

# SANKORE'



Institute of Islamic - African Studies International

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَي سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا

[www.siiasi.org](http://www.siiasi.org)

## The Origin and Meaning of 'Africa', 'as-Sudan' and 'Takruur', and a Designation of Its Boundaries

It is important when discussing the region of *Takruur* (West Africa) in particularly, and 'Africa' in general, that we first examine the origin and meaning of the terms 'Africa', 'takruur', and 'as-Sudan' respectively in order to get a sense of who and what we are talking about. In examining these two referents it is also important to examine them through our own historical perspective as well as those outside us to get a broader historical picture on the etymology of 'naming'.

The cognomen 'Africa' or '*ifriqiyya*' as it is named in Arabic, was originally a referent to the northern region of the continent known today as Tunisia, and was known in ancient times as 'Carthage' or 'Qartaagena', from which the term 'cartography' originates.<sup>1</sup> There are many interpolations of the name 'Africa' by the scholars and earlier geographers. Some of the first interpolations were that the name was taken from 'Ifriqish' the name of one of the descendents of Ham ibn Nuuh, who was the first to settle in the region and after whom the region was named. According to earlier historians this Ifriqish was the son of Abraha bin ar-Raa'ish who rose up in war against the Assyrians in Asia Minor. He was eventually vanquished and he fled with his armies westward until he reached the region of Carthage, whose people he fought and defeated and then constructed a city there named after himself called '*Ifriqiyya*'.<sup>2</sup> A second interpolation is that the name 'Africa' came from the Latin word 'separatus' (in Arabic '*fareeq*') because the continent was a land mass separated from Europe and parts of Asia by the Mediterranean and Red seas respectively.<sup>3</sup> A third interpolation is that the term 'Africa' comes from Greek origin, where the letter 'A' is a negative particle meaning 'not' and the phrase 'frica' means 'cold'; which means it was a land which was devoid of cold.<sup>4</sup> The fourth interpolation of the cognomen is that the Romans used to utilize the phrase 'Afer' (and 'Afri' in the plural) to refer to the remote regions beyond Carthage when it was conquered by them in 146 C.E., thus the region became known as 'Ifriqiyya'.<sup>5</sup> Because most historians of the Middle East took their sources for early north African history from the Roman and Greek sources, the cognomen '*Ifriqiyya*' became applicable to that region. To the Romans the name 'Africa' was applied to the entire region including those regions south of Carthage

<sup>1</sup> Yaqut al-Hamawi, *Mu'jam al-Buldaan*, II (Cairo, 1906), p. 228, al-Hassan al-Wazaan (Leo Africanus), *Wasaf Ifriqiyya* (Description of Africa), (Riyadh, 1988), p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Abu'l-Qasim Abd'r-Rahman ibn Abdallah ibn Abd'l-Hakam, *Futuuh Ifriqiyya wa'l-Andalus*, ed. Abdallah Anees, (Beirut, 1963), pp. 33-34; al-Bakri, *al-Masaalik*, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Isma'il Ra'fat, *at-Tibyaan Fee Takhteet 'l-Buldaan*, (Cairo, 1911), p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Muhammad Abd'l-Fataah Ibrahim, *Ifriqiyya Min as-Senegal Ila Bahr Juba*, (Anglo Egyptian Press, 1961), p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Hussayn Mu'nis, *Fat'h'l-Arab Li'l-Maghrib*, (1947), pp. 1-2; Sa'd Zaghlul Abd'l-Hamid, *Tarikh al-Maghrib'l-Arabi*, (Alexandria, 1979), p. 67.

beyond the Sahara desert. The cognomen Africa became a name commonly used in the European sources to refer to the continent and latter the referents North Africa, South Africa, East Africa, West Africa and eventually Central Africa became in general use as the continent came under European control in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup> However, because of the close ties between the `Arabs of the *Hijaz* and the Africans of Abyssinia, many of the early Muslim historians were not pigeonholed by the definitions given to the continent by the Roman historical sources, as we will demonstrate.

Another name which was in widespread use by the Arab geographers and historians to refer to the African continent and its people south of the Sahara was the cognomen '*as-Sudan*' (taken from the Arabic word: '*sawdaa*', meaning 'black') and referred to those lands just south of the Sahara desert from the Atlantic Ocean in the west until the Ethiopian highlands in the east.<sup>7</sup> This vast region was divided by the geographers into three distinct regions: the western *as-Sudan*, the central *as-Sudan* and the eastern *as-Sudan*.<sup>8</sup>

The eastern *as-Sudan* included the lands of the two Niles, (the White and the Blue) up until the western Ethiopian highlands. In fact, the western regions of the Arabian peninsular the city of Yathrib to Yemen was under the direct or indirect sovereignty of Abyssinia for centuries. The name 'Abyssinia' (*habasha* in Arabic) is said to come from the descendents of Habash ibn Kawsh ibn Haam ibn Nuuh, who are the traditional neighbors to the people of Yemen, and are only cut off from them by the Red Sea. Historically, the Abyssinians conquered Yemen before the time of Islam and took sovereignty over its land. Also Abraha made the well known military engagement from their kingdom against the *Ka`aba* and its people accompanied with his elephants, and were known as 'the Companions of the Elephant'. This event occurred in the year in which our master Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace was born. Allah ta`ala says about them:

﴿أَلَمْ تَرَ كَيْفَ فَعَلَ رَبُّكَ بِأَصْحَابِ الْفِيلِ \* أَلَمْ يَجْعَلْ كَيْدَهُمْ فِي تَضَلُّلٍ \* وَأَرْسَلَ عَلَيْهِمْ طَيْرًا أَبَابِيلَ \* تَرْمِيهِمْ بِحِجَارَةٍ مِّن سَجِيلٍ \* فَجَعَلَهُمْ كَعَصْفٍ مَّأْكُولٍ﴾

"Have you not seen how your Lord dealt with the Companions of the Elephants? Did He not bring their stratagem to nil; and sent against them swarms of flying creatures, which pelted them with stones of baked clay; and made them like green crops devoured." This is evidence that the lands of Yemen and parts of the lands south of the *Hijaz* were under the sovereignty of Abyssinia until the event of the Elephant. Ibn Hajr al-`Asqalani said:

"أرض الحبشة بالجانب الغربى من بلاد اليمن ومسافتها طويلة جدا، وهم أجناس، وجميع فرق السودان يعطون الطاعة لملك الحبشة"

"The kingdom of Abyssinia lies in the direction of the west of the land of Yemen, and its distance is extremely vast, and they are divided into many ethnic types. All of the divisions of the Blacks fall under the sovereignty of the ruler of Abyssinia."<sup>9</sup> This

<sup>6</sup> Abd'l-Baqi Muhammad Kabiru, *ad-Duwal'l-Islamiyya*, p. 1-2.

<sup>7</sup> Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Abd'l-Qadir ibn Muhammad al-Maqrizi, *Kitab'l-Almaam Bi Akhbaar Man Bi 'Ard'l-Habasha Min Muluuk'l-Islaam*, manuscript located at the University of Abdullahi Bayero, Kano, No. 597, f. 125; see also *Kitab al-Istibsaar Fee `Ajaa'ib al-Amsaar*, [author unknown], Alexandria, 1958, p. 317.

<sup>8</sup> See *Daa'irat'l-Ma`arif 'l-Islamiyya*, (Sudan) vol 12, pp. 327-29.

<sup>9</sup> Shihaab'd-Deen Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Hajr al-`Asqalaani, *Fat'h al-Baari Sharh Saheeh al-Bukhari*, in his commentary upon the prophetic tradition related in the *Saheeh* of al-Bukhari on the authority of

statement is proof that any mention of the name Abyssinia in the prophetic traditions is a designation for all Blacks in general.

The regions south of Abyssinia along the east coast of the African continent and into the interior of what is known today as Central Africa was known among the Arab geographers as '*Bilad's-Zanj*'. According to Ibn Mandhūr in his *Lisaan'l-'Arab* the cognomen '*zanj*' was originally Persian due the frequent and prolonged relationship it had in trade and diplomacy with East Africa. The cognomen was later adopted by the Arabs to refer to Africans particularly from this region. In fact the name '*Zanjibar*' (the land of the Zanj; the present day '*Zanzibar*') was a name applied to the whole of east Africa south of Ethiopia.<sup>10</sup> In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century European explorers used the phrase East Africa to refer to the entire region of east Africa from present day Sudan down to present day Tanzania.

The western *as-Sudan* included the regions in the far west at the mouth of the Senegal River until the upper bend of the Niger River. The central *As-Sudan* included the lands of Hausa, the Lake Chad region up until the western Nile valley. It is this region in question which witnessed during the Middle Ages the emergence of immense African Islamic civilization such as the kingdoms of Takruur, Ghana, Mali, Kanem-Bornu, Songhay, and the Hausa kingdoms, Wodai, Birghima and Dar Fur. Along with the emergence of high civilization the region also experienced the development of indigenous erudition and scholarship in which the histories of these kingdoms were recorded by Africans themselves in the local languages as well as in Arabic.<sup>11</sup>

The region of West Africa was named in accordance with the kingdom which held political sway over it at the time. Thus, the first name to refer to the region of West Africa was '*Takruur*', since it was the first of the African kingdoms to accept Islam. This was followed by '*Ghana*', then '*Mali*' and then '*Songhay*' respectively. After the demise of the Songhay kingdom in 1592 C.E., however, no other kingdom was able to control the entire region of West Africa under a single polity.<sup>12</sup>

The most recognized of the above names for West Africa was the cognomen '*Takruur*.' Initially, the cognomen '*Takruur*' was a referent to two distinct regions in Africa. The first being the Kingdom of *Takruur* which flourished during the 1000 C.E. on the lower Senegal River and the second was a settlement called *Takruur* in Abyssinia on the borders of present day Sudan and Ethiopia in a district called Ras'l-Fil or Qallabat.<sup>13</sup> Both places were connected because the latter was made up of West African (*Takaarna*) pilgrimages making their way to and from Mecca. Thus, the term *Takruur* became a designated cognomen referring to the Muslim people from the

---

Abu Hurayra, may Allah be pleased with him: "We were present when some Abyssinians were making entertainment in the presence of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, with their lances when Umar entered. He (Umar) then reached for some pebbles and began to stone them with them. He, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said: "Let them alone O Umar!"

<sup>10</sup> Abd'l-Qadir Zibadia, *Songhay Fee `Asr al-Asbiqiyeen*, (Algeria, 1971), p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Abd'l-Baqi Muhammad Kabiru, *ad-Duwal'l-Islamiyya*, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Abd'l-Qadir ibn Mustafa, *Rawdat'l-Afkaar*, tran. Muhammad Shareef, (SIASI, 1991), p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Umar al-Naqar; "Takarur the History of a Name", *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 10, No 3, (1969), pp. 365-374. We are all indebted to the classic research conducted by the late Professor al-Naqar regarding the sources of the name *Takruur* as well as the transmigration of West Africans across the continent in his renowned *The Pilgrimage Traditions in West African*, Khartoum University Press, Khartoum, 1972. I had the honor of working with him in 1986 in uncovering and identifying a manuscript I discovered in the home of *Shaykh* Bello Abd'r-Raaziq in the town of Maiurno by *Shaykh* Modi Abdu Bellel called *ar-Risaalat wa'n-Naseeha*. He also allowed me to make a copy of *Sultan* Muhammad Bello's *Tanbeeh'r-Raaqib* which was the basis of his research in the above *The Pilgrimage Tradition*.

regions of what is known today as West Africa, but included the regions from the Atlantic Ocean all the way to the lands of present day Dar Fur.

Among the first of the Arab historians to make a reference to the name 'Takruur' in his sources was Ahmad ibn Ali al-Miqrizi in his Kitab'l-Almaam Bi Akhbaar Man Bi 'Ard'l-Habasha Min Muluuk'l-Islaam.<sup>14</sup> He was followed by the famous Arab historian Abu `Ubaydallah ibn Abd'l-Aziz al-Bakri in his al-Masaalik wa'l-Mamaalik in which he said:

"ما بين الغرب والقبلة على النيل مدينة تكرر أهلها سودان، وكانوا على ما كان سائر السودان عليه من المجوسية وعبادة الدكاكير، والدكور عندهم الصنم، حتى وليهم وارجابي بن رابيس فأسلم وأقام عندهم شرائع الإسلام وحملهم عليها وحقق بصائرهم فيها، وتوفي وارجابي سنة اثنتين وثلاثين وأربعمائة، فأهل تكرر اليوم مسلمون".

"...between the west and the *qibla* is the city of Takruur whose people are from among the Blacks. They were, like all the remainder of the Blacks, Magians who worshipped *dakaakeer*; the *dukuur* (sing.) being the name of their idol, until they were ruled by *War Jabi ibn Rabis* who accepted Islam, established among them the *shari`a* of Islam, induced them to adhere to it and who gave realization to their insight in it. *War Jabi ibn Rabis* died in the year 432 [A.D. 1040/1 C.E.]. Today, the people of Takruur are Muslims."<sup>15</sup>

Al-Bakri was writing during the 4<sup>th</sup> century of the *hijra* (circa 10<sup>th</sup> century C.E.), which means *Takruur* was the earliest known kingdom in Africa to become Muslim, and thus in the minds of the Muslims of the *Hijaz* and the Middle East the cognomen 'Takruur' became a referent to the entire region of Islamic West Africa. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century C.E. Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Idrisi in his Tuzhat'l-Mushtaaq referred to the kingdom of *Takruur* as a safe and tranquil Islamic land under the rule of a just ruler.<sup>16</sup> In the 13<sup>th</sup> century C.E. Ibn Sa`id al-Maghribi noted in his Kitaab Bast 'l-Ard that the Arabs and Tuareg of *Suus'l-Aqsaa* were under the sovereignty of *Takruur* and would only enjoy some semblance of independence when the kingdom of *Takruur* was weakened.<sup>17</sup> To indicate that the term 'Takruur' was a referent among the Arabs of the Middle East to all the lands of West Africa, Shihaab'd-Deen al-`Umari referred to Mansa Kankan Musa, the ruler of the kingdom of Mali as 'the king of *Takruur*'.<sup>18</sup> The African historians themselves applied this name to the entire region as well. Abd'r-Rahman as-Sa`di utilized the term many times in his Tarikh's-Sudan; and he was followed in this by Mahmud Ka`ti in his Tarikh'l-Fattash.

Institute of Islamic-African Studies International

<sup>14</sup> Al-Maqrizi, Kitab'l-Almaam, f. 139.

<sup>15</sup> Abu `Ubaydallah ibn Abd'l-Aziz al-Bakri, al-Mughrib Fee Dhikr Bilaad Ifriqiyya wa'l-Maghrib, Paris, edited by Baron De Slane, Arabic text (1911), 172-4, and translation (1913), 324-7 .

<sup>16</sup> Abu Abdallah Muhammad ibn Muhammad as-Shareef al-Idrisi, Tuzhat'l-Mushtaaq Fee Dhikr al-Amsaar wa'l-Aqtaar wa'l-Buldan wa'l-Jazar wa'l-Madaa'in wa'l-Afaaq, (*Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*), texte Arabe publiee par R. Dozy et M. J. de Goeje (1866), pp. 1-3.

<sup>17</sup> Abu'l-Hassan Ali ibn Musa Sa`id al-Granaati al-Maghribi, Kitaab Bast 'l-Ard Fee Tuulihaa wa'l-Ird, ed. Juan Vernet Gines (Tetuan, 1958), 23-6.

<sup>18</sup> Shihaab'd-Deen ibn Fadlallah al-`Umari, at-Ta`areef Bi'l-Mutlahi as-Shareef, Egypt, 1894.

*Sultan Muhammad Bello* went further to actually delineate the meaning of name *Takruur* and its boundaries in his *Infaq'l-Maysuur Fee Tarikh Bilad't-Takruur* where he said:

"وأول هذه البلاد من جهة المشرق، على تعبيرهم، بلد فور، ويليه من جهة المغرب بلد وداي وبلد باغرم: فأما بلد فور فبلد واسع ذو أشجار وأنهار ومزارع، قوت أهله الدخن والذرة والدجر، وفيه رعاة كثيرون، ويعمره عجم متعربون، وعرب متعجمون، وقد فشا فيه الإسلام كثيراً، وأكثر أهل هذا القطر حجاج، وزعموا أنهم يكرمون الحجاج، ولا يتعرضون للطريق، ويقرب من هذا الوصف أهل وداي وباغرم، ولكن خربت باغرم، وسبب خرابها على ما معموا، أن سلطانها أكثر من الفسق إكثاراً فظيماً، حتى تزوج بابنته من صلبه! فسلط الله عليه أمير وداي صابور، فخرّب دياره وقتله ﴿فتلك بيوتهم خاوية بما ظلموا﴾، وأما ما حاذا هذه البلاد من جهة الشمال، فقفار ورمال معاطيش لا يعمرها إلا الرعاة في فصل الربيع من البرابرة والعرب المذكورين، وأما ما والاها من جهة الجنوب، فبلاد كثيرة يعمرها أجلاف السودان على اختلاف ألسنتهم، لم ينتشر فيها الإسلام كثيراً، ولم يتفق لي من أخبار هذه البلاد، ونوادير الأمور وأخبار ملوكها وعلمائها ورجالها، ما يحق لنا ذكره وإيراده على ما شرطنا قبل."

"The beginning of these lands from the direction of the east in accordance with their expression is the country of Fur. It is followed by the country of Wodai in the direction of the west and the country of Baghirma. As for the country of Fur, it is an extensive land full of forestry, rivers and farmland. The basic foodstuffs of its people are millet, sorghum, black-eyed peas and many livestock. Arabic speaking Africans and Arabs speaking the language of Fur inhabit the country. Islam has spread extensively among its people. The majority of the inhabitants of this region are pilgrims who completed the *hajj* to Mecca. They claim that they honor and show great reverence to pilgrims and do not interfere with the roads leading to the Two Sacred Places. Near in description to Dar Fur are the people of Wodai and Baghirma. However, the people of Baghirma were destroyed. The cause of their destruction, according to what they claim, was that their *sultan* increased in corruption and sinfulness even to the point of marrying the daughter from his own loins! Thus, Allah subjected his kingdom to Saabura, the *Amir* of Wodai. He then destroyed his palace and had him killed. "These are their homes destroyed because of what injustice they did." As for the country facing it in the direction of the north it is mainly desert wasteland and desert oasis. No one inhabits this region except livestock herders during the springtime from the uncivilized Berbers and the above-mentioned Bedouin Arabs. As for the lands south of Wodai and Baghirma, they comprise many countries inhabited by the least developed of the *Sudanese* people all with different languages. Islam has not spread much among them. I have not been successful at obtaining news of these lands, nor its extraordinary affairs, the narrations concerning its kingdoms, its scholars and righteous men. For this reason it is not necessary for us to mention them based upon the conditions mentioned before."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Sultan Muhammad Bello ibn Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye`, Infaq'l-Maysuur Fee Tarikh Bilad't-Takruur*, the University Mohammed V Institute of African Studies Press, Rabat, 1996, p. 49.

Quoting from the al-Qamuus, Sultan Bello designated the lands of *Takruur* to include the lands of Dar Fur, Wodai, Birghima, Kano, Katsina, Songhay, Mali and *Takruur* proper. Today, *Takruur*, can be seen to cover the entire region which is known as the *Bilad's-Sudan* and includes the entire Sahel region from the Atlantic to Jabal Marra in Dar Fur.

Later, writing in 1821 C.E., the young but erudite historian and mystic, Abd'l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa divided the regions of West Africa into the Upper, Middle and Lower *Sudan*. Like Bello, he acknowledged that the Songhay kingdom was the last of the African kingdoms to control the greater part of West Africa. In his Rawdat'l-Afkaar he said:

"فاعلم إن بلادنا هذه السودانية ثلاثة أقسام: عوالي، ووسائط، وسواقل، فعواليها بلاد برنو وبلاد أهير وبلاد زيرم وبلاد سنغي، ووسائطها حوسا وهو سبعة أقاليم، وبنذ وهو سبعة أقاليم، وسواقلها هي بلاد بايياي، ولم يتم لأحد من الملوك السودانية أن يملك هذه الأقسام كلها قط، بل يملك بعضا ويبقى بعض خارجا عنه، وقد يكون ذلك الخارج عنه أكثر."

"Realize that these Black lands of ours are divided into three major divisions: [1] the Upper *Sudan*; [2] the Middle *Sudan*; and [3] the Lower *Sudan*. The Upper *Sudan* included the lands of Bornu, Ahir, Zaberma and Songhay. The Middle *Sudan* included the lands of Hausa, which are made up of seven distinct territories; as well as the 'bastard' regions, which are also made up of seven distinct territories<sup>20</sup> The Lower *Sudan* are the lands of Baaiyaaya. Not one of the kingdoms of the Blacks was ever able to completely rule over all of the above mentioned regions. Rather, they were only able to rule a portion, while the greater part remained outside of their control."<sup>21</sup>

Abd'l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa was writing during the time of the consolidation of the last of the seven great kingdoms of West Africa, the Sokoto Uthmani Caliphate which lasted from 1804 until 1904, when the British and French divided it and consolidated their control over the entire region of West Africa. With the coming of European colonialism to the region, they divided Africa based upon a new dispensation designed to break up and prevent the reemergence of continent wide African kingdoms. The regions under French control became known as the 'French Sudan' or French West Africa. Those regions under the direct or indirect rule of Britain became known as the British Sudan or English West Africa. The Portuguese took control of the highlands of Guinea and named it Portuguese Guinea and the Germans took control of the regions of Fombina, the southern most regions of the Sokoto Caliphate and renamed it German Cameroon.<sup>22</sup>

Institute of Islamic-African Studies International

<sup>20</sup> The 'Seven Bastard' regions are called *Banza Bakwai* in Hausa. These are the people who are not originally Hausa, yet adopted Hausa as a second language and adopted certain Hausa customs. [see M. Hiskett, The Development of Islam in West Africa, (New York: Longman, 1984) pp. 110-119].

<sup>21</sup> Abd'l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa, Rawdat'l-Afkaar, pp. 6-7.

<sup>22</sup> Fathi Muhammad Abu `Ayana, Jighraafiyya Ifriqiyya, (Daar'l-Jaami`aat'l-Misriyya, 1982), p. 18.

The Europeans partitioned West Africa into small insignificant regions, making sure to divide regions which were once united linguistically, culturally and religiously in a homogeneous whole along new lines of division based upon the linguistic, political and in some cases spiritual divisions of the Europeans. This assured that these artificial fault lines and divisions would be amplified long after the Europeans ended their direct colonial rule of Africa and moved to the present period of neo colonialism of 'the take away' and denuding of Africa resources. It took visionaries such as the two great West African scholars, Cheikh Anta Diop and Amadou-Hampate` Ba to highlight again the cultural unity of the region and the need for an African Renaissance.<sup>23</sup> Today, West Africa reflects these false divisions created by the European powers, but still maintain the potential for the reemergence of a homogeneous African Islamic polity in the form of united federated states from the Atlantic Ocean in the west, to the Red Sea in the east.<sup>24</sup> Today, the presence of the United States' Afrocom military forces in Africa are there to assure that this potential is never realized. With the implosion of western economies and the resultant readjustment of geopolitical power, we will witness a resurgence of the vision of a united federated Islamic Africa that Sir Ahmadu Bello and others envisioned at the eve of the African independence movements. In my own travels from Eritrea in the east to Mali in the west, and from Niger in the north to Ilorin, in southern Nigeria, I recognized unitary homogeneous cultures fused by the bond of Islam.

*Shaykh* Muhammad Shareef  
Founding Director of SIIASI  
3<sup>rd</sup> *Dhu'l-Hijjah*, 1431  
Chongqing, Chongqing  
People's Republic of China

Institute of Islamic-African Studies International

---

<sup>23</sup> See Cheikh Anta Diop, *L'unité culturelle de l'Afrique noire* (*The Cultural Unity of Black Africa*, 1960); and his *Les fondements économiques et culturels d'un Etat fédéral d'Afrique noire* (*Black Africa: the Economic and Cultural Basis for a Federated State*, 1978); as well as Amadou-Hampate` Ba, (ed.) *Kaïdara*, (Classiques Africains, Paris 1968), and his *L'éclat de la grande Etoile, suivi du Bain rituel*, (Classiques Africains, Paris 1974).

<sup>24</sup> Ahmad al-Umari, *al-Ifriqiyyun wa'l-'Arab*, (Anglo Egyptian Press, 1967), p. 217.