physicians Hippocrates and Galen were among the many reintroduced to Europe during this period. Prominent scholars of the period include Ibn Sīnā (or Avicenna) and Ibn Rushd (also known as Averroës), who was born in Córdoba under Almoravid rule in 1126 and went on to translate and comment on the works of Aristotle as well as establish a reputation as a scientist, mathematician, philosopher, and poet. Made possible by the support of Almohad ruler al-Manṣūr, Ibn Rushd's work, some thirty-eight volumes of it, became popular largely through Spanish Jewish scholars, a circle that included Mūsā Ibn Maymun (or Maimonides). Students from all over Europe, including France, Germany, England, and Italy, came to study in al-Andalus, often becoming literate in Arabic. The intellectual productivity of Muslim Iberia, as well as other parts of the Muslim world, was an important foundation for the Renaissance of western Europe.

In addition to their contribution to various branches of knowledge, Muslims introduced styles of architecture resulting in stunning blends of structure and landscape, of which al-Hambra is a prime example. Cities they founded include Córdoba, Seville, Toledo, and Granada, each known for a particular quality. Córdoba was a city of libraries; Seville was associated with music. Muslim cities were well planned, featuring aqueducts, gardens, public baths, and fountains to embellish mosques, hospitals, and other buildings public and private. Supplying the urban centers were fields given enhanced fertility through revamped irrigation systems and the introduction of such crops as cereals and beans. However, the Muslim geographic imagination was by no means confined to the Iberian city and countryside; rather, Muslim scholars refined geography by more accurately measuring distances (although they remained hampered by ancient models), and they introduced to the Western world seafaring tools and techniques such as the astrolabe, the lateen sail, and the method of tacking. Some of these innovations were modified from their use in the Indian Ocean, and in any event they proved critical to the development of European seafaring and subsequent commercial and imperial expansion.

India

While there are numerous scholarly works on al-Andalus or Moorish Spain, what is known about the subsaharan African contribution to this brilliant civilization is far from satisfactory. Research on the African presence in India is similarly in its infancy. Matters are complicated by an ancient, pre-Islamic society in which the four major castes (Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra) are hierarchically arranged in a manner corresponding with color (*varna*). Thus, the lowest, servile caste, the Shudra, is characterized in the ancient Vedic literature as "black" and "dark complexioned," but as there are many dark-skinned populations throughout the world, attempting to locate Shudra origins in Africa may be pointless.

Given the historicity and expanse of Indian Ocean trade, Africans necessarily voyaged to the Indian subcontinent prior to the rise of Islam. However, it is with that religion's movement into the subcontinent that the African presence becomes better documented. India initially experienced Islamic incursions as early as 711, and in the late tenth century Muslim forays from what is now Afghanistan and Iran resulted in considerable plundering. Islam reached its political zenith in the subcontinent under the Delhi Sultanate (1206–1526) and the Mughals (1526–1739).

Free Africans (as well as non-Africans) operated in Muslim-ruled India as merchants, seafarers, clerics, bodyguards, and even bureaucrats. Regarding slavery, African women and men assumed familiar roles as concubines and servile soldiers; in 1459, for example, some 8,000 served in Bengal's army. Called "Habshis" (from the word *ḥabashiyyāt*) and "Siddis" (from the title *sayyid*, afforded captains of vessels), Africans settled in a variety of locales. Enclaves of Siddis can presently be found in such places as Gujarat (western India), Habshiguda in Hyderabad (central India), and Janjira Island (south of Bombay); the names *Habshiguda* and *Janjira* reflect an African ancestry.

During the time of the Mughals, there were a number of African Muslim rulers in the subcontinent. At least several Habshi rulers were in the breakaway province of Bengal (eastern India), including Mālik Andil (or Saiffuddīn Firuz, 1487–1490) and Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd II (1490–1491). There were also several rulers in the Deccan breakway province of Ahmadnagar who were of African descent, including

Chand Bibi (d. 1600), a princess who led Ahmadnagar resistance against the Mughals. Perhaps the most famous of all was Mālik Ambar (d. 1626), who supported Chand Bibi's struggle against the Mughals until her assassination. Mālik Ambar, possibly Ethiopian born, was brought to India as a slave and eventually served as a highly educated military commander. Noted for his religious tolerance and patronage of the arts and learning, he ruled for twenty years and earned the admiration of Indians and Europeans alike.

The Image of the African in the Islamic World

The Muslim view of the African was an evolutionary process, informed by changing circumstances over time. Whatever the initial attitude toward the African, the trade in slaves via the Sahara, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean had some impact, but the fact that enslaved Europeans and Asians were also imported into the Islamic world, and in greater numbers until the eighteenth century, suggests that the slave trade alone was not solely responsible for a less than complimentary view of the African. Other factors, essentially cultural, must have played a role.

There is no trace of racism in the Qur'ān. Rather, there is the assertion that difference is of divine decree:

> And among His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the diversity of your languages and colors. In that surely are signs for those who know.
>
> (sūra or chapter 30, *al-Rūm*, verse 23)

This nonevaluative acknowledgment of what is now called racial diversity is indicative of the early Muslim period in the Arabian peninsula. There, color was both insignificant and variable, depending upon who was being compared. While Bedouins were usually described as brown or olive, Arabs at times characterized themselves as black vis-à-vis red Persians, but in comparison with black Africans these same Arabs became red or even white. Furthermore, the concept of red took on metaphoric meaning with Islam's early expansion, as the hated red Persians were now the subjects of the Arabs, and redness took on a pejorative connotation. In this way, Greeks, Spaniards, and other Mediterranean populations also became red.

It is not surprising that the Qur'ān is devoid of racial bias, or that Arabs depicted themselves as black and brown. Seventh-century Arabia was surrounded by far more powerful Sassanian (Persian), Byzantine, and Ethiopian empires, who fought each other for influence in the peninsula. The dominant peninsular power was Yemen in the southwest (called *Arabia Felix* by the Romans), which was distinct from the rest of the peninsula because of its urban-sustaining agriculture and because of extensive ties with Ethiopia. The latter had both invaded and conquered southern Arabia in the fourth century, taking control of the spice and silk trade between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean that passed through Arabia. With Sassanian help, the Yemenis pushed the Ethiopians out around 375, but the Ethiopians returned triumphantly in 512. The subsequent defeat of Ethiopian garrisons led to another Ethiopian expedition around 525. A few years later, divine intervention, according to the Qur'ān (sūra 105, *al-Fīl*, or "the Elephant"), turned back an Ethiopian assault on Mecca.

Ethiopian incursions are but one example of interaction between the Horn of Africa and Arabia that has existed for millennia; related languages and cultures are another. Such interconnectedness suggests that Ethiopians and Nubians made contributions to the Yemeni and Arab gene pool, along with other populations from the Horn. It is therefore no surprise that one of the greatest poets of pre-Islamic Arabia was ʿAntara (or ʿAntar), son of an enslaved Ethiopian or Nubian mother and an Arab father. Born in the pre-Islamic *jahilīyya* period ("time of barbarism"), ʿAntara followed his mother's status and was a slave, but he earned his freedom through military prowess. His background is similar to that of another figure of the early Islamic period, Khufāf b. Nadba, son of an Arab father and enslaved black mother who rose to become head of his (Arab) group or "tribe." On the other hand, many Arabs had black skin but apparently were not descended from Africans; such was true of ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, an Arab of noble birth and a leader of the Arab conquest of Egypt.

The impression that blackness was no barrier is bolstered by the example of Muḥammad himself, who, facing mounting opposition to his message, sent seventy of his followers to seek asylum with the Ethiopian ruler in 615, presaging the official *hijra* or "flight" to Medina in 622. Muḥammad's action revealed his esteem for the piety of the Ethiopians, a sentiment consistent with Homer's much earlier characterization of the "Ethiopians." There were also a number of persons of Nubian or Ethiopian descent among the Companions of the Prophet,

perhaps the most famous having been Islam's first muezzin (who calls the faithful to prayers), Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, born into slavery in Mecca and an early convert to Islam. Purchased and manumitted by Abū Bakr (Islam's first caliph or successor to Muhammad as well as his father-in-law), Bilāl became the Prophet's personal attendant. In addition to Bilāl, notables of known African descent include the caliph ʿUmar (634–644), the grandson of an Ethiopian or Nubian woman, and the conqueror of Egypt; and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, similarly descended from an Ethiopian or Nubian female ancestor. The Prophet himself may have been of partial African descent, as his grandfather and paternal uncle Abū Ṭālib were both reputed to be "black." Therefore, significant Ethiopian or Nubian influences were circulating at the very core of Islam's foundation. Given Ethiopia's ascendancy, if anyone felt inferior in the seventh century, it would have been the Arabs.

And yet, there is something unsettling about these relations. One wonders if the potential for bias was not already present in pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia, for, despite the prominence of all of these men of Ethiopian or Nubian descent, it is striking that so many of them descend from enslaved mothers. Perhaps free Nubian or Ethiopian-born males were much rarer in Arab society than enslaved Nubian or Ethiopian women, so that the most common African figure in Arab society was a female slave. If so, Arab society may have begun associating Africans with slavery before the rise of Islam. ʿAntara reflects an Arab acceptance of difference, but his own background suggests that Africans within the Arab world largely entered by way of the servile estate.

The expansion of Arab armies in the seventh and eighth centuries was probably the period during which Arab views of Africans began to change. Arabs were already suffering from ethnocentricity, as Islam had been revealed to an Arab and the revelation forever sealed in his language. It was not even clear that Islam was meant for non-Arabs. With the world now divided into believers and infidels, the rise of the transsaharan, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean slave trades did not bode well for Africans, especially those with whom Arabs had little experience. Their high regard for the Ethiopian and Nubian continued, but they were distinguished from other Africans such as the Nūba, Bujja (Beja), Zanj, and the Sūdān (from West Africa). Lack of familiarity played some role, but since most Africans entered Islamic lands as young females, the Arab view of Africans was also informed by the perception of African women. Whatever the answer, Muslim societies became

increasingly accustomed to seeing Africans as enslaved menials. The struggle over the meaning of blackness in early Islamic society can be seen in the poetry of "the crows of the Arabs" (*aghribat al-ʿArab*), men who lived during the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods and who were dark-skinned but not necessarily of African ancestry. These poets alternately bemoaned and defended their blackness. One Suḥaym (d. 660), whose name means "little black man," wrote this:

> If my color were pink, women would love me
> But the Lord has marred me with blackness.
>
> Though I am a slave my soul is nobly free
> Though I am black of color my character is white.

A century later, one of the most popular of these poets, Abū Dulāma (d. ca. 776), was a court jester for the Abbasids in Baghdad; he wrote the following in derision of his mother and family:

> We are alike in color; our faces are black and
> ugly, our names are shameful.

One hundred years later, one of the best-known composers of prose in classical Arabic literature, Jāḥiẓ (d. 869), also alleged to be of partial African ancestry, wrote (among other things) that the Zanj "are the least intelligent and the least discerning of mankind."

Some of this literature comes out of the Persian Gulf, where one of the consequences of the Zanj revolt may have been an anti-Zanj backlash of sentiment. Some scholars see the revolt as the principal cause of antiblack expressions, but the revolt did not begin until 868, well after many of these black poets were already dead. Yet another argument is that Persian Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism, with their emphasis on conflict between darkness and light, associated darkness with dark skin and light with white skin and influenced Muslim thinking. While this is all speculative, one source makes clear the view of the African in the Persian Gulf. *The Thousand and One Nights*, an apparent compilation of stories developed by Persian, Indian, and Chinese travelers and merchants, is associated with the early days of Baghdad's Abbasid caliphate. Black folk are mentioned frequently in the book, principally as slaves or servants of some kind. Enslaved black men are also featured at the book's beginning, engaged in sexual escapades with King Shahzāmān's wife and twenty other female members of his household. Some of the most pervasive stereotypes of black folk known in the

Western world were therefore already taking shape in ninth-century Iraq and elsewhere in the Islamic world.

Those Muslims arriving at a negative assessment of the African did not do so on their own, but in dialogue with other traditions and preceding opinions. One influence was Galen (fl. 122–155), whose work on anatomy remained the seminal text in medicine for both Christians and Muslims through the medieval period. Galen was the official physician for gladiators at the Pergamum circus, and there presumably came into contact with blacks. In an interesting and fateful conjunction, it was the famous al-Masʿudī (d. 956) who introduced Galen to the Muslim world by quoting the Greek physician's observations of black men. Galen, al-Masʿudī stated,

> mentions ten specific attributes of the black man, which are found in him and no other; frizzy hair, thin eyebrows, broad nostrils, thick lips, pointed teeth, smelly skin, black eyes, furrowed hands and feet, a long penis and great merriment. Galen says that merriment dominates the black man because of his defective brain, whence also the weakness of his intelligence.

Besides Galen, other sources were interpretations of Christian and Jewish texts condemning black skin as the curse of Ham.

Not all Muslims adopted unfavorable views of blacks. There were those who respected Africans, citing their roles as Companions of the Prophet as well as their virtues. The "defenders of the blacks" included such leading intellectuals as Jamāl al-Dīn Abū'l-Faraj b. al-Jawzī (d. 1208), who wrote *The Lightening of the Darkness on the Merits of the Blacks and the Ethiopians*; and the Egyptian scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), who wrote *The Raising of the Status of the Ethiopians*. Individuals such as al-Suyūṭī had substantial experience with subsaharan Africans and knew a number of their scholars and political leaders personally. One must therefore be careful not to paint the entire Muslim world with the same broad stroke.

Furthermore, it is not clear that prior to the sixteenth century the Muslim view of Europeans was any better than their assessment of Africans. The idea that geography and climate determined group characteristics was popularized by the tenth-century Persian physician Ibn Sīnā. Because of western Europe's cold climate and cultural unattractiveness, Muslims by and large held little respect for it, enslaving many from southeastern Europe. Arab and Persian Muslims who may have

felt contempt for Africans also felt superior to Europeans, as the following quote from an Arab living in eleventh-century al-Andalus reflects:

> For those who live furthest to the north . . . the excessive distance from the sun in relation to the zenith line makes the air cold and the atmosphere thick. Their temperaments are therefore frigid, their humors [dispositions] raw, their bellies gross, their color pale, their hair long and lank. Thus, they lack keenness of understanding and clarity of intelligence, and are overcome by ignorance and dullness, lack of discernment, and stupidity. Such are the Slavs, the Bulgars, and their neighbors.

In view of the symmetry in opinions toward select Africans and Europeans, the divergence in the Muslim view between the two groups may well have come after the sixteenth century, when the trade in Europeans began to diminish as its counterpart in Africans continued. By the eighteenth century, there was a fast association between subsaharan Africans and slavery in the central Islamic lands, whereas the enslavement of Europeans had largely become a thing of the past, confined to memory and books.

Slavery's Aftermath

What became of all these African slaves in the Islamic world? The answer is by no means obvious, as descent traced through the free male line obscures if not erases African maternal ancestry. A look at contemporary Arab populations in North Africa, Palestine, the Arabian peninsula, and even the Saudi royal family reveals discernible African features, but studies are insufficient to make conclusive statements. In Morocco the fate of subsaharan blacks is clearer, as the descendants of slaves, the *ḥaraṭīn* (called *bella* further east), continue in servile subjection to Arabic- and Berber-speaking masters to the present day. The free descendants of the *ḥaraṭīn* also continued in subordination and second-class citizenship through the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, heavily dependent upon patron families. Like their American cosufferers, large numbers of the *ḥaraṭīn* found themselves sharecropping in southern Morocco, along the fringes of the Sahara, effectively barred from any meaningful social mobility and virtually shut out of systems of education. Nevertheless, also like their American counterparts, the dispossessed of Morocco have experienced changes for the better with the twentieth century's progression. One famous

community of blacks in Morocco are the *gnawa*, noted for their distinct musical traditions. In Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria, the descendants of subsaharan Africans (and North Africans, for that matter) practice Islam along with *bori*, a cosmology concerned with the spirit world's interaction with the corporeal. Bori is a mixture of spirits – infants, nature gods, spirits of deceased Muslim leaders, Muslim *jinn* (spirits), and so forth – who cause illness and who are appeased through offerings, sacrifice, and dance possession. West African communities practicing bori, such as the Songhay, Bambara, and Hausa, were distinguished in North Africa at least through the mid-twentieth century. The practice of bori within dominant Muslim societies parallels a similar persistence of subsaharan African religions in the Christian-controlled Americas, and it is a testimony to the tenacity of African culture even under duress.

In India and Pakistan, the descendants of the Habshis and Siddis no longer speak African languages, but their worship and music and dance are suffused with African content, influencing adherents of both Hinduism and Islam. Hindu Siddis in India, for example, use only Siddi priests for guidance in life, who have expertise in engaging Siddi spirits; in Pakistan, the "Sheedis" venerate the Shi'ite leader Imam Ḥusain (martyred at Karbala in 680) in a way that transforms the latter into an active force. In addition to those of clear African descent are the vast millions of Dalits, with whom the former may have intermingled, along with the Shudra caste. Dalits, formerly referred to as "untouchables," were considered ritually polluting and outside of the caste system, even below the Shudras. The Shudras, Dalits, and Siddis have all experienced severe discrimination, their darker skins not unrelated to their suffering.

Perhaps the greater mystery concerns the old Ottoman empire. Approximately 362,000 Africans were imported into its heartland during the nineteenth century alone. The slave trade was abolished there in 1857, at which point all freed persons were required to serve as domestics in designated households (presumably to preserve slaveholder interests). Perhaps the disproportionate use of eunuchs, combined with the high ratio of females to males, explains the apparent disappearance of blacks there. It should be noted, however, that diffused settlements of "Negroes" existed along the western slope of the Caucasus mountains, in what is now Abkhazia and Georgia, until recent times. They may have been descendants of the enslaved brought to the Black Sea region by the Ottomans; alternatively, they may be related to the ancient

people of "Colchis," as the area was called by the Greeks, where, records Herodotus, the inhabitants were "black-skinned with wooly hair."

Suggestions for Further Reading

On the early or classical period of Islam's history, one may begin with Albert Habib Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap of Harvard U. Press, 1991). More challenging is the first volume of Marshall G. S. Hodgson's three-volume *The Venture of Islam*: *Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1974) and Fred Donner's *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton U. Press, 1981). For Muhammad, see W. Montgomery Watt's classics, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford: Clarendon U. Press, 1953) and *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford: Clarendon U. Press, 1956). An accessible reading of the sayings and traditions of the Prophet is Alfred Guillaume, *The Life of the Prophet: A Translation of Ishaq's Rasul Allah* (Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 1967).

The scholarship regarding Islam in early West and East Africa is voluminous, as is obviously true of the literature on Islam in general. One could begin with Mervyn Hiskett's *The Development of Islam in West Africa*, although it is more concerned with what becomes Nigeria. Nehemia Levtzion's *Islam in West Africa: Religion, Society and Politics to 1800* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1994) and his *Ancient Ghana and Mali* (London: Methuen, 1973) are also useful. There are excellent articles in Nehemia Levtzion and Humphrey J. Fisher, eds., *Rural and Urban Islam in West Africa* (Boulder, CO: Rienner, 1986). More challenging but thorough are the contributions to the first volume of J. F. A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder, eds., *History of West Africa* (London: Longman, 1985), 3rd ed. Though dated, two enjoyable classics remain Félix Dubois, *Timbuctoo the Mysterious*, trans. Diana White (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1896) and E. W. Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors* (London: Oxford U. Press, 1968). For African urban areas, see Graham Connah, *African Civilizations. Precolonial Cities and States in Tropical Africa: An Archaeological Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1987). For East Africa specifically, see J. F. Safari, *The Making of Islam in East Africa* (Dar es Salaam: Benedictine Publications Ndanda-Peramiho, 1994). Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti's *Islam in East Africa, New Sources: Archives, Manuscripts and Written*

Historical Sources, Oral History, Archaeology (Rome: Herder, 2001) is a collection of data from a 1999 conference, and it is helpful. For more focused studies, consider Randle L. Pouwells, *Horn and Crescent: Cultural Change and Traditional Islam on the East African Coast, 800–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1987) and Frederick Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (New Haven, CT: Yale U. Press, 1977).

Mention of Cooper's work provides a segue into the topic of slavery. Ralph Austen's *African Economic History: Internal Development and External Dependency* (London: J. Curry; Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1987) contains an important discussion of the volume and organization of the various external slave trades, while Paul E. Lovejoy's *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge U. Press, 1983) and Patrick Manning's *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1990) combine these insights with discussions of domestic slavery and arguments about the implications of slave trading for Africa. Moving to the actual sites of enslavement, John O. Hunwick's "African Slaves in the Mediterranean World: A Neglected Aspect of the African Diaspora," in Joseph E. Harris, ed., *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora* (Washington, DC: Howard U. Press, 1993), is an excellent overview. R. Brunschvig's "Abd," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), new ed., addresses the equation of African slaves with this term. Bernard Lewis's *Race and Color in Islam* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971) and his *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry* (New York and Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 1990) are probably the most thorough discussions of the African presence in the Islamic world, although they are somewhat controversial in that translations from Arabic to English tend to favor the more pejorative of possible meanings. Compare with Murray Gordon, *Slavery in the Arab World* (New York: New Amsterdam, 1989), who emphasizes the sexual component of slavery. Important studies in various sites of the Islamic world include John Ralph Willis, ed., *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa* (London, England, and Totowa, NJ: 1985), 2 vols.; Y. Hakan Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Its Demise, 1800–1909* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996); Alexandre Popovi'c, *The Revolt of African Slaves in Iraq in the 3rd/9th Century*, trans. Léon King (Princeton, NJ: Markus Weiner, 1999); and Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle: U. of Washington Press, 1998). Graham W. Irwin's *Africans Abroad* (New

York: Columbia U. Press, 1977) provides translations of important documents. Information and accounts of the movement and experiences of slaves in Africa and the Middle East can be found in Martin Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1998); Paul Lovejoy and Jan Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897–1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1993); and John O. Hunwick and Eve Trout Powell, eds., *The African Diaspora in the Mediterranean Lands of Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Weiner, 2002).

Concerning more contemporary subsaharan communities in North Africa and their cultures, see Mohammed Ennaji, *Serving the Master: Slavery and Society in Nineteenth-Century Morocco*, trans. Seth Graebner (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); Émile Dermenghem, *Le culte des saints dans l'islam maghrébin* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1954); Vincent Crapanzano, *The Hamadsha: A Study in Moroccan Ethnopsychiatry* (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1973); A. J. N. Tremearne, *The Ban of the Bori: Demons and Demon-Dancing in West and North Africa* (London: Heath, Cranton, and Ouseley, 1914); and Janice Boddy, *Wombs and Alien Spirits: Women, Men, and the Zār Cult in Northern Sudan* (Madison: U. of Wisconsin Press, 1989).

Context for the question of Africans in India is provided by K. N. Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1990). Joseph E. Harris was one of the first to pursue this topic in *The African Presence in Asia; Consequences of the East Asian Slave Trade* (Evanston: Northwestern U. Press, 1971). Fitzroy A. Baptiste's "The African Presence in India," in *Africa Quarterly* 38 (no. 2, 1998: 92–126), is a fine analysis, linking the discussion to Trinidad. V. T. Rajshekhar raises vexing issues in *Dalit: The Black Untouchables of India* (Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, 1995), while Vijay Prashad argues for coalitions that are based on racial categories in "Afro-Dalits of the Earth, Unite!," in *African Studies Review* 43 (no. 1, 2000: 189–201). The most recent literature is to be found in Edward Alpers and Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy, eds., *Sidis and Scholars: Essays on African Indians* (New Delhi: Rainbow; Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003).

Concerning Moorish Spain, one should begin with Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1987). For the adventurous with interest in North Africa, look at Ibn Khaldun's *The Muqadimmah*, trans. Franz Rosenthal (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958) and his *Histoire des Berbères*

et des dynasties musulmanes de L'Afrique septentrionale, trans. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1925–56). Other references include L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250–1500* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1990); D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State U. Press, 2000); Ivan Van Sertima, *Golden Age of the Moor* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1992); Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English, eds., *Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change* (Notre Dame, IN: U. of Notre Dame Press, 1999); Thomas F. Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain* (Manchester, England: Manchester U. Press; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995); and Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (London and New York: Longman, 1996). Bernard Lewis's *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982) and Maribel Fierro, *Judíos y musulmanes en al-Andalus y el Magreb: contactos intelectuales* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2002), provide a discussion of Europe's intellectual engagement with Muslims in Iberia and elsewhere.